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Index

A point of ethics 1
Ajun, The 63, 249
Alliance, The Korea-Japanese 74
Battle of Chemulpo 53
 ,, of Kang-gye 214
Book on Korea, A new 109
Book on Japan, New 505
Bridge, The 10,000 year 305
Burning of the Palace, The 155
Cemetery, The foreign 453
Chemulpo, The Battle of 53
Code Penal de la Coree 357
Condition of Korea 163. 199
Corea, the Hermit Nation 502
Corea and Coreani 504
Cremanzy, Laurent 357
Decadent Korea - 75
Dowager, The late Queen 6
Editorials 23, 70, 168, 260, 306, 360, 402, 456, 508. 549
Educational needs of Korea 443, 481, 533
Fifteen years among the top-knots 215
Folk-tales 1, 20, 21, 22 , 259, 298, 499
Foreign cemetery, The 453
Fortune-teller's dilemma, A 21
Fusion of Korean Society 337
Gale, D. D., Rev. J S. 170
Ghost of a Ghost, The 499
Ha-ju, Note on 207
Hamilton, Angus 109
History of Korea 33, 81, 129, 177, 225, 273, 321, 369, 417, 465, 513, 561
Hospital, The Severance 494
Imperial residence. The 202
Industrial projects in Korea,
Japanese 289
Korea decadent 75
Korea, Northeast 393
Korea owes Japan, What 350
Korean history (see History)
Korean neutrality 70
Korean society, Fusion of 337
Korean relations with Japan 9
Koreans in Manchuria 443
Ladies' days 461

Late Queen Dowager, The 6
Lie on the left side 20
Map making 211
Meum et teum 298
Neutrality, Korean 70
New book on Korea 109
News calendar 24, 77, 120, 172, 216, 261, 312, 362, 408, 462, 508, 555
Northeast Korea 393
Note on Ha-ju 207
Odds and Ends 20, 259, 305
Oldest relic in Korea 255
Palace burned. The 155
Penal code in Korea 357
Point of ethics, A 1
Queen Dowager, The 6
Railroad construction 204
Reform spelling 385, 440
Relations with Japan, Korean 9
Relic in Korea, The oldest 255
Retrospect of 1903 13
Retrospect of 1904 529
Reviews 109, 215, 170, 357, 504, 505
Rossetti, Carlo 504
Russians burn bridge 214
 ,, dash at An ju 213
Russo-Japanese war 49, 97, 145, 193, 241, 302
Russians in Northeast Korea 438
Severance Hospital, The 494
Sorcery exposed 22
Spelling reform 385, 440, 539
Straight official, A 259
Stripling, A. B. 118
Ten thousand year bridge 305
Underwood, Mrs. H G. (review)
Vanguard. The 170
War anecdotes 211
Waste lands, The 306, 344
What Korea owes Japan 350
Wonsan incident. The 204

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JANUARY 1904.

A Point of Ethics.

Chai Che-gong belonged to the noble army of literati martyrs. By this we mean that he spent all his time wrestling with the problems of Confucian lore and let his wife look out for his support. Perhaps it was she who belonged to the martyr army rather than he. At any rate the family fell into the lower depths of poverty. Fortunately for them, however, they lived in those good old days when letters were in some sense their own reward, for a hard-working merchant next door, named Kim, came to their relief and drew them out of the depths, or at least held them on the brink without letting them fall completely in. During the years that passed the needy family leaned more and more heavily upon him until at last his resources were exhausted and he too joined them in the procession.

But as fortune would have it, the literary gentleman was suddenly raised to comparative affluence by receiving a government appointment. His rise was rapid and before long his knowledge of the Chinese Classics placed him in the governor's chair in the northern capital, Pyengyang. Under these circumstances it was but natural that the impoverished merchant should follow in his wake like a sea-gull behind a steamship, to pick up such scraps as his generosity might drop. And besides this he may have felt, though he would never breathe it to a soul, that the governor owed him a little consideration.

[page 2] The governor picked up the thread of life in the provincial capital as if he were "to the manner born" as indeed he was, though long time banished from its more favored precincts. Kim the merchant knew his place and only by his constant attendance impinged upon the consciousness of the governor. The latter gave him a small commission now and again which sufficed to support him and give him hope for something better.

At last his great opportunity came, the "tide which taken at the flood--." The son of a wealthy gentleman in the far north, while in his cups, committed manslaughter and was lodged in prison at Pyeng-yang awaiting judgment. The young man's father hastened up to the city determined to find some flaw in the governor's mask of rectitude through which he might strike him with a bribe. It was through Kim the merchant that the attack was made but it was quite unavailing. The governor would listen to no words of entreaty even uttered to the accompaniment of rippling silver. The gentleman offered a million cash. He might as well have thrown it at a stone wall. He offered five million but he might as well have tried to dam the Tadong with his cash. The governor was ice and naught would thaw him.

As a last desperate move the felon's father placed in the hands of the merchant ten bundles of mountain ginseng which represented a fabulous sum, and begged him to present it to the governor with his humble compliments. The merchant took the costly gift, summoned every last remaining shred of his assurance and entered the presence of the governor. On his knees he pleaded for the condemned man and deposited the ginseng on the floor. The governor eyed it suspiciously.

"What is that stuff?"

"It is only a poor little tribute to your goodness and clemency vouchsafed by the hand of the erring man's father. It is only ten pounds of mountain ginseng that he begs you to accept." He said it in great humility but there was a latent gleam in his eye which proclaimed the incredible value of the gift. But the eye of the governor never gleamed. He was far above the reach of riches.

[page 3] He glanced scornfully at the treasure, waved his hand toward a closet beside him and said in the coldest of tones :

"Put the stuff on that shelf and leave me. I will show these people what it is to tamper with my honesty!" The trembling man obeyed and slunk from the room. He had taken the tide at its flood and it had overwhelmed him. Doubtless the governor would keep the bribe and kill the offender as well. All was lost. He told the anguished parent and together they waited for the dreadful end of the tragedy.

Early the next morning there was an unusual stir in the governor's palace. Bugles were sounding and excited messengers were hurrying in and out. Something was about to happen. At ten o'clock a herald announced that the people should congregate in the great open space inside the outer wall of the palace. They came from all directions bent upon curiosity to see what the governor had to say. At the appropriate moment the governor appeared, clad in his robes of office and supported on each side by a full retinue of officials and retainers. The place was crowded to suffocation but the guards kept a space clear in the center of the court full forty feet square.

The governor spoke a quiet word and a herald cried: "Bring forth the condemned criminal." Ah! it was a killing they had been sent for, to witness. They almost trod on each other to get a better view. The wretch, was

brought out, his arms bound with a cord and his face already grey with the certainty of approaching death. The father, bowed with grief, stood behind him on the edge of the crowd. The governor spoke another word to his attendants, and the herald cried:

“Dig a hole in the ground the depth of a man’s stature.” A muffled “Oh” ran through the crowd. The man was to be buried alive! Quick hands dug the hole. The prisoner writhed and the father wrung his ineffectual hands.

“Fill it half full of burning charcoal.” What! was the man to be burned to death? Horrible! — but interesting. The father, now on his knees, rocked back and forth in an [page 4] agony of apprehension. The son looked on in dumb fear which gripped him too tight for speech.

The burning charcoal sent up its noxious fumes to the nostrils of the crowd and they smelt death in air. The governor stepped forward.

“Before you stands a condemned criminal who merits death. Yesterday at this hour a monstrous bribe was offered me. Shall I accept it or not? Shall I stain the ermine of my office? Nay verily! Bring forth the bribe.” A servant came bearing the ten bundles in his arms.

“Cast them into the fire — first.” Down they fell into the lurid flames of the pit. The governor pointed to the fire.

“That is mountain ginseng!” At this word the people stood dumb for a moment but as the monstrous truth opened upon them that a kingdom’s ransom was feeding that flame to save the honor of their governor the matchless rectitude of the man elicited a roar of approbation that startled the bullock drivers far out on the country-roads.

The smoke of the burning went up to the heavens and a strange sweet odor floated through the palace and over the heads of the wondering crowd. They drew long draughts of it, as one would fasten eyes upon the face of a departing friend, never to be seen again. But the offering was only half complete; the victim was yet to be immolated. The crowd bent eagerly forward to see the final act. The governor raised his hand.

“Such be the fate of all bribes! But be it known that, though I cannot be touched with perishable wealth, I can be touched by pity. Behold the stricken father whose last remaining hope I might crush to the earth. But mercy cries to me with louder voice than vengeance. Cut the prisoner’s bands and let him go!”

The prisoner fell forward to the earth, overcome by the sudden weight of joy; the father still on his knees opened wide his arms and stared about him as if he could not believe the cruel dream. The people, thrilled to ecstasy by this crowning act of greatness gazed at one another in amazement. And then another shout went up, which dwarfed the first one to a whisper and made [page 5] the age-old walls of Pyeng-yang think the Im-jin year had come again when the beleaguered hordes of Hideyoshi manned them against their double foe.

The crowd pressed forward, some to cast themselves with tears of joy before their over-lord while others raised the reviving prisoner on exulting hands and bore him like a paladin forth from the presence of the governor.

But Kim the merchant wended his way sadly homeward. It was all well enough to exhibit these high qualities. They were very pretty but they helped him not a whit to rice and kimchi. Just to think of it, a princely fortune swallowed in the flames just to satisfy a whim; it was monstrous! The more he thought about it the less reconciled he became and after a restless night he arose with a hard resolve in his face. He would give that governor a piece of his mind and then leave the ungrateful man forever.

When he found himself in the governor’s presence he was a little ashamed of his mission but he lashed himself by the memory of his wrongs, and began to upbraid the official for having forgotten the days when he, Kim the merchant, spent his money unsparingly to help the indigent scholar. When he stopped for breath the governor shrugged his shoulders and smiled at him. This fanned his anger to the flaming point.

“Yes all this and more I have borne for you and you turn from me in your day of fortune! What of your boasted mercy in sparing that felon yesterday? You have showed no mercy to me who deserved every thing at your hands. I will leave the place with my curse and shake the dust of this city off my feet.”

“Yes, Kim, I think you had better go home now,” said the governor in a quiet tone.

The merchant turned and quitted the room with a muttered curse between his lips. He packed up his small belongings and fared southward on foot toward his home in Seoul. On the way he was taken ill and it was five months before he reached home.

So it was that, foot-sore, ragged and weary he dragged himself into the capital and drew near his home. [page 6] Here was the street and here the lane that led to his door but there was a great change. The entrance had been widened, and instead of his little door there stood a great gate. Someone had seized his house and torn it down. He stood for a moment dazed by this new misfortune but at that moment, who should emerge from the gate but his own son clad in costly silken raiment. When the boy saw his father he rushed to him and cried.

“Why, father, what does this mean? You are ragged and foot-sore. Is it possible that you have come home on foot?” The father answered in turn : —

“And what does all *this* mean, my son? Who has torn down my house to build this palatial residence

and how come you to be clad in this silken garb?”

“Why father, don't you know? The governor of Pyeng-yang sent us down *ten packages of mountain ginseng* and all this cost only one of them. The other nine are still intact and we have—”

“Wh-h-what! what!!”

And just here the point of ethics obtrudes itself and leaves us wondering whether, taking it all in all, the governor was justified in his action or not. Sure it is that to this day that governor's memory is redolent with the perfume of the ginseng which he did not bum.

The Late Queen Dowager,

The late Queen Dowager whose death occurred on the 2nd of January 1904 was the second queen of King Honjong the twenty-sixth of this dynasty who ruled from 1835 till 1850. His first queen died in 1843 and he married the second in 1844. She was the daughter of Hon Cha-yong who after the elevation to the royalty was made Prince Pu-wim. She was born in Chulla Province, district of Ham-yul, in 1831; so it appears that she was thirteen years old when she became Queen of Korea. The King her [page 7] husband died in 1849 when she was only eighteen. No children had been born to them. The new king, known by his posthumous title of Ch'ul-jong, was nineteen years old when he ascended the throne and his wife, of course, became queen and the former queen, who is the subject of this sketch, became Queen Dowager. At the same time there were two other Dowagers still living, in the persons of the queen of King Sun-jo (1801-1834) and the queen of King Ik-chong who reigned only a few months in 1834 after the death of his father, King Sun-jo. These three Dowagers are known as (1) Queen Dowager Kim who died in 1857 (2) Queen Dowager Cho who died in 1890 and Queen Dowager Hong who died this month. Later there was another Queen Dowager Kim the widow of King Ch'ul-jong (1850-1863) who died in 1878.

In 1897 the Queen Dowager Hong received the title Myung-hon Ta-hu (明憲太后). This was upon the occasion of the elevation of His Majesty to imperial rank. She died in her seventy-third year. Next summer would have been the sixtieth anniversary of her marriage. The great cycle of sixty years would have been completed and a grand celebration would have been held. In the eyes of the Koreans she was greatly to be pitied for three things, first because she was left a widow at such an early age, second that she was childless, and third because she just missed seeing this sixtieth anniversary of her wedding.

She was a woman of great common sense, in that she never interfered in politics nor became the tool of sorceresses and fortune-tellers. During her long and lonely life she lived quietly through all the alarms that were sounded about her. It was always necessary that she live in the palace where the king resided and there must have been many an anxious day. But she was possessed of great self control and equipoise and none of these things moved her. She died of sheer old age and will probably be buried outside the Northeast gate of Seoul, perhaps beside her husband King Hon-jong, whose body lies at Yang-ju.

On the 5th the body was removed from the palace to the Heung-duk-jun, behind the British Legation. On the seventh all the officials donned the mourning garb consisting [page 8] of a white head-band, white shoes and linen clothes. The Emperor himself dressed in mourning and will continue to wear it for five months. The officials and people will wear it one year but the surviving concubine of King Hon-jong, the palace women who attended the deceased, the grave keepers and a few others will wear mourning three years. All the female relatives of the Emperor and of the deceased and all the wives of the high officials will wear half mourning for 100 days. A family conclave including all the nearer male relatives of the Emperor and of the deceased was held soon after the death. This is called the Chong-ch'uk Chip-sa. It is their duty to consult about funeral ceremonies in conjunction with other officials specially appointed for the purpose. Among the members of this conclave are such well-known men as Yi Seung-ong, Yi Cha-geuk, Yi Cha-sun, Yi Chi-yong, Hong Sun-hyang and others. Then there is the Ch'ong-ho-sa or Master of the Funeral Ceremonies who has supreme charge of the obsequies. This duty devolves upon Yun Yong-sun, lately Prime Minister. Under him are three Kuk-chang To-gam Tang-sang or Chiefs of the Imperial Burial Bureau. These are Yi Chong-no, Yun Yong-gu and Sung Keui-un. Besides these there are the three San-neung To-gam Tang-sang or Chiefs of the Imperial Tomb. These are Pak Chong-yang, Yi Kun-ho and Kim Se-keui. Three officials, called Pin-jon To-gam Tang-sang or Chiefs of the Temporary Mausoleum, are Hong Sun-hyang, Kim Chonghan and Cho Chong-heui. The Chief of the Tomb-keeping Bureau is Prince Yi Cha-sung. The Commissioner of Posthumous Titles is Kim Pyong-guk, with Min Yung-so as his assistant. Min Pyung-suk is appointed Commissioner of Eulogy and Inscription, with Cho Chung-heui as assistant. Sim Sun-tak is the Commissioner of Obituary, with Cho Pyong-sik as assistant. The Commissioner for burying the tablet before the grave of the Queen Dowager is Cho Pyung-se, with Min Yong-whan as assistant. The Commissioner on Biography is Kim Hak-chin with Yi Chageuk as assistant. Another official is appointed to write the inscription in the tomb. After the casket is deposited in the ground it is covered with earth nearly to the general [page 9] surface of the ground but the last few inches are filled in with lime plaster. When still but

partially dry this official writes upon the plaster, with dry charcoal dust, the inscription telling the name, office, age and condition of the deceased and in which direction the head lies. When this is done the whole is covered by the great circular mound. The official appointed to this duty is Yi Keunmyung the present Prime Minister, with Yi Sun-ik as assistant and Hong Sun-hyung and Kim Chong-han as scribes.

The funeral ceremony will take place in May and the entire cost is estimated at \$650,000.

Korean Relations with Japan.

Continuing the description of the Trading Station at Fusan we read that within the wall of the enclosure there was a fire signal station set in a conspicuous place so that it could be seen from every direction and by it news was flashed from mountain top to mountain top all over the country.

There was also a great banquet house of thirty-five kan and a guest house of twenty-eight kan. These two were united, and had a great gate of three kan, a middle gate of a kan and a half and an apron wall inside it. There was a store house for charcoal of ten kan and there was a guest reception hall. In the very center of the enclosure was a council house of forty -four kan and on each side, like wings, were extensions of two kan each. In this building were rooms for a teacher whose business it was to instruct new comers as to the proper etiquette to be observed in the various functions, and there were inner rooms of eight kan for any women, wives of Korean officials who might be there. Besides these there were apartments for interpreters and rooms for examination of goods to or from Japan.

It was in 1679 that these buildings were all erected by Japanese workmen from Tsushima but at Korean expense. [page 10] They were two years in building them. The total cost was 9,000 bags of rice and silver 6,000 ounces. As this station was built close to the sea it was supposed that the houses would deteriorate rapidly, so workmen were permanently stationed there to effect repairs. As soon as the houses were built they were destroyed by fire. This occurred in 1680, but in 1684 the work was again begun and was finished in 1690. Repairs were effected in 1700. From that time on repairs were made from time to time until 1874 when, in the first year of the present ruler, the buildings were repaired for the last time.

SALARIES OF PERMANENT OFFICIALS AT THE TRADING POST.

The two men who acted as masters of ceremonies at all official functions received a monthly salary of one bag and nine pecks of rice, twelve pecks of beans and two pieces of cotton cloth. Besides this, between the third and eighth moons, they received extra for tiffin at noon. These were the highest permanent officials on the post. Next came the secretaries who received one bag of rice and six pecks of beans. The three gate-keepers each received ten pecks of rice and two pieces of linen. The thirty cadets, some of whom acted as interpreters, received each six pecks of rice a month. The man who had charge of the guest house received six pecks of rice. The four messengers received each six pecks of rice. The two grooms received between the third and eighth moon three pieces of cotton cloth or in lieu of this 450 cash. During the rest of the year they received one piece of cotton or 150 cash. The master of the gate keepers received his pay in linen cloth. The men who furnished fuel received for the fuel during spring and summer 1,836 cash and during autumn and winter 2,004 cash. So the total cost of fuel for a year was only 3,840 cash.

PASSPORTS.

Every man who wished to enter the Station had to be provided with a wooden tag on one side of which was [page 11] written the characters **** and on the the other the date and the seal of the envoy who was temporarily in charge. This seal was burned into the wood.

SEATING AT BANQUETS.

Upon the arrival of a Japanese envoy there was first the tea drinking ceremony. At this the Korean commissioner sat facing the south and opposite him the Japanese envoy facing the north while between them on either side were two lines of Koreans and Japanese the former facing the east and the latter the west.

At the banquets which followed this order was reversed, the Korean commissioner facing the west and the Japanese the east.

RECEIVING THE GIFTS.

Upon the arrival of the Japanese envoy the presents which he brought to the Korean Government were carefully

examined by the Korean officials, wrapped carefully in paper and placed together in the center of the examination house. Then the Japanese envoy and the Korean commissioner came in their court dress and, standing on either side of the pile of gifts, bowed ceremoniously as if in the presence of royalty. The same ceremony was gone through when the gifts from the Korean Government were to be shipped to Japan.

THE RECEPTION CEREMONY.

When the Japanese envoy disembarked he was ushered into the enclosure of the Trading Station by way of the west gate and took his stand facing the east. The Commissioner sent from Seoul to meet him stood facing the south. The Korean master of ceremonies stood with the envoy. The prefect of Tongna stood with the commission. On the south side stood a servant who burned incense. On the east and west were placed red umbrellas. On either side stood Korean boys who chanted in the Japanese language. Then the Envoy and the Commissioner [page 12] both of whom were in court dress bowed ceremoniously to each other four times. They went into the reception hall and had a feast, where there were flowers, music and dancing. First they pledged each other in nine cups of wine in a solemn manner beginning with the Envoy and going down through the different ranks of Japanese and Koreans. Young Korean boys acted as waiters.

The ceremony of receiving the gifts was as follows. The Korean officials clad in white linen court robes with long flowing sleeves entered from the east and took their places on the north side of the apartment. The Japanese were stationed on the south side and the gifts were placed between the two parties. Candles made of bean oil and beeswax were lighted and incense was burned. Then both parties bowed before the gifts. Japanese interpreters were introduced and through them the ceremonial greetings were expressed.

There also was the ceremony of the exchange of perfumes. A special day was selected from the calendar, that would be most auspicious and on that day the Japanese brought out their perfume and the Koreans brought theirs and a ceremonious exchange was made with many genuflections and mutual compliments.

In cases where the Japanese Envoys could not come to Seoul there was a sort of mock audience arranged at the port, which resembled a real one except, of course, that the King was not present. The governor of the province personated the King at such functions. The Japanese presented such memorials as they had prepared, offered their congratulations and went through the regular forms of an audience. Cheers were given as now with the "Man-se, man-se" or the "Ch'un-se, Ch'un-se." The Japanese wore dark clothes but at these functions they wore white badges of some kind to distinguish them.

If the ceremony happened to be at the time when a King had died there was the additional ceremony of the changing of the fo-su or seal which the Daimyo of Tsushima held from the Korean Government. This was prepared in Seoul. It was a brass seal with the name [page 13] Tsushima written on the side. It was inclosed in a bees box, wrapped in cotton and carried to Fusan to give the Envoy.

Retrospect of 1903.

The past year has been full of important events for Korea. We cannot say that it has been a year of progress but it has seen a steady movement toward an in-, evitable end and as the year opens there is every sign that a crisis in the history of the country has arrived.

In January Yi Yong-ik, who had gone to Port Arthur, returned to Korea without successful opposition. Whether this was for his country's good remains to be seen, but at any rate it has exercised a tremendous influence over the course of events during the past year, whether for good or ill. As soon as he returned he ordered a large invoice of rice from Annam and by so doing probably prevented a great deal of suffering in the capital. This, among the common people, is his one redeeming act. At about this time Yi Keun-tak began cultivating the good graces of Yi Yong-ik and with such good success that in the latter months of the year he gave promise of superseding his master. These two men dominated the situation and there can be no doubt whatever that the condition in which the country now finds itself is directly due to the policy of this duumvirate. That policy is illustrated by two significant acts which were at least attempted in January. The first was the attempt of Yi Keun-tak to have Mr. Waeber appointed to an important post as adviser to the Korean Government but it was foiled, so report has it, by the opposition of the Russian Minister. Yi Yong-ik, on the other hand, added to his record as a financier by securing the foundation of The Central Bank of Seoul. This of course was in opposition to the Japanese who have always demanded that the Korean Government should have a reliable currency. Japanese trade had been suffering severely because of the deterioration of Korean currency [page 14] and the Dai Ichi Ginko had, with the consent of the Korean Government, issued a bank note to be circulated only in Korea. Yi Yong-ik was always the determined enemy of this movement which looked toward the strengthening of Japanese influence here, and the Central Bank idea which included the scheme of putting out

Korean bank notes was a direct act of hostility, and yet could not be taken up by the Japanese, as it did not directly infringe upon their rights.

In February, however, the opposition to the Japanese bank notes took form in the fatuous placards posted about the city threatening the people with all sorts of dire punishments if they dared to circulate the Japanese notes. As a piece of financiering this act hardly has its parallel in history. It was a severe blow not only at the Japanese but at the Koreans as well, who held hundreds of thousands of this money. The result was an immediate and heavy run on the Japanese Bank, the suspension of many business plans and a general upheaval in the monetary conditions. As a natural result the Japanese Government took hold of the matter with a firm hand and within a few days forced the Koreans to stultify themselves, by taking it all back, apologizing abjectly and posting notices that were diametrically opposed to the former ones. In this same month the budget for the year was published showing that the revenue amounted to about eleven millions in Korean money and the disbursements about an equal sum. This month also saw the appointment of a commissioner to proceed to Whangha Province and investigate the charges made against Roman Catholic adherents. We need not enlarge upon this subject except to say that the charges were proved and a scandalous condition of things revealed which was settled later by the condemnation of several of the leading disturbers of the peace.

March began with a rather significant event. The government subsidized the two native daily papers of Seoul, the only native dailies in the country. It also wasted some of its revenues in the purchase of a so-called man-of-war from Japanese. It later thought better of [page 15] this and tried to get out of it, but without success.

April brought another kind of difficulty. Russia had secured a concession on the Yalu for the cutting of timber. It was understood that Korea was to have one fourth of the net proceeds of the business, but in April when the Russians began to cut the timber it was found that Koreans were not supposed to take any cognizance of the work nor to watch proceedings in their own interests to find out how much timber was cut or what it brought in the market. The most valuable asset of the Korean government was thus definitely and forever lost. The same month saw a quarrel on the island of Quelpart between Japanese and Koreans which necessitated the presence of a Japanese gun-boat.

May saw a further advance of Russia in the north when her first gun-boat anchored in Yongampo. Russia obtained some sort of hold on that port and by so doing demonstrated to the Japanese more clearly than by anything else that Russia did not intend to confine her operations to Manchuria.

The month of June passed with comparative quiet except for the attempt to blow up Yi Yong-ik at the Japanese hospital in Seoul. How this was done or by whom has never transpired. An official census of the capital and suburbs gave the population as 194,100, but this is surely an under-estimate.

The rainy season of July seems to have kept everybody quiet.

August witnessed the departure of Hyun Sang-geun for Europe where he hoped to raise a loan for the Korean government and do some other impossible things. At about this same time there began a discussion as to the opening of Eui-ju to foreign trade. In September the Russians began to carry on operations at Yong-ampo which were believed to be fortifications.

October was an especially busy month. It saw an accident on the Seoul electric road which led to a miniature riot in which a Japanese shop was wrecked. The report arrived that Russian guns were being landed at Yongampo. The Japanese were employed to handle the annual ginseng [page 16] crop. The eighth passed without Russia redeeming her pledge to evacuate Manchuria. A treaty was signed between China and the United States by the terms of which Alukden and Antong were to be, or rather are to be, opened to foreign trade next October. A guard of twenty-six men came to the Russian Legation. A Belgian gentleman was appointed adviser to the household department. Mr. Hagiwara of the Japanese Legation in Seoul went to Yongampo but was refused permission to land. Russia prevented the joining of the Korean Telegraph system with the Chinese. The Home Minister was cashiered for selling offices. Exchange went down to its lowest point, one yen bringing over two and a half Korean dollars. The Seoul-Chemulpo and Seoul-Fusan Railroads were joined under the latter name.

In November occurred a serious riot in Chemulpo between Japanese and Russian sailors which threatend to make complications. The government stopped the coining of nickels. The Russians named Yongampo Port Nicholas. The Western Palace at Pyeng-yang was finished. U Pom-sun the refugee in Japan was assassinated. A riot occurred in Mokpo between Japanese and Korean coolies.

December was spent in efforts on the part of various foreign representatives to induce the Korean Government to open a port in the north. All these attempts were blocked by Russia and the new year opened with Korea firmly impaled upon the Russian horn of the dilemma.

Such are some of the most prominent events during the year 1903 in Korea and they all point one way. They have demonstrated the absolute necessity which faces Japan of showing her hand in Korea, and that in no uncertain way or of seeing her commerce ruined and all her efforts of the past three decades come to naught. We are not desirous of seeing war. Almost anything were better than that. But when two radical ideas come in opposition to each other and are not only different but radically incompatible there is little room for compromise.

Were Russian and Japanese interests both of a commercial nature there might be some hope of a compromise. [page 17] Were they both of a merely strategic nature they might come to an understanding, but as it is there seems to be little hope of such an issue. It becomes rightminded men therefore to look at the question impartially and decide each for himself on which side right lies, if on either side exclusively, or on which side it preponderates. This suggests several questions.

- (1) The success of which contention will bring the greatest good to the greatest number?
- (2) The contention of which of the contestants in this threatened war is based upon the tenets of recognized international justice?
- (3) What does each stand to lose in case there is no war?
- (4) What does each stand to gain or lose in case of war?
- (5) The success of which party will mean the most good to Korea?
- (6) What has history to say as to the relative benefits that Korea has received from Japan and Russia respectively and what may be argued from the past as to the probable benefits that Korea would receive should either the one or the other withdraw from Korea?

It would be presumptuous for us to attempt to answer questions of such moment as these without having much more data than we have. Our interest in the matter is of two kinds, general and particular. We want especially to know what is best for Korea. There are those who say that in any case Korea must lose her autonomy and become a mere appendage of one of the two hostile powers, and they argue that this would be a good thing, on the ground that this country does not contain material out of which a good government can be formed. This sounds much like saying that New York cannot be well governed simply because Tammany is temporarily in power. We believe that material exists in Korea out of which could be built a fairly efficient government. It may be that outside help might be required for a short time while this material was being hunted up [page 18] and the decks cleared for action, but that it could be done we fully believe.

But there is one difficulty in the way. It would be of no use, for instance, to have half a dozen powers guarantee the independence of Korea and then leave her to her own devices. The same difficulties which now oppress her would come again. In order to have anything like order restored in Korea it is necessary that besides having her real independence declared some one or more of the powers should with her consent be appointed to give her the assistance which she needs in order to get things into proper running order. We are talking now of what Korea needs, not of what she seems to want nor what she seems likely to get in the near future.

Some think that to make Korea a buffer state would settle the difficulty yet it takes but a glance to see that Korea is not in a situation to be a buffer state, for she is essential to the plan of Japan's commercial and industrial expansion and she is essential to the plan of Russia's territorial aggrandizement in the Far East. If you put a piece of bread between two hungry men one of two things is going to happen; either they will divide it or else one will get the whole of it. Humiliating and unjust as this may be to Korea it is fact and must be faced. And yet this simile is not wholly applicable to the situation; for while the two hungry men want the bread for the same purpose the interests of these two powers in Korea are of an entirely different nature. As everyone knows, Japan desires to see the Korean government established on a progressive basis and to be administered in such a manner that the people shall have the greatest incentive to industry and enterprise, for in this way alone can the resources of the country be developed both for Korea's good and Japan's as well. The railroad which the Japanese are building from Fusan to Seoul cannot but be of enormous benefit to the Korean people in spite of the sneers of some who think that the Japanese are intending to use it as an entering wedge for the accomplishment of some purpose inimical to the interests of Korea. The attitude which the Japanese have taken toward the [page 19] matter of coinage is one that is thoroughly in the interests of Korea. Can anyone deny that the Japanese trade with Korea is a valuable thing for this country? And if so anything that tends to destroy that trade is an injury to the country. The demands for the opening of more ports to foreign trade are also in line with this same idea, the opening up of Korea's resources.

Again, which one of the points of Japan's policy in Korea is not in direct line with the policy of the open door? Everything she has done in regard to the currency, in regard to opening ports, in regard to the encouragement of good government is as much to the interest of British, American, German and Russian trade as it is to Japanese trade.

Such is Japan's evident policy in Korea. As to Russia's policy the public can not be so sure, for Russia seldom explains her policy in advance; but it is natural to suppose that the development of her vast Siberian

domain would be the main point in her Eastern policy. In this great and laudable work the whole world without exception wishes her success. Every acre of arable land added to the grain producing area of the world is a distinct triumph. In the development of Siberia the great railroad that Russia has built must play an important part, nor should anyone object to seeing Russia have a commercial outlet on the Yellow Sea. As this is necessary to the development of Siberia she has a right to it; but Russia is not much interested in Korean trade nor in any object that makes for the direct advancement of the Korean people. We look in vain for any evidence of increasing prosperity in Korea due to the moral ascendancy which Russia has exercised during the past three years or more. It would be difficult to explain how the present state of Korean finances and government could injure Russia in any way, while on the other hand they are a serious detriment to Japanese trade.

It should be no small consideration with thinking men that what will conduce to Japanese interests in Korea will also conduce to the welfare of the Korean people themselves.

[page 20] If we ask what Russians interests are in Korea we must frankly confess that we do not know. If we take the Russian press as evidence, it would seem that Korea is strategically necessary to Russia. If it is true that she wants to get a port in southern Korea which she handle as she has Port Arthur, than the Russian press is apparently correct. There is no considerable Russian trade in Korea, and geographical considerations seem to point in the same direction as the Russian papers have pointed. In what way the realization of this policy on the part of Russia will benefit Korea it is hard to see. We do not know that any Russian publicist has tried to show how it would help the people of Korea. In the absence of any definite statement or any evident plan on the part of the northern power it must be left to time to decide. We wish that someone thoroughly acquainted with the Russian side of the question would give to the world the ways in which predominant Russian influence in Korea would be of benefit to the people of the peninsula. We do not doubt there are arguments, but we have never seen than frankly stated and therefore are not in a position to compare them with the Japanese side. We do know that the demands which Japan makes on Korea do not include a single point that will not work as much to the interests of every other treaty power as to Japan herself. If the advocates of Russian predominance in the peninsula can make as good a showing as this, no reasonable man can object.

Odds and Ends.

Lie on the left side

There is a Korean proverb which says "Even if a tiger catches you, if you keep your wits about you, you may live." This is used when speaking of some great calamity or danger, that there is always some way of escape if one has the wit to find it. The proverb is based upon the general belief that a tiger will not eat a man who lies on [page 21] his left side. This is because *tiger* corresponds to "West" and *dragon* to "East." Now with the head to the north and the feet to the south a man's left side will be toward the east, the dragon side, and his right side toward the west, the tiger side. So when a tiger catches you by the ear (that is not complimentary as to the size of your ear, but "that is never mind") and swings you across his shoulder and makes for his den, just do some tall thinking for a few minutes and when the brute drops you on the ground just roll over on your left side and you will be quite safe. He dare not touch you. Just put this in your note book for future reference. It may come in handy .

A fortune-teller's dilemma.

A high official conceived the idea of going incognito to a blind fortuneteller and having his fortune told. Donning poor garments as a disguise he went to the fortune teller's house and consulted him. The blind man fumbled his book and then opened it at random. His finger rested on the character 問 which means "to ask" but the 門 means "gate" and the 口 means mouth, so the fortune-teller said, "It is plain that you will become a beggar for he opens his mouth in every man's gate." The official smiled, paid the fee and departed: The next day he happened to be talking with the young prince and told him the joke on himself, how he was to become a beggar. The prince laughed with him but then said : "We could have a good joke on that fortune teller aud get some fun out of him. Call him in and make him tell my fortune, and when he opens the book tell him that it is this same character that his finger is on. Then we will see how he gets out of telling me that I will become a beggar."

They did this very thing, the fortune teller prostrated himself and then opened the book. Aha, he had struck the character 問. "Now what do you make of it my good man? Yesterday you interpreted it for somebody, I believe. Let us see whether you can do as much for me." The poor fellow saw he was trapped but he thought as

quick as lightning and said without even seeming to consider the matter :

[page 22] "Circumstances alter cases. Now you will see that this character 問, if looked at from the left side only, becomes * which means king and if looked at from the other side it is * or king turned around; so from whichever side you are looked upon the beholder will see king all over you. You will surely succeed your royal father on the throne" The two jokers had to laugh at their own discomfiture and as the fortune teller passed out the gate with a substantial reward in his sleeve he muttered to himself: "Its a mighty small hole that a fortune-teller of my experience cannot crawl out of."

Sorcery Exposed.

A Korean gentleman never allows a mudang or sorceress to perform her incantations at his house, but in this case there was an exception to the rule. The gentleman's wife was so anxious to have it that he reluctantly assented : but he was determined to test the truth of the mudang's professions. So he secretly removed one the heads of the double ended drum that she would use in her incantation, stuffed a tiger skin into the belly of the drum and then replaced the head. The hour came for the ceremony to being. The mudang arrived in all her fantastic toggery, the food and drink were all placed in order on the tables, and there seemed to be no obstacle to the performance of her ghost' function. But when the music struck up, the drum, instead of booming out as usual, only emitted a snarl. This called for immediate consideration. The mudang declared that it was because the spirits were displeased that the food was not good enough, and the silk and cotton cloth used in the ceremony were not sufficient. The gentleman said, "Oh, is that all? Well, give her more food and silk, to her heart's desire." This was done but still the drum refused to "go." The mudang then declared that it was because some of the dishes or utensils were dirty. They were all examined and cleaned but still the drum would only snarl. At last a blind exorcist was sent for. He might be able to solve the mystery. He was told what the matter was and heard the sound of the bewitched drum. Then he cast the dice with which he was accustomed to tell fortunes and [page 23] pronounced the following enigma: "When a tiger catches a dog he roars but when a dog tries to catch a tiger there is only a plaintive whine." When the gentleman heard this he clapped his hands and laughed a full minute. "Take the head off that drum." It was done, and out rolled the tiger skin. "You see it was the dog that caught the tiger." For drum-heads are made of dogskin. The mudang was therefore driven away and all the food and silk were given to the exorcist. The blind are proverbially quick of ear and the man's ready wit probably divined the cause of the trouble and improvised the clever enigma.

Editorial Comment.

The Kobe Chronicle has again attempted to discredit the position taken by this magazine relative to Korean refugees in Japan and has challenged us to the following question: If the Korean government were wholly dominated by the Roman Catholic element and a price were put on the head of every Protestant, would the Japanese government be justified in sending back Protestant refugees to be dealt with by their enemies in Korea? We answer no, and in so answering we would ask the Chronicle on what page of the Review it found the statement that Korean refugees ought to be sent back to Korea. The Chronicle should choose its questions with more care. In the second place we challenge the editor of that journal to show us the page where the Review stated that economic and international law do not apply in the case of Korea. We still affirm that those sciences are not like mathematics; that only their most general laws are universally applicable; that each economic or international complication must be treated as a case by itself, arguments pro and con must be balanced and the solution found in the preponderance of evidence. There are other international laws beside that of asylum and when we said that "considering all the facts of the case and all that has occurred during the last two decades we may be [page 24] allowed to wonder that Japan should show such highmindedness at such a cost," we were referring to events that it is not pleasant to recall but which the readers of the Chronicle know very well. We said there is no question of the high-mindedness of Japan in giving these men asylum, but if, as we fully believe, Japan is interested in the development and progress of Korea it would be fully as high-minded to ask these men to cross to America and thus relieve Japan of the suspicions of the Korean government which are the main obstacle to Japan's usefulness in the peninsula.

News Calendar

Yi Chi-yong was made Minister of Foreign Affairs on Dec. 30th1903

On the 20th instant the Korean News Company began the publication of a Daily Bulletin in Seoul, giving telegrams from Tokyo and general news. In case of war they propose to have a number of men with the Japanese army.

About the 21st inst. the Korean Government issued a declaration of strict neutrality in view of the apparent approach of war.

Yi Keun-sang has been appointed Minister to Italy.

On the 22nd a young woman alighted from a chair in front of the palace gate, announced that she was the daughter of Heaven and had come to give the Emperor some good advice as to the proper course to pursue in these troublous times. The police took her in hand. It is rather a pity she was not given a chance!

Yi Yong-ik again became Finance Minister on the 27th inst. And Yun Ung-yul became Minister of War on the 25th.

On the 23rd fifty people departed for Hawaii.

General Ichiji arrived on the 22nd to act as Military Attaché of the Japanese Legation.

Rumors of preparations for a great popular uprising in the south are rife. There is something in them, without doubt, and we are likely to see lively times in the Spring.

A painful accident happened on the Electric road outside the South Gate on the 24th. On a steep grade and frosty track the motorman lost control of the car and it ran into a cartman who had been loudly warned but had insolently refused to budge. A crowd gathered and began to stone the car but United States marines arrived promptly on the scene and dispersed them. The Korean police made no attempt to quell the disturbance.

[page 25] Queen Dowager Hong died on the second instant at the age of seventy-three.

On the fourth inst. the Emperor ordered the Home Office to send a proclamation to all the country districts with commands to make every exertion to put down the robbers which infest the country.

A serious movement has begun in the two Southern provinces of Korea where thousands of *ajuns* have been banding together and preparing to raise an insurrection. This is considered by well-informed Koreans to be more serious than the Tonghak uprising of 1893 because of the greater intelligence of its partisans.

Cho Min-heui has been appointed Minister to Japan to which place he will soon start from Washington. Yun Hon has been appointed Minister to the United States.

Ko Yung-geun the assassin of U Pom-son in Japan has been condemned to death and his accomplice has been condemned to imprisonment for life.

At the end of 1903 there were 6,400 Japanese residents of Chemulpo.

On Dec. 27th fifty more Koreans started for Hawaii to engage in work on the sugar plantations.

The barley imported by the Japanese is estimated by the Koreans to amount to 20,000 bags.

The Italian Minister early in January intimated to the Foreign Office that as the Korean Government had granted gold mining concessions to various other nationalities it would be proper to grant one to an Italian company.

On January 5th a United States Legation guard of thirty-six men arrived in Seoul. The U. S. gunboat Vicksburg and the transport Zafiro from Manila had arrived in Chemulpo a few days before. A protest was made by the Foreign Office on the ground that the Korean soldiers were sufficient to secure quiet in Seoul. The American Minister replied to the effect that such protection was not deemed sufficient and that a further force would be brought in to guard the property of the Seoul Electric Company's property.

On Jan. 6th thirty additional Russian soldiers marched up from Chemulpo. This also brought forth a protest from the Foreign Office.

According to custom the Korean people of Seoul donned the mourning garb for the late Queen Dowager and proclamation was sent throughout the country ordering all classes to do the same and to turn their faces toward Seoul and wail.

The night of January 6th was excessively cold and owing to this eight Korean soldiers deserted and fled. The rumors of wholesale desertion on the part of Korean soldiers seems to have been false. These eight men were Pyeng Yang soldiers.

Japanese residents of Fusan are said to number upwards of 13,000.

On the eighth inst. a British Legation Guard of twenty men arrived in Seoul and on the following day the Russian guard was increased by the arrival of forty-five more men.

[page 26] Yi Po-hyun bought 2,000 bags of rice at Chemulpo, transported them by sea to Kang-neung on the eastern coast, and distributed them among people who are suffering for want of food. They cannot praise him highly enough, and demand that he be given office.

Early in January the Japanese brought eleven Gatling guns into Chemulpo and immediately transported them to Seoul.

The Emperor of Japan sent a message of condolence to the Korean Court on the occasion of the death of Queen Dowager Hong.

Six hundred thousand dollars have been appropriated to cover the expenses of the funeral of the Queen Dowager.

The gate of the apartment where the body of the late Queen Dowager lies is guarded day and night by thirteen members of the peddlars guild.

All operations have been suspended both by Japanese and Korean pawn-shops. This entails an enormous amount of suffering on the people, thousands of whom depended upon loans from these places. The suspension is of course due to fears of disturbances.

On Jan. 8th the Emperor put forth an edict stating that the condition of the government was anything but ideal and that there must be a radical change. He ordered that all mudang, fortune-tellers and others of the same ilk be expelled from the palace.

On the 9th inst twenty-two Italian soldiers arrived to act as a legation guard in Seoul.

The impression has prevailed generally among foreigners all through the month that there was more or less danger of Korean insurrection in Seoul. This led to extra precautions on the part of most foreigners. The electric car motormen were under strict orders to go slowly for fear of some accident which might precipitate trouble. The common people have been however very apathetic and the curious tirades of one of the daily native papers seem to have caused very little excitement. The Koreans have seemed unable to realize that the coming of half a dozen legation guards is but a precautionary or preventative measure but the wonder has been of a very mild character.

In Yong-in the owner of a fine bullock refused an offer of 900,000 cash for his beast. The man who made the offer sued the owner before the magistrate for charging so much for the animal! The magistrate gave them both a beating and sent them about their business!

Besides the \$600,000 appropriated for the funeral expenses of Queen Dowager Hong, the Emperor donated \$10,000 out of his private purse for incidental expenses which the commission may incur.

The members of the Household Department in Tokyo have decided to assume mourning for nine days in honor of the late Queen Dowager.

On the 9th inst. thirty-one more Koreans started for Hawaii.

There are one hundred and six prisoners in the central prison in Seoul .

The Whale-fishing Japanese Company have secured a twelve years extension of their franchise.

[page 27] Nine secondary bureaus and commissions have been abolished for reasons of economy. They are the Famine Relief Bureau, Irrigation Bureau, Government Hospital, the Buddhist Monastery Bureau, Bureau of Decorations, Bureau of Surveys, Imperial Library Bureau, Bureau of Weights and Measures and the Supreme Court. The latter has not been actually abolished but merged into the Law Department,

Hyun Sang-geun, who was sent to Europe last Autumn to raise a loan for Korea, returned via Siberia and arrived in Seoul on the 11th inst. strongly impressed with the might and prestige of Russia. We hear that he told the Emperor that Japan would have no chance against the northern power, but we are unaware of his having made a careful investigation of Japanese military and naval resources.

Directly opposite reports are given of the advice sent by Yi Pomchin, Minister at St. Petersburg, to the Emperor. Some say he advised the Emperor to make friends with the Japanese and others say he advised him to cleave to Russia.

On the 12th inst. Yen 4,000 were appropriated for the support of Prince Eui-wha in America.

Great suffering is being caused in Kong-ju by the failure of the semi-annual fair. People are afraid of highwayman and war rumors are rife; so neither buyers nor sellers came up to the fair and the people of the town find it extremely difficult to get rice at any price. A foreigner recently offered to pay any reasonable figure for a few bags of rice but found it impossible to buy. No one would even name a figure.

Kil Yung su advised the Emperor to place Pyeng-yang soldiers as guards of the palace instead of Seoul men and there would be no possibility of trouble. Hardly complimentary to the Seoul soldiers!

Yi Nam-heui, Supreme Judge in Seoul, informed His Majesty personally that the Japanese were planning to depose His Majesty and place Prince Eui-wha on the throne. For this breach of etiquette the Judge was immediately imprisoned and if the matter is pressed he may lose his life.

The exodus from Seoul, for fear of trouble, has begun though as yet not many have gone. A few high officials have sent their families and valuables to the country.

The number of Korean policemen in each of the open ports has been lowered to thirty except in Chemulpo and Fusan and at these places forty have been left.

There is evidently some anxiety at home over news of possible danger to foreigners in Seoul, as telegrams have been coming to many private individuals inquiring as to their safety. It is a pity that sensational reports should have been sent home at such a time as this.

On the 14th Sim Sang-hun was appointed Minister of Finance.

On the 13th Ex-Prime Minister Cho Pyungse told His Majesty that in the present disturbed state of things it was necessary first to deprive Yi Yong-ik and Yi Keun-tak of power and then matters could be settled on a safe and satisfactory basis.

The annual stone fights have begun outside the East and West

[page 28] gates. It is rather early for this sort of thing but evidently the people feel more enthusiastic about it than is their custom.

On the 10th inst. Baron Gunzberg removed all his effects from his home in Sa-jik-kol to the Russian Legation .

From the Che-guk Sin-mun.

It has been generally believed by foreigners in Seoul that the editorials lately appearing in the Che-guk Sin-mun are offensive and even threatening to foreigners. If so it is a rather serious matter. We have made a careful investigation of the matter both by translation of the editorials and by interviews with the editor of the paper in question. In the first place the Editor disclaims any intention of speaking disrespectfully or injuriously about foreigners and he disavows any intention of exciting the populace against them. He grants that what he has written might perhaps cause a little feeling against foreigners among the more ignorant people but he claims that they already had that feeling. If he has increased that feeling it was with no intention of so doing. Whether his statement is a candid one or not we do not know but we give it for what it is worth. And now let us examine briefly what has been said. In the Jan. 12 issue the editorial bewails the condition of the country, saying that though a new year has begun the people have not prepared for it, that robbers swarm in the country because of the oppression of the prefects, that in the open ports many foreigners come, especially Chemulpo, where foreign soldiers swarm, that Japan and Russia quarrel over Yongsampo regardless of the rights of Korea in the matter, that the whole Korean people seem to be asleep, that many foreign soldiers come to Seoul and the Koreans can see no reason for it. Then comes an expression that has been misinterpreted by foreigners. The Editor says "What are the Korean soldiers good for? Why have they been training all these years?" This has been interpreted to mean that if the Korean soldiers had been good for anything they would have successfully opposed the entrance of foreign soldiers; but it is safe to say that no Korean so understands it. It simply means that if the Korean soldiers had been up to the standard, foreigners would have relied on them for protection instead of sending for foreign soldiers. It is simply a criticism of the Korean army, on the ground that foreigners could not put faith in them. The Editor goes on to ask what the "peddlars" are good for. He denounces them as useless. If there had been any intention of inciting people to insurrection this hardly would have been said. His next statement is open to rather more objection. He says that foreigners go about the town with glowering faces and evidently intent on serious business while the Koreans slouch along as if cowed. The implication is natural that the foreigners are oppressing the Koreans and doubtless among certain classes this statement might be a cause of additional anti-foreign feeling. The term used in describing the foreigners in this sentence just quoted is that there was *sal keui* in their looks. This *sal keui* (***) means "killing [page 29] force." but this is an hyperbola often used by Koreans in describing the looks of an angry man and so it is not so offensive an expression as its literal force might imply. It is the exact equivalent of our expression "There was murder in his eye." But even so the sentence is sufficiently offensive, and suggestively so, to excite the people of the lower orders and the Editor is much to blame for indulging in such exaggerations, especially as the facts do not bear him out. There has been no more truculency in the looks of foreigners of late than there has always been. He drew upon his imagination for the whole thing. At such a time as this such statements are doubly reprehensible. He goes on to charge the police with being quite useless, and the people with exchanging falsehoods, (which in view of the above would include his own.) Then after bewailing the fact that there are no officials who will speak the word which will break the deadlock and free the government from the charge of supineness he says there is no man who will shoulder his axe and come forth to help the country. This sounds very incendiary and may be so to some Koreans but very many of the people know that this refers to Choe Ik-byon who in the year 1873, when another high official secured the imposition of a tax upon wood merchants, took an axe. went to the palace gate and placing his written memorial upon the axe waited for it to be presented to His Majesty the present Emperor. The memorial denounced the tax and said "If my words are not true, take this axe and kill me but if they are true take it and kill the man who proposed this tax." The editor means there is no man bold and patriotic enough to tell the truth to the Emperor even though it might cost his life. We hold no brief for the editor of the Che-guk Sin-mun and there can be no doubt that his writing in this vein is worse than useless but in common fairness we should give him what benefit of the doubt there may be and in censuring him not follow his own example of exaggeration. But on the 22nd inst. this same editor lashes himself into a verbal frenzy and makes all sorts of absurd charges against the foreigners and gives every evidence of trying to cover up the weakness and pusillanimity of the present officials by an outburst of vituperation against those who because of that very weakness have been obliged to bring in foreign guards to defend themselves. On the whole this attempt on the part of the editor to relieve his pent-up feelings is very foolish, and might be very harmful if the people were in the mood to follow his lead.

A Russian and a French engineer employed in the Korean military shops have been released from service under the Korean Government, their terms of contract having expired.

On the 14th inst. forty-one French naval men arrived in Seoul to act as a Legation guard.

On the 16th inst. sixty-four American marines arrived in Seoul and took up their quarters in the Seoul Electric Company's building.

The Koreans report that many white hats have been bought by Japanese and their inference is that many Japanese are going out into the country dressed as Koreans.

[page 30] News comes from foreign residents in Pyeng Yang that Korean soldiers and police are breaking into the houses of all the well-to-do people of that city and stealing their goods. The authorities remonstrated but could effect nothing. The soldiers threaten to disband if they are interfered with. The people can get no redress whatever. At the same time the Tong-hak movement is assuming larger and larger proportions and the local government seems almost to be favoring the movement. Foreigners' houses have not been attacked. Foreigners of long years' residence in Korea say they have never seen such a state of things in the north. An American missionary was lately driven in from one of the neighboring towns and told that if he showed his face there again he would be killed. In this state of things it would not be wondered at that foreigners in the northern city should feel a little uneasy. Our correspondent states positively that the facts as stated, about the soldiers and police, can be fully corroborated.

Many robbers, taking advantage of the frozen river, come across the ice at night and rob houses in the river towns. "Peddlars" have been sent to act as guards for these towns.

There were rumors that the Independence Club was to be revived and so the government sent fifty soldiers to guard the Independence Arch so as to prevent any gathering there. Some former leaders of that Club, so it is reported, desired to start the same movement again under another name, Yu-sin-whe or "Reform Club," but were warned by the police and gave up the idea.

The machinery for making guns, which was imported from Japan, costs yen 180,000. This is to be paid from the Finance Department by order of the Emperor, but in the present state of the national finances we may confidently expect that there will be a little delay in the payment.

In Musan on the northern border Koreans failed in an attempt to drive back Manchu robbers, and 394 houses and 19,820 dollars worth of grain were burned.

Pak Chong-yang has succeeded Min Yong-so as Minister of Education. Ku Yung-jo has succeeded Chong Keui-tak as Chief of Police. Yun Eung-yul was made Minister of War on the 23rd.

Because of the severe cold Yi Yong-ik has distributed four hundred dollars among the men of each of the twelve regiments in Seoul.

Great suffering has attended the severe cold of January. Three people froze to death one night and a woman and a baby at her breast were found frozen one morning.

About the 20th inst. it was reported that Russia had suggested to Japan that northern Korea be made a neutral zone and that Japan exercise predominant influence in the south, but that Japan immediately rejected the proposal.

Yun Chi-ho, under orders from the government, came up to Seoul from Mokpo on the 22nd inst. It is generally believed that he will be given an important post in Seoul.

[page 31] Rev. G. L. Pearson of Honolulu Hawaii sends the following for publication, about the Koreans in Hawaii.

The Koreans who have come to Hawaii have found ready employment. With the exception of a few incidents they have received good treatment and they generally are well pleased with their homes, advantages and prospects. A few have come who are not at all fitted for the work, being unused to hard toil, having too little strength or an enfeebled health. A small number of such characters are dissatisfied and are a burden to the Korean community. Men who are unable or unwilling to work find a hard time in Hawaii as do all such persons in any country. Nearly all are industrious and are hopeful.

Our public schools are open to Korean children. Where schools are located near plantations many are able to take the opportunity of learning English. The religious work for the Koreans is being done by the Methodist Episcopal Church, there being no organized bodies of Presbyterians or Baptists. The Hawaiian Board of Missions which affiliates with the Congregational Church on the main land, is not intending to give any special attention to this work, thus leaving the field to the Methodists. We have organized a class wherever there

is any considerable number of Koreans and are doing work under the supervision of the Presiding Elder, by Korean Local Preachers, Exhorters and Bible Teachers. We are giving it our best attention and are hopeful of conserving the work already done for these people and of carrying on the work of evangelization.

It would be a great advantage to me if all protestant Missionaries in Korea, would send me the names, certificates of membership, and advices concerning any of their members, or flock, who may come to Hawaii. This would enable me to more wisely select men for the responsible positions in our societies, to assign believers to their proper classes and to give special attention to the needs they may severally have.

I am pleased to say that the loyalty, zeal, spiritual power, observance of the Sabbath etc., on the part of the Koreans who are here testify to the thorough work of the Missionaries in Korea.

On Jan. 3rd a great fire occurred in Taiku which threatened the whole city but it was brought under control.

Real estate is going up rapidly in Taiku. This is due to the influx of Japanese merchants. The woman's winter training class of the Presbyterian mission has grown from fifteen to forty. The present governor is not very friendly to Japanese. The report circulated recently that any Korean who sold land or houses to Japanese would be beheaded. The Seoul-Fusan railway passes the city to the south running east and west but does not touch the city proper nor will it necessitate the tearing down of any houses. The station will be not far from the south gate. The missionaries (Protestant) of Taiku have opened a sleeping-room for the beggar boys and some thirty-five enjoy its hospitality. Nothing could be more pitiable than their lot.

[page 33] KOREAN HISTORY.

In spite of the oath that he had taken, the young king built a separate shrine to his father and worshiped at it in the same manner as at the ancestral temple. This was in accord with the letter of the oath, for he religiously refrained from calling his father by that name. He likewise honored the memory of his father by decreeing that if anyone mentioned the fact that he had been enclosed in a box and starved to death it would mean death. He banished the son of the princess who had encompassed his father's death. The highhanded Hong In-han who had worked so hard to prevent his accession was first banished to Yosan and enclosed in a thorn hedge, and then was poisoned by royal edict.

Being without issue, the king, at the instigation of his mother, took a concubine, the sister of one of his favorites, Hong Kuk-yung. This resulted very unfortunately, for when this concubine died her father was drawn into treasonable operations.

Many of the present customs of Korea date from this reign. The king first made the law that after the closing of the gates, they could not be opened except by special permission from himself.

It was in his first year that the scholar Kwun Chul-sin gathered about him a company of disciples and went to a mountain retreat to study. They possessed one copy of a Christian work. This they diligently studied, and one and all determined to adopt the belief there inculcated. So far as they understood it, they practiced its teachings in secret.

Two years later the king took as a second concubine the daughter of Yun Chang-yun, and Hong the father of the first concubine, because of his opposition to it, was banished.

[page 34] Up to this time very few officials had been drawn from the northern provinces or from Song-do, but now the king decreed that they were as worthy to receive office as any others and said that they should share in the gifts of the government. He ordered that a record be kept of all the decisions in council and that they be preserved in a book called the Il-deuk-rok. Those were days of severe famine in the land and the king did all in his power to relieve the distress, giving from his private treasure large quantities of silver bullion, black pepper and dyewood, things of great value in Korea.

In the year 1783 strange rumors were afloat. It was said that war had been declared against Korea by some foreign power which was about to throw an immense army into the peninsula. No one knew where it was to come from, but many believed it was Japan. The excitement grew so strong that crowds of people fled to the country, and so great was the influx into the southern provinces that real estate rose rapidly in value. Such was the haste of these deluded people that on the road families became separated and children were lost. Out of pity for the latter the king founded an asylum in Seoul for their maintenance.

Yi Tuk-cho of Kyong-ju was one of the men who had accepted the teachings of the Roman Catholic books and in this year he induced a young attaché of the embassy to Peking to look up the missionaries there and get such light as he could on the subject. This young man, Yi Sung-hun, met at Peking the Portugese Alexaudré de Govea of the Franciscan order. He accepted Christianity and was baptized under the name of Pierre. He brought back with him many books, crosses, images, and other religious emblems. Some of these he gave to Yi Tuk-cho who redoubled his studies and at the same time began to do some proselyting. Two of his

most celebrated converts were two brothers Kwun Ch'ul-sin and Kwun Il-sin of Yang-geun, thirty miles from Seoul. This town is called the birth place of Roman Catholicism in Korea. Yi Tuk-cho took the baptismal name of Jean Baptiste and Kwun Il-sin that of Francois Xavier. The propagation of the Christian faith soon began in Seoul and from there rapidly spread in the south.

In 1785 the Minister of Justice began active operations [page 35] against the new faith and in the third moon of that year a courtier memorialized the king on the subject. This caused the defection of many of the converts.

In 1786 Kim Yi-so informed the king that when envoys came back from China they brought in their train many Catholic books, which caused a "conflagration" in the country, and he denounced it as a bad religion. He said the books were flooding the land and that the only way to stop it was to make Eui-ju, on the border, a customs port and have all baggage strictly examined before being allowed to pass.

Many Chinese had settled on Sin Island off Eui-ju but the Koreans on the adjacent mainland resented it. They collected a considerable band of men and crossed to the island where they burned all the houses of the settlers and destroyed all their property. When the king heard of it he condemned it as a brutal outrage. This year was marked by one of the most destructive scourges that ever visited the country. Cholera swept the land from end to end. It is asserted that 370,979 people perished, among whom was the infant Crown Prince. The government found it necessary to undertake the work of interment. The king gave out from the dispensary 29,000 pills, and in Seoul alone there were 8,149 recoveries. Knowing as we do the frightful ravages of this disease when it takes a virulent turn, the fact that there were over 8,000 recoveries in Seoul indicates that there must have been at least 60,000 deaths. Probably this was more than half the population of the city at that time. It was during this same year that the great mound in Kang-dong, P'yung-an Province, was found. It is some 680 feet in circumference. It was called, from the first, the grave of the Tan-gun, though there is of course no evidence to show that this is more than the merest fancy.

The king had a half brother named Prince Eun-on for whom he had a great affection; but Hong Kuk-Yung whose daughter had been the king's first concubine and had violently opposed a second union, now conspired with two other choice spirits with a view to putting Prince Eun-on on the throne. The vigilant Queen Mother discovered the plot and the conspirators were executed. All likewise demanded the death of the young prince but to this the king would not [page 36] listen. He was forced to banish him to Quelpart, but a short time after had him brought back as far as Kang-wha, where comfortable quarters were provided for him.

The king interdicted the use of silk excepting by very high officials and by very old people. He set up stones to mark the place where the great-grandfather of T'a-jo Ta-wang had lived, where his grandfather had fished and where that king himself had once lived, in Ham-gyung Province. Someone found in P'yung ch'ang, Ham-gyung Province, the grave of T'a-jo Ta-wang's great-grandmother and the king had it repaired and guarded.

Up to that date the women had been accustomed to wear the hair in a great bunch on top of the head as female professional mourners do to-day in Korea. Large amounts of false hair were used and it was decorated with long pins and with flowers. It is said that a full headdress cost as much as the furnishings of a house. The king ordered a change in this expensive custom, and since that day only mourners and palace women have been allowed to wear them.

The city of Su-wun dates its importance from the year 1789, for at that time the king removed his father's grave to that place and went there several times to sacrifice. He secretly called his banished brother from Kang-wha, but when his mother learned of it she made such an ado about it that he was fain to send him back. At Ham-heung, near the ancestral seat of the dynasty, there was an immense tree, so large that ten men holding each other's hands could but just encircle it. The shadow which it cast was "A hundred furrows wide." So goes the story. The king had it enclosed in a wall, as being the place where his great ancestor practiced archery.

The year 1791 will always be memorable for the persecution of the Roman Catholics. During the preceding year the Roman Catholic converts had sent a man to Peking to arrange for the coming of a priest who could administer the sacraments, for the Koreans had been strictly forbidden by the Catholic authorities in China to administer them among themselves without the services of a regularly consecrated priest. At the same time certain important questions about ancestor worship were asked. A priest was promised to the Korean [page 37] church but the answers to the questions about ancestor worship were very unsatisfactory to the Koreans and in consequence there were many defections. It is much to the credit of the Roman propaganda that from the very first it set its face hard against the practice of ancestor worship. In the fifth moon it is said the, "flame of Roman Catholicism burned high." In other words it was discovered then what had been going on quietly for many years. Two men of Chin-san in Chul-la Province were caught and killed because they had burned their ancestral tablets. It was only after long discussion and with great hesitation that the order was given for their decapitation, and at the very last moment, after the men had already been carried to the place of execution, the king changed his mind and sent a reprieve; but it was too late. The king called the new religion not Ch'un-ju-hak or "Religion of the Lord of Heaven," but Sa-hak or "The Deceiving Religion." The Minister Chon Che-gong advised the king to

annihilate all Roman Catholics, but the king answered, "We must do it by elevating Confucianism." He had found the only rational way to deal with religious differences. He said, in substance, let the fittest survive. This is all that Christianity asks in any land, and the opposition of it by force always has been and always will be an acknowledgment of inferiority. The king knew well that China was the source from which the new influences came and he made a very strict law against the bringing across the border of Christian books. An edict was promulgated threatening with punishment all who did not deliver up their Christian books within twenty days, and the prefect of Chin-san, where the two men had been working, was cashiered and forty-nine other prefects were degraded one or two degrees, because Christian converts were numerous in their districts. The Roman Catholic writers attribute the numerous defections at this time to the entire lack of pastoral care, the absence of the sacraments and the paucity of Christian literature.

The king did not live up to his advanced ideas about using physical force to combat Christianity, for in the eleventh moon of this year four high officials who had embraced Christianity were seized and put to death, together with a considerable number of the common people.

[page 38] In 1792 the pope formally put the care of the Korean church in the hands of the Bishop of Peking.

Sacrifices were offered at the tombs of Tangun, Ki-ja, Su-ro-wang (the founder of Karak) and of T'a-jo Ta-wang. Whether this was done to aid in combatting Christianity we are not told but it is not improbable. This was a time of general prosperity among the people and it witnessed a rapid increase in the population of Korea. These things were evidenced by the strong colonizing spirit which sprang up. Thousands flocked northward to the banks of the Yalu and to the islands on the coast, and the area of arable land was largely increased. Two years later this period of prosperity terminated in a terrible famine in all the southern and central provinces, and the government was obliged to dispense 280,000 bags of rice among the sufferers. This same year envoys from the Liu Kiu Islands were well received. The King told them that two hundred years before Liu Kiu officials had been given honorary titles by the king of Korea. In view of the friendly relations that had always existed between Korea and these islands, the envoys were feasted and sent off in grand style. Late in this same year, 1794, the Chinese Roman Catholic priest Tsiou crossed the Yalu and entered Korea. The government was aware of it and his arrest was ordered, but he escaped from Seoul in disguise. Two of his companions were taken, and as they refused to give information as to his whereabouts they were immediately put to death. At the time of his coming the Catholics estimate that there were 400 believers in Korea, but within a very few years the number increased to 6,000.

The year 1796 was signalled by a most important event in the field of letters. In the beginning of the dynasty a fount of 100,000 pieces of moveable copper types had been cast, and these had been supplemented soon after by 200,000 more. Now the king began to add to them. First he put out 50,000 and a year later he added 150,000 more; then 80,000 more were made, and moveable wooden types were made to the number of 320,000. Already during this reign the following works had appeared. "The Gradation of Penalties," "A Commentary on the Chinese Classics," "The Proper Conduct of the king," "The Record of the Decisions in Council," [page 39] "On Korean Customs," "On Military Tactics," "On Forms of Official Correspondence," "On the Science of Government." These were now followed by several editions of military and Confucian works, one of which was a digest of all the Confucian Classics in ninety-nine volumes. The King was a great lover of books and gathered all the best books that could be procured. One work whose publishing he superintended in person reached the modest number of 191 volumes.

The Minister of Finance advised the minting of five-cash pieces but all the officials united in a protest against it and advised retrenchment as the alternative. In this they were right, for the policy of meeting a deficit by minting money could not but be disastrous.

CHAPTER XIII.

A peculiar plague ... a peculiar remedy. . . . a new king . . . various reforms. . . .beginning of the policy of Roman Catholic opposition . . . Christianity and politics. . . .causes of opposition. . . .prisons full. . . . Chinese evangelist killed. . . . a traitorous letter intercepted end of the persecution. . . .conflagration . . . eight severe charges . . . the miners' rebellion . . .siege of Chong-ju . . . the mine explodes . . . Catholics sent to Peking for a priest. . . a long list of calamities. . . . cholera. . . .taxes remitted . . . Europeans fail to enter Korea . . . nine years' famine .. terrible suffering... a new king . . . reform . . .French priests enter Korea . . . the persecution of 1839 . . . the first French naval expedition against Korea . . . The Koreans answer the French charges . . . a new king . . . reforms . . . rapid spread of Christianity . . . consternation upon hearing of the fall of Peking. . . . a noteworthy memorial . . . panic . . . a good opportunity lost . . . a women's riot.

In 1799 a peculiar plague broke out in P'yeng-yang and spread with great rapidity. It began with fever and ague, accompanied by a cough, and death was very sudden. The king decided that if people so afflicted should eat

beef they would recover. So he ordered cattle to be killed and the beef to be distributed among the people. The plague suddenly ceased and the people have always believed that it was the [page 40] marvelous acumen of the king that enabled him to see the remedy and stop the ravages of the disease.

Early in 1800 he made his son heir to the throne, and none too soon, for in the sixth moon he sickened and died. It is said that his death was caused by his mourning over the terrible fate of his father, whose cruel and untimely death preyed upon his mind. Others say that the cause of his death was a malignant boil.

The infant king, known by his posthumous title of Sunjo Ta-wang, was of too tender an age to undertake the duties of royalty and so the government was administered during his minority by his grandmother, the woman who had wielded such a strong influence over his father. She began by instituting various reforms. Outside the West Gate, which was then some distance to the west of the present New Gate, there was a monastery where sorceresses and fortune-tellers congregated. The Queen Mother drove them all out and razed the monastery to the ground. The tax by which the palace body-guard was kept up was very distasteful to the people and it was now remitted. Up to this time the government medical dispensary had been supported by revenue in money or herbs from the country, but this tax was also remitted. If we may believe the records when they say that she freed all the government slaves, we can not but confess that in some directions at least this Queen Regent was of exceeding liberal mind.

It is from the year 1801 that we may date the determined and systematic opposition on the part of the government against the Roman Catholic propaganda in the peninsula. Two other factions had grown up in Seoul, the Si and the Pyuk. The latter were violent opponents of the new religion but they had been held in check by the neutral attitude of the late king. But now he was dead, and the Queen Regent, being a member of that faction, determined to give full rein to the anti-Christian prejudices of her partisans. It must be remembered that the Koreans were extremely sensitive to outside influences. The terrible invasion of the Japanese on the one hand and of the Manchus on the other had made the Koreans hate all suggestions of commerce with the outside world, and they sedulously avoided every possible contact [page 41] with foreigners. This is one of the main causes of the opposition to Christianity. But besides this, they had been told that Roman Catholicism struck at the very foundation of the state and was more than likely to assume a political aspect, a charge which, from the very claims which it puts forth to universal temporal as well as spiritual sovereignty, would be somewhat hard to refute. We can scarcely wonder then that there was severe opposition to it. It was looked upon as a danger which menaced the state. It is said that Roman Catholicism had assumed large proportions in Korea. Many were now seized and put to death. Among them were eleven high officials. Release was granted in case the accused would consent to curse Christ. The agents of this persecution went everywhere haling forth believers from city and village. Soon the prisons were running over. Eleven men were executed in April and fourteen in the following month. It is said that two princesses who had adopted the foreign faith were put to death. It was at this time that Tsiou, the Chinese evangelist, whom the Koreans call Chu Mun-rao, was seized and put to death outside the Little West Gate. He had at first fled north to the Yalu and was on the point of crossing, when he suddenly thought better of it, turned back, gave himself up and heroically met his death.

A Korean named Whang Sa-yong had been instrumental in bringing this Chinaman to preach the faith to his fellowcountrymen. Now that the evangelist was executed this Whang sent out a letter to the European residents of China asking that a military expedition be gotten up to come to the shores of Korea, overthrow the dynasty and set up another in sympathy with the Christian faith. This letter was intercepted, the man seized and cruelly torn to pieces. As to the accuracy of these statements it would be rash to vouch. The contents of that letter may or may not have been what is generally believed by the Koreans, but judging from the active interest which European governments rightly take in missionaries from their shores, it is not unlikely that the letter contained substantially what is here stated. The persecution terminated the following year when the government ordered the execution of those already apprehended but ordered that no more Christians be proceeded against. Between three and [page 42] four hundred people had perished and the church seemed to have been crushed.

It was in this year 1803 that a terrible conflagration swept P'yong-yang, and a thousand houses were destroyed. It was repeated the following year, and it is asserted that almost the entire city was destroyed.

Upon the death of the Queen Regent in 1805 the last remnant of persecution ceased and even the law which prohibited the import of books was allowed to remain a dead letter. Corruption in government circles ran riot. The state of things is well epitomized in a memorial which was sent in at this time, (1) The Ministers spend all their time reading books. (2) Nepotism and bribery are the rule rather than the exception. (3) The judges sit and wait for bribes. (4) The examiners of the candidates' papers receive money in advance, and merit can make no headway against cupidity. (5) The censors have been struck dumb. (6) The prefects do nothing but extort money from the people. (7) Luxury saps the strength and wealth of the land. (8) The whole commonwealth is diseased and rotten to the core.

The year 1811 is marked by an uprising in the north, where Hong Kyong-na attempted to set up a kingdom of his own. He was a resident of P'yung-an Province and was a man of enormous wealth. He was disaffected against the government because the men of his section were discriminated against in the distribution

of offices; so he conferred with the miners who were engaged in digging gold in various places, and he told them an exaggerated story of how ill they were being treated by the government. He ended by proposing that, as he had enough money for them all, they set up a kingdom of their own. The hardy miners, 5,000 in number, accepted the proposal with alacrity and war was on foot. This company of undrilled but hardy miners were formidable and at first carried everything before them. They first took the town of Chongju, putting to death the prefect and his whole family. When news of this reached Seoul the king appointed Yi Yohon as general-in-chief against the rebels. Five thousand soldiers were given him with which to do the work. He acted in a characteristic manner, settled himself comfortably at the governor's house outside the New Gate and called it the [page 43] headquarters. From that point he sent to the front Generals Su Kum-bo, Kim Kye-on and Pak Keui-p'ung. Meanwhile the rebels were carrying everything before them. Ch'ul-san, Ka-san, Song-chun, Yong ch'un, Pakch'un and Son-ch'un fell in quick succession. All the government provisions and arms fell into their hands. The main camp of the rebels was in the vicinity of An-ju and they wished to take that place. Here they met with strenuous opposition and it was only after a desperate struggle that they ever took the town. It took ten days to reduce the place; but the back bone of the revolt was broken before the government troops from Seoul arrived on the scene. The various captains and local commanders joined their forces, and by the time the government troops had collected in Pyung-yang the rebels had been driven into their last remaining fortress, Chong-ju, and were being held in siege. During the retreat of the rebels four of Hong's lieutenants were captured and, being sent to Seoul, were there summarily executed. The reduction of Chong-ju by siege was a work of some time, and the king becoming impatient, supplanted Gen. Pak Kye-p'ung and put Gen. Yu Hyo-wun in his place. The latter immediately decided to attempt to blow up the town of Chong-ju. Constructing a fence, or barrier of some kind, a hundred and fifty paces from the wall, he began, under cover of this, to mine the wall, supporting the passage with beams of wood. When he had extended the passage well under the wall he placed a large amount of powder in it and attached a long fuse. After igniting the fuse the soldiers all hastened out of the mine. No explosion followed. No one dared to go in, for fear that the fuse might be burning slowly and that the mine might explode while they were within. After waiting two days, and finding no one who would venture in, Gen. Yu himself entered and found that the fuse had become wet. He remedied the difficulty and soon there was a tremendous explosion that tore down a long stretch of the wall and buried many of the garrison in the debris. The place was soon taken. Hong was caught, "The Man who Would be King," and his head was sent to Seoul.

The Christians had now begun to recover in some measure from the terrible persecution of 1801 and a man was sent to [page 44] Peking to urge that a qualified priest be sent to Korea, but the Peking church itself was in great vicissitudes and no help could be promised.

From this time on the reign was one long list of calamities which followed thick and fast upon each other. In 1813 there was a serious rebellion on the island of Quelpart; in 1814 occurred one of those fearful famines that sometimes happen in the southern provinces; this was followed by a flood in Kyung-sang Province which wrecked thousands of houses and cost many lives; Seoul was without rice and the government had to open its granaries and sell at starvation rates; 414,000 bags of grain were distributed to the sufferers in the country and 15,000,000 cash, 5,000 pounds of dye-wood and 500 pounds of black pepper were donated toward relief. The next year thousands who had been made destitute by the famine flocked to Seoul and the government had to feed them till the barley crop was harvested; then the native fever, a kind of typhus, broke out and mowed the people down, and the government had to erect pest houses for their accommodation. In 1816 two thousand houses fell in a freshet in Ch'ung-ch'ung Province and the government gave timber to help the people rebuild. The year 1821 beheld one of the most terrible scourges of cholera that the country ever experienced. It began in the north, and sweeping southward soon involved the capital. Ten thousand people died in Seoul in ten days. In the south it was equally destructive. The government was obliged to appoint a commission to attend to the interment of the dead bodies along the road. The following year it broke out again with unabated fury. Houses were built at intervals along the roads, by the government, for the sake of those who might be struck down with the plague while traveling and gangs of men were kept busy along the main road burying the dead. It even crossed to the island of Quelpart where two thousand people died. In 1824 the government had to remit 69,300 bags of revenue grain in the north because of the depredations of robber bands.

In 1827 the Crown Prince was appointed deputy king and the same year a son was born to him. But troubles continued. The government was obliged to remit taxes of seaweed, salt, ginseng and fish in Kangwun Province. The [page 45] following year a terrible freshet swept away whole villages in Ham-gyung Province and the king sent large quantities of grain to feed the destitute there.

Still troubles multiplied thick and fast. In 1830 the Crown Prince died. He is the grandfather of the present Emperor of Korea. The son who had been born to him is known as the Ta wun gun, who died in the spring of 1898. The building in which the body of this Crown Prince was placed burned to the ground and nothing but the charred bones of the prince were recovered. Two years later, in 1832 an English vessel appeared off Hong-ju and its captain, Basil Hall, sent the king a letter saying that he had come to trade, but the king refused permission. As the flag of the ship bore the device "Religion of Jesus Christ," some Roman Catholic

converts boarded her, but when they found that they were protestants they beat a hasty retreat. It is said that several boxes of books were landed and that some of them were sent to the king, who promptly returned them. The foreigners who made this attempt to enter Korea were Gutzlaff and Lindsay.

During this year there were destructive fires and floods, but the greatest calamity of all was a famine that began at that time and continued for nine successive years, each year being accompanied with cholera. It is said that bodies were piled in heaps inside the South Gate. Many people are still living who remember that terrible time. The next year, in addition to famine and plague, the palace burned down. In the following year there was a devastating epidemic of native fever in Seoul, and a flood in Eui-ju which wrecked 2,000 houses. That summer, the people driven wild with hunger mobbed the government granaries but found nothing in them. They laid the blame on the Prime Minister and threatened his life. He fled precipitately to the country.

In the last moon of 1834 the king died and his grandson a boy nine years old came to the throne. He is known as Hon jong Ta-wang. His grandmother Kim became regent. She is known as Sunwun Whang-ho. She immediately began a work of reform. The law that made the relatives of prefects' clerks liable to punishment for their crimes was abrogated. Many burdensome taxes were remitted. The government [page 46] revenue collectors were kept to a strict account for all the monies passing through their hands. A conspiracy, headed by one Nam Ong-jung, was put down with a strong hand. The people were commanded not to slaughter their cattle for food, for the only hope for future crops was the cattle, without which the land could not be tilled. All prefects were commanded to have regular office hours during which they should attend to government business exclusively.

In 1831 Pope Gregory XVI had made Korea a bishopric and appointed M. Brugniere as Bishop. A Chinaman named Yu who was then in Europe was appointed to accompany him to Korea. This man Yu went ahead and found means of entering Korea secretly. M. Brugniere worked three years in the attempt to enter the country by way of the north across the Yalu and at last died on the very border. Yu who had preceded him desired to hold supreme power in the Korean church, and so put obstacles in the way of the entrance of the Bishop. But in the following year Pierre Philibert Maubant, who had been appointed to Korea, succeeded in entering the country and began work in Seoul at once, but of course in secret. By 1837 two other French priests had arrived, including Bishop Imbert. It is said that at the time of his arrival there were 9,000 adherents of the Roman Catholic church.

While the king was still but fourteen years old, in 1839, there occurred a cruel persecution of the Catholics. Three foreigners were in Korea, as we have seen, and they were known to the Koreans as Pom Se-hyung, Na-ba Do-ru and Chong-a Kak-bak-i.

The persecution began as usual with a change of ministry. Yi Chi-on became Prime Minister. He hated Christianity and averred that the reason why there were so many Christians was that the work of extermination had not been thoroughly carried out in 1801. He demanded a house to house inspection. This was done and soon the prisons were full to overflowing. Hundreds were cruelly beaten, but the yamen runners were not allowed to loot the houses of the prisoners, which cooled their ardor not a little. Finally the three foreigners were arrested. Being ordered to leave the country they firmly refused. Thereupon they were declared high criminals and were executed on Sept. 21st, 1839. This was [page 47] followed by still severer persecutions and even the Koreans themselves grew tired of the horrors that were enacted. It is said that seventy were decapitated and that sixty died of beating and strangulation. This is but a fraction however of those who perished in consequence of this persecution.

The last ten years of the reign were marked principally by events connected with the Roman Catholic propaganda. In 1844 two more French priests entered the country by way of Quelpart after a most difficult and hazardous passage from China in a Korean junk. Two years later the French government sent a message to Korea by a gun-boat, complaining of the death of the three Frenchmen and threatening her with punishment if these cruel actions were continued. This only excited the Koreans the more against Christianity, for it seemed to imply that Roman Catholicism had behind it a temporal power, and was therefore of political significance. In consequence of this a new outbreak occurred which cost the lives of several more Koreans, while the two priests were obliged to hide away very closely in the country.

In the summer of 1847 two French boats, the frigate *La Gloire* and the corvette *La Victorieuse* set sail from the Gulf of Pechili to go to Korea and ascertain what had been the result of the former letter. These two boats both struck a mud-bank and when the tide went down they broke in two. The crews to the number of 600 escaped to the neighboring island of Kogeum off the province of Chulla, and a pinnace was immediately despatched to Shanghai for aid. The Koreans gave every assistance in their power and supplied them with food and other necessaries, and even offered to provide boats to take the men back to China. In fact the action of the Korean government was most creditable throughout. An English ship happened to come by and it carried the survivors all back to China. The Korean government, fearing further visits from the French, decided to answer the letter of the previous year. It was couched in the following terms:

"Last year we received a letter from the foreigners. It was addressed to the ministers of this realm and

read as follows : 'Three of our countrymen, Imbert, Chastan and [page 48] Maubant, have been put to death by you. We come to demand why you have killed them. You will say perhaps that your law forbids foreigners entering your country, but if Chinese or Manchus should happen to enter your realm you would not kill them, but you would have them carried back to their own country. Why then did you not treat these men the same way? If they had been convicted of murder, sedition or a like crime we would have nothing to say, but they were innocent, and in condemning them unjustly you have committed a grave injury against the French government.'

To this letter we beg to reply as follows : In 1839 there were arrested here certain strangers who were brought into the country at a time unknown to us. They wore Korean clothes, they spoke the Korean language, they traveled by night and slept by day; they veiled their faces, concealed their whereabouts and consorted with men whom we consider rebels, godless men and enemies of the government. When brought before the tribunal they claimed that their names were Pierre No and Japanese Gang. Are these the men you refer to? When interrogated, they said nothing about being Frenchmen, and even if they had we could not have sent them back, for we did not know where your country is. What could we do but apply our law, which forbids secret entrance into our kingdom? On the other hand, their conduct in changing their names and wearing Korean dress shows that they had ulterior motives, and they cannot be compared to those who have been shipwrecked upon our shores. Such men we save if possible and aid to send back home. Such is our law. Had your fellowcountrymen been shipwrecked upon our coast, they would have received precisely the same treatment as Chinese, Japanese or Manchus under like circumstances. You say that these men were killed without cause and that we have committed a grave offense against the French government. This is most astonishing. We have never had any communication with France. We do not know even how far she is from Korea. What motive could we possibly have for injuring her? How would you act if a foreigner should enter your country secretly and in disguise and do what you consider evil? Would you leave him alone? If a Chinaman or a Manchu should come here and do as your people did they would be treated in

THE KOREA REVIEW

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The Russo-Japanese War.

The vexed question has at last been settled and war has begun. But this brings up another question. How will it end? The impatient onlooker will attempt to sum up the chances on one side and on the other and will be eager to catch at every event however insignificant which gives any indication of the actual ability of either of the belligerents. It is claimed by some that Japan is not what she was in 1894 and the counter claim is made that Russia is not what she was in the days of the Crimean war. The letter of each of these statements may be taken for granted but the inference that neither power is as strong as she once was must be put to the test before it can be accepted.

In 1895 Japan, by virtue of her victory over China took possession of the Liao-tung peninsula. This was a severe blow to the settled policy of Russia who, as has been abundantly proved since, intended to become mistress of the whole of Manchuria. On the plea of preserving the integrity of China, Russia succeeded in securing the cooperation of France and Germany, whereby Japan was forced to give up the conquered territory for a money consideration. Unfortunately British sympathies were largely with the Chinese in that war and they looked with more or less complaisancy upon the forced retrocession of the Liao-tung peninsula. Had the British known what they know now [page 50] this never would have happened except at the price of war. Japan in actual possession could have beaten back the Russian forces on land while the Japanese and British fleets combined would have prevented any danger from France and Germany.

From the moment Japan left Manchuria, Russia began to do the very thing which she had urged as the cause for the dislodgment of the victorious troops of the Mikado. This in itself was a direct insult to Japan and an insult as well to France and Germany, unless they were privy to the ulterior motives of Russia, and this, at least in the case of Germany, we cannot believe.

This we may confidently claim to be the cause of the present war; but not merely because it wounded the vanity of the Japanese. It surely did that, but the continued encroachments of Russia upon the sovereignty of China also menaced the commercial success of the Japanese. The Russians attacked them at two vital points, their national honor and their national prosperity. But in addition to this the subjects of the Czar at the capital of Korea began to make use of the most corrupt officials at court and through them opposed Japanese commerce at every possible point, encouraged the continuation of a debased coinage which was destroying Japanese trade, caused the Korean Government to stultify itself by forbidding the use of the Japanese bank notes and then making an abject apology therefor, and in every possible way thwarted the legitimate operations of the Japanese. Furthermore they made continual demands for exclusive rights in different Korean ports and by cajolery and intimidation made a secret agreement whereby Russia encroached upon Korean sovereignty in the harbor of Yongsampo. The evident policy of Russia was to supplant Japan in Korea, and no reasonable person can fail to see that it was their ultimate plan to add Korea to the map of Russia. To say, therefore, that Japan struck the first blow in this war is the same as saying that a man is the aggressor because he knocks up the hand of a burglar who is reaching for his throat. The cause of this war, therefore, was the necessity laid upon Japan to safeguard [page 51] her own legitimate interests and her life itself by checking the encroachments of Russia upon Chinese and Korean territory. This at least is what we deem to be its purpose.

The Method

Before submitting her cause to the arbitrament of the sword Japan has exerted every effort to make Russia define her intentions in the Far East. As the latter had leased Manchuria from China and then, upon the expiration of the extreme limit set by herself, had refused to execute either the letter or the spirit of her solemn engagements it became necessary not only for Japan but for other powers as well that Russia should be nailed down to some definite proposition, and set a limit to her ambition. For months Japan, with a patience which elicited the admiration of the world, kept plying Russia with pertinent questions until at last it was revealed that Russia proposed to deal with Manchuria as she wished and would consult no one but China about it. In the second place she would concede Japanese interests in southern Korea only and then only as Japan would engage not to act in that sphere as Russia is acting in Manchuria. All this time the Japanese people had been clamoring for war; they wanted to get at the throat of their manifest foe, but the Government in a masterly way held them in check, kept its own secrets so inviolable as to astonish the most astute diplomatists of the day, and at last when the proper moment arrived it declared itself for war without having weakened the enthusiasm of the

people by an ounce weight and at the same time without giving the outside grumblers the least opportunity to hint that she had given way to popular importunity. Nothing could be saner or less sensational than her action throughout.

At last Japan communicated to Russia her irreducible minimum and one would think that even the blind could see that war was certain to follow, and follow soon. It was the one subject of conversation throughout the Far East. It is safe to say that everybody except the Russians felt sure that the time had come, but even then, if there is any truth in direct evidence, the great majority [page 52] of Russians laughed the matter aside as impossible. The Japanese had shown such moderation and self-control that the Russians had apparently counted it for hesitation; so that when the moment came for action and Japan sprang upon her like a tigress robbed of her whelps Russia cried loudly that she had not been notified. She must be formally notified, she must be given twenty-four hours in which to get under cover! What did they suppose the Foreign Office had handed back to Baron Rosen his credentials for? This took place at least as early as the morning of the seventh. Notice had already been given to the powers that negotiations had been broken off. Diplomatic relations were broken off on Saturday the sixth and on that same evening the Japanese Minister left St. Petersburg. This was over forty hours before the Japanese committed any hostile act against Russia. Even had the Japanese refused to send notification of this to the Russian Minister in Seoul it could have been sent straight to Port Arthur from St. Petersburg and the boats lying in Chemulpo harbor could have been notified in time to retire from their dangerous position. The Russian complaint that the Japanese made no formal declaration of war and sent no notification falls to the ground. In these days, as everyone knows, the formal withdrawal of a minister is tantamount to a declaration of war. The hour Minister Kurino left St Petersburg the two powers were virtually at war with each other. If the Russian authorities thought there was no hurry about warning their isolated warships it was their own lookout and they have no cause to complain because their dilatoriness cost them two war vessels, one of which was among their fastest cruisers. But under any circumstances, granting, for the sake of argument, that Japan acted with undue promptness, what business has Russia to try to hold Japan to the letter of the law when she herself has broken every canon of international justice in her dealings with Manchuria? The proverb that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones applies with peculiar force at this point; and while we do not believe that Japan overstepped [page 53] the rules of international propriety by her promptness we are free to confess that there would have been some excuse if she had.

The Battle of Chemulpo.

It was on the sixth and seventh that reports circulated in Seoul that the Japanese were landing large bodies of troops at Kunsan or Asan or both. These rumors turned out to be false, but beneath them was the fact that a fleet was approaching Chemulpo. The question has been insistently asked why the Russian Minister did not inform the commanders of these Russian vessels and see to it that they were clear of the harbor before these rumors were realized. The answer as given is that the Russian Minister had no control over these boats. They had their orders to remain in Chemulpo and there they must stay. One would think that there would be at least enough *rapport* between the civil and military (or naval) authorities to use the one in forwarding the interests of the other.

Even yet the Russians did not appreciate the seriousness of the situation, but they decided that it was time to send notice to their authorities in Port Arthur of what was rumored at Chemulpo. So the small gunboat *Koryetz* made ready to move out. Her captain, Belaieff proposed to the Russian Consul that the Russian steamship *Sung'ari*, which was in port, should go with the *Koryetz* and thus enjoy her protection, but the agent of the company which owned the steamship strongly objected to her leaving the neutral port at such a time. He evidently realized in part the acuteness of the situation. So the *Sungari* remained at her anchorage and the *Koryetz* steamed out of port at two o'clock in the afternoon. Now, the harbor of Chemulpo is a somewhat peculiar one, for in one sense it is land-locked and in another it is not. It is formed by islands between which there are many openings to the open sea, but most of these are so shallow that ships of medium draught do not dare attempt them. There is but one recognized entrance and that is from the southwest, or between that and the south. This entrance is several miles wide and in the center of it lies Round Island. When the *Koryetz* [page 54] arrived at the exit of the harbor she suddenly found herself surrounded by torpedo-boats. The only witnesses of what occurred at this point are the Japanese and the Russians and we can only give their accounts. The Russians say that the Japanese launched four torpedoes at the *Koryetz*, none of which took effect. One man affirms that a torpedo came straight toward the *Koryetz* and when within ten feet of her side sank. Another statement is that a shot was fired on board the *Koryetz* but it was a mere accident! The Japanese claim that the *Koryetz* fired first. If we try to weigh the probabilities it seems impossible that the torpedoes of the Japanese should have missed the *Koryetz* if the torpedo-boats were as near as the Russians claim. On the other hand the admission on the part of a single Russian that the first gun was fired on the *Koryetz* even though by accident, is rather damaging, for it is

more than singular that an accident should have happened at that precise time. As the cow-boy said, "Accidents don't happen in the West — leastways not with guns."

In any case it makes little difference who began the firing. The Japanese had already seized the Russian steamer *Mukden* in the harbor of Pusan and the war had begun. The Japanese doubtless held with Polonius, as quoted by Terrence Mulvaney, that if it is necessary to fight it is well to hit the enemy "fur-rst and frequent." The *Koryetz* turned back to her anchorage and the Russians became aware of the extreme precariousness of their position. Whatever attitude one may take toward the general situation it is impossible not to extend a large degree of sympathy to these Russians personally. Through no fault of their own they were trapped in the harbor and found too late that they must engage in a hopeless fight in order to uphold the honor of the Russian flag. But even yet it was not sure that the neutrality of the port would be ignored by the Japanese. Lying at anchor among neutral vessels in a neutral harbor, there was more or less reason to believe that they were safe for the time being.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of February eighth, which fell on Monday, three Japanese transports [page 55] entered Chemulpo harbor from the south, convoyed by cruisers and torpedo-boats. They seemingly took no notice of the two Russian boats lying at anchor and were evidently sure that the Russians would not fire upon the transports. It would be interesting to know whether the Japanese were relying upon the declared neutrality of the port in thus venturing or whether they felt sure that their own superior strength would keep the Russians still, or whether, again, they were certain that the Russians had orders not to fire the first gun. But it is bootless to ask questions that can never be answered. Here is where the assailant has the advantage. He can choose the time and method of his attack. We may surmise that had the Russians divined the intentions of the Japanese and had foreseen the outcome they would have acted differently, but divination of Japanese intentions does not seem to be Russia's strong point.

As soon as the Japanese came to anchor preparations were made for the immediate landing of the troops, and the cruisers and torpedo-boats that had convoyed them in, left the port and joined the fleet outside. This fleet consisted of six cruisers and several torpedo-boats. The *Asama* and the *Chiyoda* were the most powerful of the cruisers, the former being nearly half as large again as the *Variak*.

Night came on, and throughout its long hours the Japanese troops, by the light of huge fires burning on the jetty, were landed and marched up into the town. When morning came everyone was in a state of expectancy. If there was a Japanese fleet outside they doubtless had other work on hand than simply watching two Russian boats. Nor could they leave them behind, for one of them was Russia's fastest cruiser and might steam out of the harbor at any time and destroy Japanese transports. Knowing, as we do now, that an immediate attack on Port Arthur had been decided upon we see it was impossible to leave these Russian boats in the rear. Japan had never recognized the neutrality of Korea, for she knew that the declaration was merely a Russian move to embarrass her, and [page 56] she never hesitated a moment to break the thin shell of pretense.

About ten o'clock a sealed letter was handed to Captain Rudnieff of the *Variak*. It was from the Japanese Admiral and had been sent through the Russian Consulate. It was delivered on board the *Variak* by the hand of Mr. N. Krell, a Russian resident of the port. This letter informed the Russian commander that unless both Russian boats should leave the anchorage and steam out of the bay before twelve o'clock the Japanese would come in at four o'clock and attack them where they lay. Captain Rudnieff immediately communicated the startling intelligence to Captain Belaieff of the *Koryetz* and to the commanders of the British, American, French and Italian war-vessels. We are informed that a conference of the various commanders took place and that the Russians were advised to lie where they were. The British commander was deputed to confer with the Japanese. This was done by signal and it is said a protest was more against the proposed violation of neutrality of the port and that the neutral boats refused to shift their anchorage. But all complications of this nature were avoided by the determination of the Russians to accept the challenge. This they deemed to be due their flag. It is not improbable that they now foresaw that the neutrality of the port would not avail them against the enemy. By remaining at anchor they could only succeed in involving France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States and there would be sure to be those who would charge the Russians with cowardice. If this was to begin the war it must at least prove the dauntless courage of the servants of the Czar. So the commander of the *Variak* ordered the decks cleared for action. It has been stated that he would have preferred to have the *Koryetz* stay at her anchorage, for by a quick dash it was just possible that the swift *Variak* alone might be able to evade the Japanese and run the gauntlet successfully. But the commander of the *Koryetz* refused to listen to any such proposition. If the only honor to be gotten out of the affair was by a [page 57] desperate attack he was not going to forego his share of it. He would go out and sink with the *Variak*. So the *Koryetz* also cleared for action. It was done in such haste that all moveables that were unnecessary were thrown overboard, a topmast that would not come down in the usual manner was hewn down with an axe and by half past eleven the two vessels were ready to go out to their doom. It was an almost hopeless task— an entirely hopeless one unless the Japanese should change their minds or should make some grave mistake, and neither of these things was at all probable. The Russians were going to certain destruction. Some call it rashness, not bravery, but they say not well. The boats

were doomed in any case and it was the duty of their officers and crews to go forth and in dying inflict what injury they could upon the enemy. To go into battle with chances equal is the act of a brave man, but to walk into the jaws of death with nothing but defeat in prospect is the act of a hero, and the Japanese would be the last to detract from the noble record that the Russians made. Time has not yet lent its glamor to this event, we are too near it to see it in proper proportions, but if the six hundred heroes of Balaclava, veterans of many a fight, gained undying honor for the desperate charge they made how shall not the future crown these men who, having never been in action before, made such a gallant dash at the foe? Nor shall we wonder that when they weighed anchor and turned their prows toward the overwhelming power of the enemy a cheer was torn from the very throats of the men on board the neutral ships, whether those men sympathized with Japanese or Russian. And herein lies the intrinsic damnableness of war, that causes which will not bear the search-light of abstract justice can marshal to their support the noblest qualities of which men are capable.

It was a cloudless but hazy day and from the anchorage the Japanese fleet was all but invisible, for it lay at least eight miles out in the entrance of the harbor and partly concealed by Round Island which splits the offing into two channels. The two boats made straight for the [page 58] more easterly of the channels, their course being a very little west of south. When they had proceeded about half the distance from the anchorage to the enemy's fleet the latter threw a shot across the bows of each of the Russian boats as a command to stop and surrender, but the Russians took no notice of it. The only chance the Russians had to inflict any damage was to reduce the firing range as much as possible for the *Variak's* guns were only six inches and four-tenths in caliber and at long range they would have been useless. This was at five minutes before noon. The Japanese fleet was not deployed in a line facing the approaching boats and it was apparent that they did not intend to bring their whole force to bear upon the Russians simultaneously. We are informed that only two of the Japanese vessels, the *Asama* and the *Chiyoda*, did the work. It was not long after the warning shots had been fired that the Japanese let loose and the roar that went up from those terrible machines of destruction tore the quiet of the windless bay to tatters and made the houses of the town tremble where they stood. It beat against the bare hills like the hammer of Thor and startled the denizens of distant Seoul with its muffled thunder. As the *Variak* advanced she swerved to the eastward and gave the Japanese her starboard broadside. All about her the sea was lashed into foam by striking shot and almost from the beginning of the fight her steering-gear was shot away so that she had to depend on her engines alone for steering. It became evident to her commander that the passage was impossible. He had pushed eastward until there was imminent danger of running aground. So he turned again toward the west and came around in a curve which brought the *Variak* much nearer to the Japanese. It was at this time that the deadly work was done upon her. Ten of her twelve gun-captains were shot away. A shell struck her fo'castle, passed between the arm and body of a gunner who had his hand upon his hip and, bursting, killed every other man in the fo'castle. Both bridges were destroyed by bursting shell and the Captain was seriously wounded in the left arm. The watchers on shore and on the shipping in the [page 59] harbor saw flames bursting out from her quarter-deck and one witness plainly saw shells drop just beside her and burst beneath the water line. It was these shots that did the real damage, for when, after three quarters of an hour of steady fighting, she turned her prow back toward the anchorage it was seen that she had a heavy list to port which could have been caused only by serious damage below the water-line. As the two boats came slowly back to port, the *Variak* so crippled by the destruction of one of her engines that she could make only ten knots an hour, the Japanese boats followed, pouring in a galling fire, until the Russians had almost reached the anchorage. Then the pursuers drew back and the battle was over. The *Koryetz* was intact. The Japanese had reserved all their fire for the larger vessel. The *Variak* was useless as a fighting machine, for her heavy list to port would probably have made it impossible to train the guns on the enemy, but all knew that the end had not yet come. The Russians had neither sunk nor surrendered. The threat of the Japanese to come in at four o'clock was still active. As soon as the *Variak* dropped anchor the British sent off four hospital boats to her with a surgeon and a nurse. Other vessels also sent offers of aid. But it was found that the Russians had decided to lie at anchor and fight to the bitter end and at the last moment blow up their vessels with all on board. What else was there for them to do? They would not surrender and they could not leave their ships and go ashore only to be captured by the enemy. They would play out the tragedy to a finish and go down fighting. Upon learning of this determination the commanders of the various neutral vessels held another conference at which it was decided that the Russians had done all that was necessary to vindicate the honor of their flag and that, as it was a neutral port, the survivors should be invited to seek asylum on the neutral vessels. The invitation was accepted and the sixty-four wounded on board the *Variak* were at once transferred to the British cruiser *Talbot* and the French cruiser *Pascal*. As the commanders of the neutral vessels knew that the *Variak* and *Koryetz* were to be sunk by the Russians [page 60] they paid no particular attention to the reiterated statement of the Japanese that they would enter the harbor at four and finish the work already begun. The passengers, crew and mails on board the steamship *Sungari* had already been transferred to the *Pascal* and an attempt had been made to scuttle her but she was filling very slowly indeed. It was about half-past three in the afternoon that the officers and crew of the *Koryetz* went over the side and went to the *Pascal*. A train had been laid by which she would be blown up and it

is supposed that she was entirely abandoned, but some spectators assert that they saw several men on the forward deck an instant before the explosion took place.

It was generally known throughout the town that the *Koryetz* would be blown up before four o'clock and everyone sought some point of vantage from which to witness the spectacle. Scores of people went out to the little island on which the light-house stands, for this was nearest to the doomed ship. It was thirtyseven minutes past three when the waiting multitude saw two blinding flashes of light one following the other in quick succession. A terrific report followed which dwarfed the roar of cannon to a whisper and shook every house in the town as if it had been struck by a solid rock. The window-fastenings of one house at least were torn off, so great was the concussion. An enormous cloud of smoke and debris shot toward the sky and at the same time enveloped the spot where the vessel had lain. A moment later there began a veritable shower of splintered wood, torn and twisted railing, books, clothes, rope, utensils and a hundred other belongings of the ship. The cloud of smoke expanded in the upper air and blotted out the sun like an eclipse. The startled gulls flew hither and thither as if dazed by this unheard of phenomenon and men instinctively raised their hands to protect themselves from the falling debris, pieces of which were drifted by the upper currents of air for a distance of three miles landward where they fell by the hundreds in peoples' yards.

[page 61] When the smoke was dissipated it was discovered that the *Koryetz* had sunk, only her funnel and some torn rigging appearing above the surface, if we except her forward steel deck which the force of the explosion had bent up from the prow so that the point of it, like the share of a huge plow, stood several feet out of water. The surface of the bay all about the spot was covered thickly with smoking debris and several of the ship's boats were floating about intact upon the water.

The Russians were intending to blow up the *Variak* as well, but the magnitude of the explosion on board the *Koryetz* led the commanders to suggest that the *Variak* be allowed to sink where she lay. She was already in a sinking condition and was burning freely. It was evident that she could not become a Japanese prize, so she was simply, abandoned and left to the elements. The forty-one dead could hardly have been carried on board the friendly ships, so they were, with a few exceptions, placed in a cabin together and the ship for which they had fought and died became their fitting tomb. As viewed from the deck of the United States Gunboat *Vicksburg* she was lying far over to port at an angle of nearly thirty degrees at five o'clock in the afternoon. The fires in her after part would break out and then subside while every few moments came the detonation of a cartridge which the fire had reached. Two of her four funnels were partly shot away and her deck presented a scene of wild confusion. Just before dark, when it seemed that any moment might be her last, a boat was seen putting off from the *Pascal* and manned apparently by five or six naval men. They went straight to the *Sungari* and remained on board for perhaps fifteen minutes. Then they pushed off but they had not left her side by more than a half dozen lengths before a tongue of flame appeared from the region of her cabin and it was quite apparent that she had been deliberately fired. But soon all eyes were again centered on the *Variak*. She was preparing for the final plunge. Slowly she dipped, further and [page 62] further to port— now her rail is under water — an excited murmur arises from the men who crowd the side of the *Vicksburg* to see her go. And now she begins visibly to lie over on her side; slowly and majestically she turns until at last her funnels touch the water and with a great surging, choking groan she goes to her resting place like some mighty leviathan that has received his death wound. As the water reaches the fires a cloud of steam goes up which, illuminated by the dying flash of fire forms her signal of farewell. It was expected that the Japanese would demand as prisoners of war the men who had been taken on board the neutral ships, but it would have been refused on the plea that the men had been rescued off sinking ships in a neutral harbor; but it was recognized that these rescued men had become noncombatants by seeking asylum, and so it was subsequently arranged that the British vessel should carry to a British port those whom she had rescued and guarantee their parole until the end of the war. The French are carrying theirs to Saigon while those on the Italian boat will be disposed of in a similar manner.

This wholly unexpected annihilation of the Russian boats naturally caused consternation among the Russians of Chemulpo and Seoul. The Russian Consulate was surrounded by Japanese troops and the Consul was held practically a prisoner. The Japanese Minister in Seoul suggested to the Russian Minister through the French Legation the advisability of his removing from Seoul with his nationals and every facility was given him for doing this with expedition and with comfort. A few days later all the Russians were taken by special train to Chemulpo and there, being joined by the Russian subjects in Chemulpo, they all went on board the *Pascal*. This vessel must have been crowded, for it is said that when she sailed she had on board six hundred Russians, both civilians and military men.

Twenty-four of the most desperately wounded men on board the neutral ships were sent ashore and placed in the Provisional Red Cross Hospital. For this purpose the English Church Mission kindly put at the disposal of [page 63] the Japanese their hospital at Chemulpo. Several of these wounded men were suffering from gangrene when they came off the *Pascal* but with the most sedulous care the Japanese physicians and nurses pulled them through.

The Ajun.

The ajun is one of the most important social and governmental factors in Korea. He is the man who brings the administration of the Government into direct contact with the populace, the individual, the political unit. This word is of pure Korean origin and is not a Chinese importation. It is true that the Chinese characters used to express the word are 衙前 which mean "before the yamen" and are in some sense descriptive of this class of men, but this is only a transliteration of the word. The Koreans were fortunate enough to strike two characters pronounced a and jun which at the same time had meanings in Chinese which, put together, are partially descriptive of the office. There is no real Chinese word *ajun*. The idea is always expressed in China by the character 吏 *yi*. The fact that this pure Korean word has survived while almost every other official term has been borrowed from the Chinese argues that this was the term used in Korea before the great influx of Chinese ideas and words which took place during the days of the Tang Dynasty 627-905 a. d. Another thing that would make this more probable is that the ajun is the official who comes in close and daily contact with the common people and his name becomes a household word which could be changed only with great difficulty. The Chinese character *yi* was commonly used in official documents in the place of ajun from the year 680 a. d. or thereabout but the common word was too strongly entrenched in the habit of the people to be eradicated.

We must first determine just what the ajun is before we can discuss his duties. Some have the notion that [page 64] the word is synonymous with "yamen runner" but this is an error. Every prefect in the land is an ajun. Whenever a prefect refers to himself in an official note he calls himself a 吏 or ajun. The term Chang-yi or "Chief Ajun" is a common one for a prefect among the common people in the country. The word *sa* 使 is simply the word for ajun with the radical for man placed before it. This is used in the words *Kam-sa*, "governor" and *Sa-sin*, "Envoy." The term ajun itself means an agent or factor and the prefect is an agent of the King just as the ajun is the agent of the prefect. At the time when this office came into use and for many centuries thereafter society was not divided into upper and lower classes as it is now. The yangban sprang up in the days of Koryu 718-1392 A. D. So the ajun was at first a real officer but after the segregation of the classes the position of ajun failed to acquire the dignity of an official rank of p'yu-sal (or p'yu-sil, pesil or pestle according to various foreign pronunciations). It is therefore called "doing Government business without rank." In former times the office of prefect was to some extent hereditary and stayed for generations in some local family of high repute, but at that time there had not entered the caste spirit which was fostered later by the close imitation of the Chinese. The prefect was only a higher sort of ajun. When, therefore, the spirit of exclusiveness took hold upon the Koreans and certain men found that they could secure greater distinction by holding themselves aloof from the common people it was inevitable that they should seize the opportunity. It was the same movement that put an end to the early Roman republic, the natural human weakness for personal distinction. The line of demarcation was drawn between the prefects and the ordinary ajuns, the former being enrolled in the upper class. At the same time this caste feeling tended toward a rapid centralization of power and every man who wanted a position had to seek it at the capital. This broke up the monopoly of the hereditary prefectural families and resulted in the appointment of prefects directly from the capital, men who in most cases knew nothing about the conditions prevailing [page 65] in the prefectures to which they were sent. It is easy to see what a demoralization this would effect. In former times each prefect was a son of the soil. His family and clan were native to the prefecture where he governed and so became hostages to his good behavior. He simply dared not oppress the people beyond a "reasonable" limit. His family's reputation was at stake as well as his own. But when the new order was established and an unknown and unconnected individual would appear upon the scene and assume the prefectural ermine there was no reason why he should be careful to protect the interests of his people. He could squeeze them to the limit of their endurance and then gracefully resign and leave for the capital or for his native place without any particular odium attaching to his family.

But there is one saving element in this new order of things. The ajuns did not secure a footing in the upper class and therefore have retained much of their old hereditary status. In addition to this, their influence is increased by the fact that each prefect who comes is utterly ignorant of local conditions and usages and is forced to depend entirely upon them for his information. In fact each prefecture is a miniature of the central government. The prefect becomes as it were the king of his little state and the ajuns are his ministers. So closely is this resemblance carried out that each prefect has his six ministers, namely of the interior, of finance, of ceremonies, of war, of agriculture and of law. It was through these that all prefectural business was done. It is these men who come into direct contact with the people. Besides the six leading ajuns there are others under them varying in number according to the size and importance of the prefecture, but all of them are native to the soil and their families are rooted in local traditions. It is this one thing that has held the body politic together. Foreigners wonder how the Korean people have endured this form of government for so many centuries, but they judge mostly from the gruesome tales told of high [page 66] officials at the capital or of rapacious prefects. The reason of it all lies with the ajuns who like anchors hold the ship of state to her moorings. We choose this

figure deliberately. A ship is supposed to sail across the sea but Korea has long since been content to lie in harbor. Even this is dangerous unless the anchor holds. The ajuns are this anchor and have held Korea to her moorings in spite of the tides which periodically sweep back and forth and threaten to carry her on the rocks. It will seem strange to some that anything good should be said for the ajun. The general impression is that they are a pack of wolves whose business it is to fleece the people and who lie awake nights concocting plans for their further spoliation. This idea is radically wrong. The Koreans put the matter in a nutshell when they say that a high official will escape censure for his evil acts and receive fulsome adulation for small acts of merit but that a small man's good acts are taken for granted and his smallest faults are exaggerated. So it is that the ajun is the scape-goat for everyone's sins, the safety valve which saves the boiler from bursting. It is right to pile metaphors on him since everyone uses him as a dumping-ground for their abuse. There is no manner of doubt that the ajuns abuse the people frequently but if they were the fiends that they are painted the people would long since have exterminated them. They are fixtures in their various districts and having forfeited the good will and forbearance of the people there they cannot move away to "pastures new." Their families and local interests are their hostages to fortune and their normal attitude is that of a buffer between the rapacity of the prefect and the exasperation of the people. They must be friends with both if possible. The prefect wants to get as much as he can and the people want to give as little as they may. It is the ajun's business to steer between this Scylla and Charybdis, disappoint each party as little as possible, since neither can be satisfied, and all the time uphold his own prestige with the prefect and preserve the good [page 67] will of the people. Is it any wonder that we hear only evil of the ajun?

Another mistaken idea is that the ajun is simply a yamen-runner in the sense of an official servant who with his own hand arrests people, hauls them before the magistrate and inflicts punishment in person. The ajun is much higher in the social scale than this. He superintends the doing of these things but he does not do them with his own hand. He holds the place of an upper servant and gives more orders than he takes. That he has no special dress, no livery, also indicates his superiority to the common servant.

Another and more important consideration is found in the literary culture of the ajun. It is very uncommon to find one who is not skilled in the use of the Chinese character. He is necessarily so, for he has to do all the writing at the prefectural headquarters and he has to handle deeds, mortgages and all sorts of documents. It often happens that among the ajuns will be found the best Chinese students in the prefecture. Looking at them from this side they are the clerks of the office and as such are far removed from the ordinary yamen-runner.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about the ajun is the peculiar system called the *i-tu* which requires a word of explanation. When the Chinese language and literature were introduced into Korea in the seventh and eighth centuries it was the official class, of course, that first cultivated the new and fashionable art. At that time the ajuns formed the great bulk of the official class and they became the clerks, just as in England during the middle ages it was not the highest officials but the clerks who could read and write. At that time it was found that the Chinese and Korean languages were so different that Koreans found great difficulty in reading the Chinese text, owing to the absence of verbal and nominal endings. In order to overcome this difficulty the great scholar Sal-ch'ong invented a system whereby these endings were interpolated in the Chinese text and reading became comparatively easy. This system he called the *i-tu* (吏讀) or "ajun's talk." This very name shows that the ajuns were [page 58] the first to become familiar with the Chinese as the official language. But gradually as education spread among the upper classes and became the rule rather than the exception, the higher officials and the wealthy who had more leisure than the ajuns learned to read Chinese without the aid of the *i-tu*, and the pride of letters speedily relegated this system to the clerks in the government offices. At last there came the segregation of the classes caused in large part by this very pride of letters and so the *i-tu* became the sole possession of the same official ajun class. But all this time it had become stereotyped so that by the time the present dynasty began, the language of the ajuns, this official language, had been left in the rear by the ordinary language of the people just as colloquial English outstripped the stereotyped language of the law and left the latter cumbered with obsolete forms or at least forms that were peculiar to itself. To this very day the ajuns use this stilted official language in their records and reports and such peculiar endings as *sal-che*, *olka*, *sinji*, *iogo* and many others abound in them just as the words *to wit*, *escheat*, and such like terms are used in English legal documents. This *i-tu* system is the oldest literary relic of Korea and is of great value in determining the history of the Korean vernacular.

The number of ajuns in any district depends upon the size and wealth of the community. There are some prefectures that have only six ajuns, enough to represent the six departments already mentioned. In others there will be ten, twenty, fifty or even a hundred ajuns. However many there may be, they form a class by themselves, a sort of little guild in each prefecture. It is very seldom that this guild in any place contains a member who was not born and brought up in that same district. The position is an hereditary one and any ajun's son may follow in his father's footsteps if he will. Of course they may elect to become farmers or merchants or join some other craft but the ranks of the ajuns are recruited almost wholly from their own number. As a rule

they are looked up to by the people of their respective communities as being almost equivalent to the veritable yangban or gentleman. This [page 69] is because of their literary attainments as well as their political position. It is the ajuns who influence most largely the popular taste and feeling. They come into such close contact with the people that the latter copy after them. As a rule the way to reach the people is through the ajun. He holds in his hands the greatest possibilities for good or for evil. If he is good it will be practically impossible for an evil prefect to oppress the people. If he is bad it will be almost equally difficult for a good prefect to govern well. Without doubt the ajun is the most important factor in practical government in Korea. In almost every case he can keep the prefect informed or misinformed and thus can influence the prefectural commands, and when commands have been issued it is he who has the execution of the orders. The saving clause in the whole system is the fact that the ajun is a fixture in the community and he stakes not only the reputation and welfare of himself but also that of his family. In other words he gives hostages to the public and if ever the time comes when he oversteps the limits of the people's endurance he is sure to see his family suffer with him.

The temptations of the ajuns are very great. The whole revenue of the district passes through their hands. In a sense they have to work against both the people and the prefect. The latter wants all that he can get and watches the ajuns closely for it and the ajuns are ever trying to make the people give, up to the limit of their ability. Much is said about the way the ajuns squeeze the people and this is doubtless true but the people are forever trying to evade their taxes and use every subterfuge to jump their revenue bills. It is a case of diamond cut diamond and the people realize it as well as the ajun. The qualities necessary to become a successful ajun make a long and formidable list. He must be tactful in the "management" of the prefect; exact in his accounts; firm yet gentle with the people; resourceful in emergencies; masterful in crises : quick to turn to his advantage every event and in fact he must have all the qualities of the successful politician. One of his most brilliant attainments is [page 70] the ability to make excuses. If the people blame him for extortion he spreads out expostulatory hands and says that the prefect orders it and he has no option. If the prefect blames him for shortage in revenue returns he bows low and asserts upon his honor that the people have been squeezed dry, and can endure no more.

Editorial Comment.

Political and international situations are like leaves on the trees in that no two of them are alike. Each one must be separately interpreted in the light of large and general laws, and each one helps to define the application of these laws. The recent fight at Chemulpo will do not a little to define the bearing and application of the laws which govern the action of belligerents in a neutral port. We are not competent to pass upon these delicate questions but we note the factors in the problem. The first is as to the actual neutrality of Korea. Neutrality does not consist simply in the declaration of neutrality. Many a man declares himself to be well when he is ill or viceversa. But even if a government is not neutral at heart it is legally neutral if it commits no acts that give the lie to its declaration. And no power has the right to deny to the said government the benefits and immunities of neutrality so long as that government preserves the spirit as well as the letter of its declaration.

At the time when the Korean Government published its declaration of neutrality, the officials who guided the imperial action were notoriously pro-Russian in their sympathies. It is of no consequence now what their names are, but of the fact there can be no doubt. It is generally understood that the Foreign Office, at the time, was shorn of all real power and was only the mouthpiece through which these friends of Russia spoke, in order to make their pronouncements official. The Japanese were well aware that this declaration of neutrality was only a Russian move to embarrass Japan and put her in the wrong before the world in case she should find [page 71] it necessary to land troops on the peninsula. It was already known that two of these pro-Russian officials had strongly urged that Russia be asked for troops to protect the palace in Seoul and the Japanese were on the lookout for evidences of bad faith in the matter of declared neutrality. When, therefore, the ubiquitous Japanese picked up a boat in the Yellow Sea and found on it a Korean carrying a letter to Port Arthur asking for Russian troops and discovered that this letter, while unofficial in form, had come from the very men who had caused the promulgation of the declaration of neutrality, it became clear that while the strict letter of the law had not been broken the spirit of neutrality was non-existent. This letter was seized about the ninth of February and must therefore have been written before Japan had done anything to impair the neutrality of the Korean Government. We do not pretend to pass judgment upon this phase of the question. That must be left to the international lawyers. We merely state some of the facts which will enter into the problem.

Another question is in regard to the neutrality of the port of Chemulpo. If Korean neutrality was genuine the action of Japan in forcing the Russian vessels out could be made a casus belli on the part of Korea, but as Korea has no power to prosecute such a war the Japanese were physically safe in ignoring the neutrality of the port. As between Russia and Japan the harbor of Chemulpo was the same as the high sea. Korea was the only power that could by international right shoot a gun in the defence of its neutrality. Others might protest, as

they did, but they could go no further. It is the duty of neutral powers to say to belligerents in their ports "You shall not fight in my ports, and you shall not leave the harbor within twenty-four hours of each other," but if there is no power with which to enforce the demand, then the two belligerents will be answerable to any neutral powers whose shipping they injure. The neutrality of the harbor of Chemulpo was genuine as regards the shipping of neutral powers and this is why the British, French and other commanders refused to shift [page 72] their anchorage at the suggestion of the Japanese. It was the privilege of these neutral commanders to say "This is a neutral port and you will come in and cause injury to our shipping at your peril, even though such injury should be unintentional." And if the Japanese had come in and attacked the Russians where they lay they would have been answerable for any injury done to neutral ships whether by their own guns or by those of the Russians, since the latter would be acting in self-defense. We do not presume to make the above statement as a definite interpretation of international law in the premises but only as a possible explanation of the actions of both the Japanese and the neutral commanders.

The next question is in regard to the reception of the Russians on board the neutral ships. We already said that as between the Japanese and the Russians the port was the same as the high sea and this appears from the fact that had the Russians abandoned their vessels and gone ashore they would have fallen into the hands of the Japanese as surely as if the shore had been another Japanese vessel on the high sea. The land was already held by the Japanese and was to all intents and purposes hostile soil to the Russians. But to the neutral vessels the port was not the high sea and they felt at liberty to act toward the Russians exactly as if there were no belligerent force outside—that is, as they would act, for instance, if these Russian boats had come into port in a sinking condition due to any accident at sea. The neutral commanders would not have invited these Russians on board their boats if it had been on the high sea, for that would have been an act of interference hostile to Japan for which they would have had to answer before the bar of international law; but in a neutral port they recognized no war. The *Variak* was in a sinking condition but the *Koryetz* was intact, nevertheless the neutral commanders had a perfect right to take every one of the men on board their vessels if they saw fit. The Russian ships had not struck their flags to the Japanese nor had they indicated any intention to surrender. They had not compromised themselves by asking for a truce. They [page 73] had simply withdrawn from the fight, technically unbeaten, and had entered a neutral port where, according to the letter of international law, they were safe. They could blow up or scuttle their vessels if they pleased and they could visit other vessels at their pleasure. Such seems to have been the basis of the action of the neutral commanders, and it was sound, or they would not have acted as they did.

Some question has been raised as to the legality of the action of the French in letting a boat go from the *Pascal* to set fire to the *Sungari*. This act was plainly seen by competent witnesses. The question is whether, after the Russians went on board the French boat, they did not immediately become noncombatants and thereby incapacitated for any act of war. But even so the further question arises whether the burning of that merchant vessel was an act of war. It may be that it was done by the officers of the ship and not by Russian naval men. In any case this is one of the questions raised by the event. That the neutral commanders look upon these refugees as noncombatants is seen from their subsequent action.

In the final adjustment of the matter the neutral commanders engaged to take these men to ports belonging to their respective countries and there guarantee their parole till the end of the war. It is hard to see how this could be done without keeping them in confinement. If this is to be the outcome of it all there are some who will think that it would have been more soldierly to surrender at discretion and become Japanese prisoners of war whereby they would have stood some chance of an exchange of prisoners. They did not want to surrender, for that would have impaired their honor; but some will ask whether by becoming virtual prisoners to neutral powers and causing them annoyance and expense they did not impair their honor more than they would have done by surrendering. It is universally recognized that to surrender to overwhelming odds is an honorable proceeding for it saves useless shedding of blood; but circumstances alter cases and it must be left to those who are expert in [page 74] the technicalities of martial etiquette to determine to what extent these Russians preserved the luster of their nation's fame by accepting the offer of the neutral commanders.

Another phase of the matter appears when we attempt to surmise what the Japanese would have done had the situation been reversed. It is our opinion that if they had gone forth to a hopeless fight they would have fought it to a finish and when their vessels sank under them they would either have gone down with them or they would have abandoned ship and been picked up by the Russians as prisoners of war.

On the twenty-third of February the Korean and Japanese governments through their proper representatives signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. Of course there is no use in discussing the degree of spontaneity with which the Korean government entered into this compact. It was, as the Koreans say, a case of *halsu epsu*; but if we look at it from a democratic standpoint and ask what the majority of the Korean people think about it we shall get another aspect of the question. The present chaotic state of the national finances and of popular discontent show something of what Russian influence has accomplished in Korea; and the people are coming to realize the fact. They are passionately attached to the theory of national independence.

We say theory advisedly. This word independence is a sort of fetich to which they bow, but they think that independence means liberation from outside control alone, forgetting that genuine independence means likewise a liberation from evil influences within, and that liberty so far from being *carte blanche* to do as one pleases is in truth the very apotheosis of law. What Korea wants is education and until steps are taken in that line there is no use in hoping for a genuinely independent Korea. Now, we believe that a large majority of the best informed Koreans realize that Japan and Japanese influence stand for education and enlightenment and that while the paramount influence of any one, outside power is in some sense a humiliation, the [page 75] paramount influence of Japan will cause far less genuine cause for humiliation than has the paramount influence of Russia. Russia secured her predominance by pandering to the worst elements in Korean officialdom. Japan holds it by strength of arm, but she holds it in such a way that it gives promise of something better. The word reform never passed the Russians' lips. It is the insistent cry of Japan. The welfare of the Korean people never showed its head above the Russian horizon but it fills the whole vision of Japan; not from altruistic motives mainly but because the prosperity of Korea and that of Japan rise and fall with the same tide.

Korea has reached a definite crisis in her history. If Russia wins, Korea will become a small fraction of that heterogeneous mass called the Holy Russian Empire, for by signing an offensive and defensive alliance with Japan Korea becomes the foe of Russia and this will be all the excuse Russia needs for seizing the whole peninsula in case the war terminates favorably for her. Having made this alliance, therefore, it is the business of all Koreans both official and non-official to bend every energy to the securing of a Japanese victory.

Korea has never had a better chance than the present to disprove the statements of those who say that the Koreans are a decadent people and lacking in stamina. Those who know best are aware that with a proper incentive and proper leadership the Koreans of the northern and eastern provinces would fight magnificently. They have not had an opportunity to show what they are made of since the days of the *Tai-wun-kun* when in 1866 they defeated the French in *Kang-wha* and in 1871 when they held a little fort on that Island against an overwhelming force of Americans and died every man at his post rather than give up their position. It should be remembered that there are some twelve or fifteen million people in Korea. From this number an army of two hundred thousand could be raised. Such an army properly fed, clothed, paid and led would prove a powerful weapon in the hands of the Japanese. Korea produces [page 76] enough rice and other food stuff to feed both the Korean people and the Japanese army and when once the Russians were driven out of Manchuria the Japanese army could leave behind them a competent Korean army to safeguard the frontier. This army at first under Japanese leadership would be a better military school than any built in Seoul, it would inspire the Koreans with selfrespect and would soon break down the prevalent notion that military rank is inferior to civil rank.

What is meant by a decadent people? We say the North American Indian is decadent because he is unable to adjust himself to the changed conditions of life and is fast becoming extinct, but the Korean people are no more decadent than the Chinese. They are physically virile and can be proved to be cowards only when put to proper tests. These have never been applied during recent years excepting in the instances cited, which go to prove the opposite. Why does the Korean allow himself to be cuffed about at the pleasure of the alien when a Japanese would leap to his own defense? It is because the Korean knows that he has no means of proper redress, no consul to appeal to, no Government which considers the physical and property rights of its subjects its main objects for being. Give a Korean the right and the ability to summon his assailant before an unbiased tribunal and do the readers of this *Review* imagine the people even of Seoul would not leap to avenge themselves of the cuffs and kicks which are so freely bestowed upon them? That court would have to sit night and day for the first few weeks, until it should be discovered that Koreans have personal rights which people are bound to respect.

The coming of the Japanese troops has prevented the bringing of rice up to Seoul from the country, for the country-people are uncertain as to the safety of travel; and for this reason it will not be many weeks before Seoul is face to face with a very serious proposition. If the rice should give out there would be many deaths in [page 77] Seoul in a very short time. It should be one of the first things for the government to attend to. There is plenty of rice in the country, and ways and means for bringing it up to Seoul should be immediately considered. It would be a great pity if the coming in of the Japanese should even indirectly cause such a calamity. The one thing that *Yi Yong-ik* is praised for is the fact that he brought in *Annam* rice and relieved Seoul from starvation. If now there should be a scarcity here it would do much to cause disaffection against the Japanese. We hope that this important matter is already under consideration.

News Calendar.

On January 24th the Korean Government sent to various Powers a declaration of her neutrality. This was done without the knowledge of the Foreign Office. The announcement was made to the various legations in Seoul at a late date.

On Jan. 24 the contract of the Belgian adviser to the Home Department was signed. It was dated from June 1904 and for a term of three years.

On the same day there came one hundred and forty-seven men to superintend the pushing of the construction of the Seoul-Pusan railway.

On Jan. 26 Pak Che-sun was appointed Foreign Minister; being in Peking he was immediately sent for. Min Yong-chul was appointed Minister to China in his place.

Pak Chung-yang, was appointed Minister of Education late in Jan. but as his duties in connection with the royal funeral demanded his attention Han Kang-ho was appointed Acting Minister.

About Jan. 27 Russia, France, Germany, and England formally commended the declaration of neutrality. The other powers reserved their opinion.

All through the latter part of January the Korean soldiers and police levied blackmail on all wealthy houses in Pyeng-yang and the foreigners there were rather uneasy. Threats had been made against them by the *tonghak* and many of the natives were leaving the city, but on the 26th it was learned that one hundred Japanese residents of that city had formed a home guard and that all there were safe.

Because of the general uneasiness several foreigners in the employ of the government were asked to go to the palace and act as a sort of body-guard to His Majesty, beginning from about the 26th of January.

Tales of robberies all over the country came in to Seoul in rapid succession but we have not space to give them in detail. It is sufficient to say that great disaffection was evident throughout the country. There [page 78] were the *tonghaks* in the north, the *nanihak* in the south and at the same time the *ajuns* throughout the country threatened to lead the people in a general insurrection.

All through January the Japanese were busy arranging military stations every forty li between Seoul and Pusan. In various places small buildings were erected sufficient to house twenty or thirty men.

On the 22nd of January Gen. Ijichi arrived in Seoul and became the military attaché of the Japanese legation. On the 26th he asked the Foreign Office what the position of the Korean Government actually was as between Russia and Japan and he demanded some definite statement. The Foreign Minister of course answered that Korea favored neither exclusively but was neutral.

On the 28th. ult. the Japanese brought in a large quantity of barley to Kunsan and landed it there. It appeared as if they intended to land troops there instead of at some more northerly port.

On Jan. 29 the Foreign Office complained to the Russian Legation of the disorderly actions of Russian soldiers in the street, who caught Korean women and forcibly kissed and otherwise insulted them. The Russians took steps to stop the outrages.

On Jan. 29 all military students in Japan were recalled by the Korean Government.

Instructions were sent to Min Yong-chan to attend the Red Cross Society's convention in Switzerland this Spring.

The Peddlars began their real work in January by levying on all the wealthy people in Seoul except high officials, under the pretense that was it payment for protection.

By the beginning of February it began to be plain that trouble was brewing. Hopes of peace which had up to that time been held out were withdrawn and the general feeling that Russia would back down at the last moment were shown to be false. Reports came continually of Russian movements toward the Yalu and the tone of the negotiations between the two countries became distinctly more uncompromising. The Korean people watched events with great interest but not so as to interfere with the annual stone fights which began rather earlier than usual this year.

On Feb. sixth a very unpleasant collision took place between Korean gendarmes and Russian soldiers. Two of

the latter seized a woman on the street near the Japanese quarter and insulted her. A crowd gathered and assumed a most threatening attitude. The Russians drew their weapons and held the crowd at bay but some gendarmes came along who, after a brisk fight, succeeded in disarming the Russians and taking them to the Russian Legation.

Out of 154 pawnshops in Seoul there are now only 70 in operation. This is a good gauge of the feelings of the people as to the security of property in war times.

The race of counterfeiters is not extinct. Japanese have lately been counterfeiting the Dai Ichi Ginko notes and passing them at Chemulpo. One culprit was caught and imprisoned for eight months, another for six months and another for three.

[page 79] In the town of Chungju about 130 miles South from Seoul the Tonghaks gathered in force in January and declared that they were no longer Korean subjects and would not listen to the commands of the government.

Pak Che-sun the newly appointed Foreign Minister started from Peking on his way to Korea on Feb. 2nd but having come as far as Chin-whang Island near Port Arthur he put back to Tientsin because of the beginning of hostilities.

On Feb. 1st twenty-nine more Koreans started for Hawaii. We learn that recently the Koreans sent jen 500 of their earnings home to Korea in a single draft.

There is said to be a shortage in taxes from South Chulla Province of some \$370,000, due to excessive rains and other causes.

On Feb. and the Russians stored 1,500 tons of coal in their storehouses on Roze Island, also 100 bags of barley and other food stuffs.

About the middle of February Mr. W. F. Sands left Korea on his way to America.

On the eighth the Japanese authorities posted notices in Seoul saying that what Japan was about to do was dictated by motives of righteousness and that the property and personal rights of Koreans would be respected. If any Korean was ill-treated by a Japanese he must report the case and justice would be done him.

On the eighth persistent rumors of the approach of the Japanese were verified by the appearance of a large fleet of Japanese transports and war vessels off Chemulpo. The Russian Gunboat *Koryetz* attempted to leave for Port Arthur but was stopped by the Japanese fleet at the mouth of the bay and turned back. A shot was fired from the *Koryetz* but it is claimed by the Russians that it was by accident. The Japanese fired two torpedoes at the *Koryetz* neither of which took effect. Thereupon the Russian boat put back to her anchorage. At four o'clock three Japanese transports came into the harbor convoyed by two cruisers and three torpedo-boats. The work of disembarkation began almost immediately and continued all night by the light of huge fires built on the jetty. The cruisers and torpedo-boats went out the same day and rejoined the fleet, commanded by Admiral Urui, his flagship being the Naniwa,

Early in February the people of Yichun seventy-two miles north of Seoul arose in revolt and drove their prefect away because of his extor, tions.

On Feb. 7th the government received a despatch from the prefect of Wiju saying that 8,000 Russians were approaching the border and that the Japanese were preparing to flee.

From the eighth of February the port of Chemulpo was in a sense blockaded by the Japanese, only by their consent could boats go in or out.

On the seventh the Foreign Office sent to all the Korean ports ordering that news should be immediately telegraphed of any important movements.

[page 80] On the seventh the Japanese authorities posted up a notice in various parts of Seoul saying that the people must not be disturbed if Japanese troops should arrive; on the same day telegraphic connection with Pyongyang, Sungjin, Taiku, Chungju, Fusan and Masanpo was broken. The Japanese took possession of Prince

Euiwha's house in Seoul and set a guard, but about the twentieth they gave it back again. It is said that the seizure was because of a debt and that when this was liquidated the house was again given up. The same day the Osaka Shosen Kaisha suspended their regular schedule of steamers to Korea.

On the ninth occurred the Battle of Chemulpo which we have described elsewhere. The troops which had landed during the night came up to Seoul by rail. A large number of Japanese officials and others were at the South Gate Station to welcome them. It was not known whether there would be any popular demonstration against the entrance of the troops into the city but all such fears were groundless for everything remained perfectly quiet and the entrance took place without any excitement at all. Even the Korean crowd that gathered to witness the event was comparatively small. His Majesty was considerably disturbed by this coming of the Japanese in force but no Japanese went near the palace nor was there any cause for alarm. At twelve o'clock the noise of the cannonading at Chemulpo was plainly heard in Seoul and people listened in awe to the distant thunder of battle wondering what it portended. There was no such exodus from the city as might have been expected but it is said that a considerable number of wealthy men sent their families and their valuables out of the city. It was on this same day that the Japanese took possession of the Korean telegraph offices at Masanpo and Fusan. Immediately after the battle the Japanese authorities put a guard about the Russian Consulate in Chemulpo and no one could see the Russian Consul without first securing a pass from the Japanese Consul. Some understand that this was for the purpose of protecting the Consul. A guard was also put over the offices of the Eastern Steamship Company of which Mr. Sabatin was agent, and other Russian houses were also guarded. This same day the Japanese began coaling the Korean war-vessel the *Yang-mu-ho*, This boat had been partially paid for by the Korean government. The beginning of active hostilities immediately affected exchange and the price of a yen fell from \$2.30 to \$1.60 in Korean money.

Great uneasiness is said to exist in Pyengyang among the natives and many are fleeing to the country because of the near approach of the Russians. One thing is certain, the Koreans feel very differently toward the Japanese than toward the Russians.

On the twelfth of February at half past seven in the morning the Russian Minister and all the other members of the Legation Staff and all Russian residents in Seoul went to the West Gate Station and took a special train for Chemulpo. They were attended by about eighty Russian soldiers. Many of the other Foreign Representatives were on the station platform to bid the Russian Minister and his suite good bye but not a single Korean official was there.

On Feb. 2nd the Russian Minister replied to a protest of the Korean Government against the cutting of timber at Pyuk-dong, some distance back from the Yalu, saying that the concession covered not only the banks of that river but of all its tributaries!

On Feb. 2nd Dr. Furuichi the new president of the Seoul-Fusan Railway arrived at Fusan and a few days later he reached Seoul.

On Feb. 5th the Japanese Minister ordered all Japanese subjects to remove from Wiju and Sungjin.

About the 23rd inst Dr. Takaki of the First Japanese Bank started for Tokyo. His departure was due to a difference of opinion as to the policy to be adopted by the bank in Seoul. It may not be generally known that the Seoul Branch of the Dai Ichi Ginko is the third largest one, only Chemulpo and Yokohama exceeding it in size. Dr. Takaki will soon be back in Seoul.

On the eleventh Yun Ung yul was made Minister of War.

The prefect of Nam-won in Chulla Province telegraphed on the eleventh saying that Japanese had demanded 1,000 bags of rice, 1,000 loads of firewood and 300 telegraph posts. That same evening the only places that were still connected with Seoul by Korean telegraph were Haiju, Songdo, Chemulpo and Wonsan.

A goodly number of war-correspondents have arrived on the scene and more are expected. They are having difficulty in securing their credentials from Tokyo. Several of them have gone north without their papers, trusting, probably, that these will come on later. Horse flesh is soaring, one Korean refusing to sell his animal for less than Yen 400. Japanese interpreters have been in brisk demand, some getting as high as Yen 200 a month for following the war with correspondents. Mr. Jack London who represents the Hearst syndicate had a hard time in getting here. He succeeded in making Mokpo in small coasting steamers but from there he had to come in a

sampan. He made Kunsan in twenty-seven hours but from there to Chemulpo occupied five days, owing to strong head winds and rough seas.

All through the month persistent rumors have been circulating to the effect that the Russians had crossed the Yalu. About the 20th of February Major Togo together with six gendarmes and two interpreters were seized by the Russians at Wiju. These Japanese were on a scouting tour but were not technically within the Russian lines, so they will doubtless be treated as prisoners of war. Then it was reported that the Russians were in Chongju some two thousand strong while 400 more were in Kasan. Then scouts were seen opposite the river from Anju and at last reports Russian videttes were seen by Japanese between Pyengyang and Anju but both sides retired without attacking. The telegraph wires were cut between Pyengyang and Anju. It is the thought that the Russians will attempt to impede the progress of Japanese toward the Yalu so as to gain time and prevent the Japanese utilizing ice to cross that river. In her unprepared state every day's delay means much to Russia and this policy is quite easy to understand. In [page 82] spite of the Russians being in Anju the Americans at the Unsan mines came down to Pyengyang on the 24th. It is not known yet whether they got out before the Russians appeared in the vicinity or whether they came through the Russian lines.

At midnight of the 23rd of February the final seal was put upon the Korea-Japan alliance, whereby, among other things, Korea grants Japan leave to use her territory in the present campaign against Russia, Japan guarantees Korea her independence subject to certain conditions necessary under the circumstances. There are those who claim that Korean independence is a thing of the past, and it is true that for the time being it is slightly adumbrated by the coming of the Japanese but it remains to be seen whether, after the present crisis is over. Japan will not accord to Korea the same degree of genuine independence as the United States has granted Cuba. It will depend much upon Korea herself whether this desirable goal is ever reached. If she proves that there are Koreans capable of carrying on an enlightened administration here her chances of real independence may be good, but the future alone can decide this. Of one thing there can be little doubt, that the present action of Korea gives promise of better things in the future than any other action could have done. It is a right step if rightly followed up. It may not be a satisfactory situation for the Koreans to contemplate but it is a necessary result of coquetting with Russia, from whom she has nothing to hope and every thing to fear.

It is said, with what truth we do not know, that when a person is being fascinated by a snake it causes him an unpleasant shock when a third party comes in and breaks the spell. Whether the simile applies we leave it for our readers to determine.

The need for Japanese barracks has caused some commotion in Seoul. Every Japanese house is full, half the Government barracks and nineteen other public buildings are crowded, among them all the Government schools.

On the night of the Yi Yong-ik was taken to Chemulpo by the Japanese and put on board a boat bound for Japan. The country is thus rid of a man who though possessed of a certain degree of ability has done very much to bring the Korean government into difficulties. He was detested by the common people and hated by officials. It shows his ability that, without any family backing, he held his own so long against the almost unanimous opposition of the official class. We will give a resum6 of his his career later.

About the 26th Yi Keun-tak, one of the leading pro-Russians, left Seoul for the country, having seen all his promises of Russian help fall to the ground. Hyun Sang-geun is said to be in asylum in one of the Foreign Legations. He is probably safer there than in his own home at this juncture. It is a credit to the Japanese that this radical change has been effected without bloodshed among Korean officials. In time these men who have deceived the Emperor so long may be brought to book but if so it will be by proper process of law.

The peddlars guild dropped to pieces like a house of cards. They were evidently a pack of cowards intent only upon plunder, if the opportunity should come.

As a rule the Japanese soldiers are very orderly but we were sorry to hear that an American lady while passing through the Japanese quarter on the 25th was struck violently in the back by a Japanese soldier who was off duty. It seems to be best for foreign ladies to go about either in chairs or rickshas rather than on foot at such a time as this. There is no doubt that the Japanese authorities have every intention of keeping exemplary order among the troops but it is the best thing to give as little opportunity as possible to the Japanese soldiers to show incivility, by refraining from walking about among them more than is absolutely necessary.

We were sorry to learn that Dr. O. R. Avison's two youngest children were bitten by a pet dog which died later

under very suspicious circumstances. It is not absolutely certain that the dog was rabid but Dr. Avison has taken the children, to Nagasaki to be treated at the Pasteur Institute there.

It has been repeatedly stated that the Korean troops are to join the Japanese in the present campaign and as the month draws to an end it begins to look as if it were true. On the 27th, it was stated that after the funeral of the Queen Dowager several thousand will go north.

Telegraphic news from the north on the 27th stated that Russian forces crossing Ma-jun Pass in the north were opposed by Korean soldiers and several of the latter were killed.

On the twenty-sixth the Japanese asked the Korean government to permit them to build a railroad between Seoul and Wiju. Up to the time of going to press the reply had not been given but there can be no doubt that it will be given. It is believed that the Japanese contemplate beginning the construction of the road very soon.

Koreans of certain classes are reaping a golden harvest by the coming of the Japanese. Coolies who received about thirty sen a day are now receiving Yen 3 per day for carrying loads north. From this amount thirty sen are deducted and given to the foreman of each gang. There are certain other fees to be paid out of it but at the very least they get Yen 2 a day for their labor. The sudden demand for Korean money to use in the country is what has driven exchange to its present figure. It will spell ruin to many a Korean who receives his twenty or thirty Korean dollars a month, for prices remain at the point where they were when exchange was double what it is now. It is easy to push prices up but hard to pull them down again.

One of the Korean refugees in Tokyo has given Yen 10,000 to the Japanese war fund.

The Japanese seem to be prepared for every contingency. They are masters of detail and they may be depended upon to know what their resources are and how to utilize them at any moment. It is this ability to handle large bodies of men with ease and facility that augurs well for their success. Someone put it very well the other day when he said that the Russians are stubborn fighters but each man must be given a definite command at every move while with the Japanese each man, while thoroughly amenable to orders, is an intelligent fighter and uses his head as well as his muscles.

It has been said that when the Americans in Pyengyang find it necessary to remove from that place they will be sent to Shanghai rather than to Seoul, for if the need should arise of foreigners leaving Seoul as well there would be double work. It is to be hoped that war will work northward rather than southward.

All Russian property in Seoul was put in care of the French when the Russians left Seoul.

For a few days it was rather difficult to get mail out of Korea but as soon as the landing of troops began in earnest, the returning transports began to carry mail nearly every day to Japan.

The Chief Eunuch, Kang Suk-ho, who has been strongly pro-Russian in his sympathies is reported to be about to make a protracted visit to the country.

Min Sang-ho, the popular chief of the Postal and Telegraph Bureau has resigned and Yi Ha-yong has taken his place.

On Feb. 28th the rather startling news arrived in Seoul that fifty Russian cavalymen appeared outside the north gate of Pyeng-yang near the tomb of Kija. They were fired upon by the Japanese guards at the gate. They returned the fire but soon retired in the direction they had come. Only a part of the Americans living in Sun-chun arrived in Pyang-yang before this skirmish took place and there is some anxiety as to their condition. It is said the Russians are treating the natives very well in the north and there is very little danger that these foreigners will be molested.

[page 81] KOREAN HISTORY.

If a Chinaman or a Manchu should come here and do as your people did they would be treated in the same manner as we did your people. In fact, we did put to death a Chinaman because he came here in disguise and changed his costume; and the Chinese government never said a word about it, for they knew this to be our law.

Even had we known their nationality, their actions were so contrary to our laws that we could hardly have spared them, how much less then when we did know it. This matter hardly needs more explanation. Your letter was sent without the proper formalities and we are not bound to answer it. This is not a matter that a mere provincial governor can handle. As we are China's vassal it is our duty to consult the court at Peking on all foreign matters. Tell this to your chief and do not be surprised that in order to show the true state of the case we have been led to speak thus plainly."

One needs but to read this to see that it is an unanswerable argument. From a merely political and legal point of view the Korean government had all the facts on her side, though from the standpoint of humanity they were wrong. It is strange that they omitted the strongest argument of all namely, that they asked the Frenchmen to leave and they refused. It is evident that by so doing they made themselves amenable to Korean law, and took the consequences, good or bad. One cannot admire enough the heroism which they displayed in staying to suffer with their coreligionists, though the opportunity was given them to save themselves by departure. It cannot be doubted that the rapid spread of Catholicism in Korea is due in large measure to the heroic self-sacrifice of those men and others like them, who literally gave their lives to the work. It would be wrong however to say that the government was wholly without excuse.

This answer was not accepted as satisfactory by the French government and a rejoinder was sent saying that thereafter French subjects who should be taken on Korean soil must be sent to Peking, otherwise the Korean government would lay itself open to grave evils. But soon after [page 82] this the revolution of 1848 took place in France and these eastern questions were all forgotten for the time being.

In 1849 the king died without male issue and his grandmother Kim nominated his nephew, the son of a banished brother. The young man entered upon the duties of his office at the age of nineteen and he is known by his posthumous title of Ch'ul-jong Tawang. This reign of fourteen years beheld some important reforms. The law was reaffirmed that the families of banished men might follow them into exile. Gambling was severely interdicted. The merchants' monopolies were broken up. A hard fight was made against bribery and speculation in high places. Country gentlemen were forbidden to seize and beat any one belonging to the lower orders.

This king was the son Prince Chun-gye by a slave woman named Kang. He was the great-grandson of the Crown Prince, Sado, whom his father nailed up in the box.

His reign was an important one in two respects. First the very rapid spread of Roman Catholicism and second the settled policy which was adopted toward all outside influences. When the reign began there were about 11,000 Christians in Korea and when it closed in 1863 there were in the vicinity of 20,000, or almost double. Everyone knew that to combat it there would be need of a king of a different calibre from Ch'ul jong; and so during these years the work of propagating the new faith went on steadily and without any considerable drawbacks. The picture of the country as drawn by the French is indeed a sad one. They say the king had shown himself quite incapable and had become a mere debauchee. The highest officials were fattening off the people and the latter were frequently consulting the books of prophecy which foretold the dissolution of the dynasty. And now foreigners began to enter the country in greater numbers. Maistre, Janson, Berneux followed each other in quick succession in the early fifties. The latter became Bishop of Korea.

About the end of 1860 came the news of the fall of Peking before the combined French and English forces, the flight of the Emperor and the burning and looting of the Summer Palace. The news was that thousands of foreigners had come [page 83] to overthrow the empire. The utmost consternation prevailed in Seoul. An official memorialised the throne giving three causes for lively concern.

(1) The Emperor, fleeing before his enemies, might wish to find asylum in Korea, or at least might take refuge in some Manchu fortress just beyond the border. Every possible approach ought to be strictly guarded so that the Emperor might not dare to force his way into Korean territory. (This shows the depth of Korea's loyalty to China.)

(2) The outlaw bands that infested the neutral strip between Korea and China might attempt an invasion of Korea and forts ought to be built to prevent such an enterprise.

(3) Worst of all, there might be a possible invasion of Korea by the foreigners. Korean cities would be wrecked, the morale of the people would be lowered, a depraved religion would be established. As the foreigners were strong only on the sea or on level ground the mountainous character of Korea would be of material advantage to her. The army should be reorganised, and forts should be built along the principal approaches to Seoul; also at Tong-na, Nam-yang, Pu-byung and In-ju. A fort should be built on high ground commanding the passage of the narrows at Kang-wha. Western boats could not of course ascend the Han River. As the foreign religion spread rapidly in the provinces every precaution should be taken to prevent the foreign priests communicating with their countrymen abroad.

The ministry and the people all applauded this plan and the memorialist was made a judge and given power to carry out his scheme. But news came thick and fast telling of the killing of thousands of Chinese soldiers, and the returning embassy in February 1851. gave definite news of the flight of the Emperor and the treaty wrested from the great Chinese empire. This news electrified the people. All business was suspended. The well-to-do people all fled to mountain retreats, the doughty memorialist among the first. The ministers sent away their families and their goods. Many of the high officials asked the protection of the Roman Catholics, and tried to procure Roman Catholic books or badges of any kind, and many wore these at their belts in broad daylight. The yamen-runners were loud in their protestations that they had [page 84] had nothing to do with the persecution of the Catholics. It was believed by the French in Korea at the time that a most favorable treaty could have been concluded just at that time; but no effort in that direction was made by the French.

Gradually, the excitement abated and preparations for war were pushed, the wealthy classes supplying the money for the same. Old arms were resurrected, and cannon were cast on the model of one obtained from the French wrecks. At this time there were nine Frenchmen in Korea.

The year 1861 was a hard one for the people. They were taxed to the last farthing and local riots were exceedingly common. The French give us an amusing incident, where the widows of a certain prefecture were taxed. They rose up en masse and mobbed the prefect's office, caught his mother, tore off all her garments and left her well nigh naked. This of course meant that the prefect was disgraced for life.

Chapter XIV.

Beside the death-bed of King Ch'ul-jong. . . . a bold woman rise of the Tong-hak its founder killed. . . .the King's father becomes regent. . . .his two mistakes . . .he selects a Queen . . . Russian request the Regent pushed by the conservative party death-warrant of Bishop BerneuxFrench priests executed priceless manuscript lost a French priest escapes to China and tells the newsChina advises Korea to make peace . . . shipwreck of the "Surprise" . . . face of the "General Sherman" persecution renewed . . . French reconnoitering expedition . . . blockade of the Han announced French expedition under Admiral Roze . . . preparations for defense correspondence. . . French defeat. . .the French retire . . .Koreans exultant persecution redoubled the Kyung-bok Palace rebuilt American expedition under Admiral Rodgers American victory on Kang-wha the fleet retires monument erected in Seoul.

The events of the present reign, which began in January 1864, are fresh in the memory of many still living, and the account here given is taken largely from statements of eyewitnesses of the scenes therein described. A detailed history of the present reign would fill a volume in itself and of course we can but briefly touch upon the leading events in it.

[page 85] The circumstances which ushered in the reign are graphically described by Dallet and are substantially as follows. King Ch'ul-jong had been suffering for some time with a pulmonary affection, but in January of 1864 he seemed better and he began to walk about a little. On the fifteenth, feeling greater uneasiness than usual, he went into his garden for a walk. There he was suddenly taken with faintness and was just able to drag himself back to his room, where he fell in a dying condition. The Minister Kim Choa-geun, his son Kim Pyung-gu and three other relatives were immediately in attendance. As they were deliberating, the nephew of the Dowager Queen Cho, widow of the King Ik-jong, happened to pass, and seeing what was going on, he hastened to his aunt's apartments and exclaimed, "What are you doing here? The king is dead." He advised her to hasten to the king's apartments, gain possession of the royal seals and nominate to the throne some one of her choice, declaring him to be the son and heir of King Ik-jong, her husband. This woman thereupon hastened to the side of the expiring king where she found the attendants, as we have said, and with them the queen, who held the royal seals in a fold of her skirt. The Dowager Queen peremptorily demanded these seals, and when the queen demurred she snatched them violently from her. No one dared oppose the determined woman who thus took fortune by the forelock and in the course of a moment turned the course of empire. She then made proclamation in the name of the king, saying "The king says the royal seals shall be in charge of Queen Cho. The throne shall go to Myungbok, second son of Prince Heung-sung (whose name was Yi Ha-eung). Minister Chong shall be executor of the king's will and Minister Kim shall go and find the newly appointed king." The Dowager Queen Cho thus became Regent and the queen's party, the Kim family, had to retire from power.

It was at the very beginning of the reign that the peculiar sect called the Tong-hak arose in the south. Its founder was one Ch'oe Pok-sul of Kyong-ju in Kyung-sang Province. The great formula of the sect was the mysterious sentence *Ch'un Ju cho a chung yung se bul mang man sa eui*, which means "May the Lord of Heaven aid our minds that we may ever [page 86] remember, and may He make all things turn out according to

our desire.” The adherents of this sect would sit and sing this formula by the hour. They would also dance, brandishing swords in a sort of frenzy, and pretend to be rising to heaven. The name Tong-hak or “Eastern Sect” was given by themselves to distinguish themselves from the Su-hak or “Western Sect,” namely Roman Catholicism. So at least some affirm. Its rise was exceedingly rapid and soon it had enrolled an enormous number of people. The government was at last obliged to take cognizance of it, and a body of troops was sent south, who captured and put to death the founder of the sect. This put an end for the time to its active propagandism but it was by no means dead, as we shall see.

The Dowager Queen Cho was a violent opponent of Christianity and filled all the offices with enemies of the Roman Catholics. But she was not to hold the reins of power long. The king’s father in view of his son’s elevation to the throne had received the title Prince Ta-wun, or Ta-wun-gun as he is usually called. He was a man of commanding personality and inflexible will and on the whole he was the most striking character in modern Korean history. He has been variously estimated. Some have considered him the greatest statesman in Korea; others have taken him for a mere demagogue. His main characteristic was an indomitable will which took the bit in its teeth and swept toward the goal of its desire irrespective of every obstacle, whether of morals, economics, politics or consanguinity. He was withal unable to read the signs of the times. The two great mistakes of his life were, first in supposing he could eradicate Roman Catholicism by force, and second in supposing that he could prevent the opening of Korea to treaty relations. The regency naturally passed into his hands and he tacitly agreed to uphold the principles of the conservative party that had raised him to power.

His first act was to order a remeasurement of the tilled land of the country with a view to the increasing of the revenue. The treasury was empty and he had plans in mind that would require money. One of these plans was the erection of a new palace on the ruins of the Kyung-bok Palace, an enterprise which the finances of the country by no means [page 87] warranted. His next act was to betroth his son the king to his wife’s niece. His wife had two brothers one of whom was living but the other had died leaving one daughter. It was this daughter of Min Ch’i-rok who became queen. She was the king’s senior by four years. As her father was dead she became the foster child of her uncle Min Ch’i-gu. In this union, as everyone knows, the Regent sought to cement his own power, but, as everyone likewise knows, he made a serious mistake.

In January 1866 a Russian gunboat dropped anchor in the harbor of Wun-san and a letter was sent to Seoul asking for freedom of trade with Korea. The answer given was that as Korea was the vassal of China the matter must be negotiated at Peking, and an envoy was dispatched for that purpose.

It is said that Roman Catholic adherents made use of the great uneasiness which prevailed in government circles respecting Russia to compose a letter urging that the only way to ward off Russia was by making an alliance with France and England. It is said that the Regent received this communication and gave it special and, as some believe, favorable attention. We are told that the Roman Catholics were all in a most hopeful state of mind, fully believing the hour had come for the awakening of Korea. In the light of subsequent events it is difficult to determine whether the Regent’s interest in the plan was real or whether it was a ruse whereby to make the final coup all the more effective. All things considered, the latter theory fits the facts more perfectly. The French themselves believed the Regent was pushed on to the great persecution of 1866 by the violent anti-Christian party that had put him in power, and that it was simply another case of “If thou do it not thou art not Caesar’s friend.” They found fault with him for harboring the idea of a combination with this foreign element and demanded the death of the foreign priests and a general persecution. It is said the Regent reminded them of the burning of the Summer Palace at Peking and the taking of that Imperial Capital, but that they answered that they had killed Frenchmen before without harm resulting, and they could do it again.

Whatever may have been the pressure brought to bear on him, he finally signed the death warrant of all the foreign [page 88] priests in the land, and on February 23rd Bishop Berneux was seized and thrown into the common jail, but two days later he was transferred to the prison where noble prisoners were confined. On the 26th he was brought before the tribunal where he gave his name as Chang. He said he had come to save the souls of the Koreans and that he had been in the country ten years. He refused to leave except by force. As the government had made up its mind as to its course, his death warrant was then made out, and it ran thus: “The accused, Chang, refuses to obey the king. He will not apostatize. He will not give the information demanded. He refuses to return to his own country. Therefore, after the usual punishments, he will be decapitated.” While he was awaiting his end, Bretenieres, Beaulieu, and Dorie were taken, and after similar trial were condemned to death. All four of these heroic men were decapitated at the public execution ground near the river on the eighth of March and their bodies were buried together in a trench, from which they were recovered six months later and given burial by Roman Catholic adherents. Four days later two more priests, Petitnicolas and Pourthie, were executed at the same place. It was the latter who lost at this time not only his life but his priceless manuscripts, a Korean Grammar and a Latin-Korean-Chinese Dictionary, on which he had been at work for ten years. Three more of the priests, Daveluy, Aumaitre and Huin were seized soon after this and put to death, but not till the latter had despatched a letter to China, which was destined to turn up long afterward. There were three priests left, Calais, Feron and Ridel. The last of these was selected to attempt the journey to China and give information

of these terrible events. After almost incredible labors he succeeded in getting away from the shore of Whang-ha Province in a junk together with eleven native believers, and made his way to Chefoo. From there he hastened to Tientsin and informed Admiral Roze of the death of his fellow-countrymen. The Admiral promised to hasten to the rescue of the remaining two and the avenging of those who had been slain; but a revolt in Cochinchina prevented him from redeeming his promise until the following September. .

The Chinese government, through the annual embassy, [page 89] informed the king of Korea that the killing of foreigners was an exceedingly foolish proceeding and that he had better make peace with France on the best terms possible, for if China could not withstand her surely Korea could not. The Regent replied, however, that it was not the first time French blood had remained unavenged in Korea.

On June 24th an American sailing vessel, the "Surprise," was wrecked off the coast of Whang-ha Province. Her captain and crew were hospitably treated and conducted to the Chinese border with great care, by order of the Regent, who thus illustrated the truth of the assertion that Korea would do no harm to men who were ship-wrecked on her coast. Even in the midst of an anti-foreign demonstration of the most severe type, these men were humanely treated and sent upon their way.

Early in September the sailing vessel "General Sherman" entered the mouth of the Ta-dong River. She carried five white foreigners and nineteen Asiatics. Her ostensible object was trade. The governor of P'yung-au Province sent, demanding the cause of her coming and the answer was that they desired to open up trade with Korea. Though told that this was impossible, the foreign vessel not only did not leave but, on the contrary, pushed up the river until she reached a point opposite Yangjak Island not far from the city of P'yungyang. It was only the heavy rains in the interior and an exceptionally high tide that allowed her to get across the bar, and soon she was stuck in the mud, and all hopes of ever saving her were gone. This rash move astonished the Koreans above measure. Something desperate must be the intentions of men who would drive a ship thus to certain destruction. After a time word came from the Regent to attack her if she did not leave at once. Then the fight began, but without effect on either side until the Koreans succeeded in setting fire to the "General Sherman" with fire-rafts. The officers and crew then were forced to drop into the water, where many of them were drowned. Those that reached the shore were immediately hewn down by the frenzied populace. The trophies of this fight are shown today in the shape of the anchor chains of the ill-fated vessel, which hang in one of the gateways of P'yung-yang. No impartial student of both sides [page 90] of this question can assert that the Koreans were specially blame-worthy. The ship had been warned off but had rashly ventured where no ship could go without being wrecked even were all other circumstances favorable. The Koreans could not know that this was a mere blunder. They took the vessel, and naturally, to be a hostile one and treated her accordingly.

In September the persecution of Roman Catholic adherents was resumed. This is said to have been caused by a letter from one of the Christians to the Regent urging a treaty of peace with France. But by this time Admiral Roze was ready to redeem his promise, and on the tenth of that month Bishop Ridel boarded his flagship at Chefoo. The French authorities had already informed the Chinese at Peking that France did not recognize the suzerainty of China over Korea and asserted that the land about to be conquered would be disposed of as France wished without reference to the Peking government. It was decided to send the corvette *la Primauguet*, and the aviso, *le Deroulede*, and the gunboat, *Tardif*, to make a preliminary survey of the approaches to Seoul. Bishop Ridel accompanied this expedition in the capacity of interpreter. Arriving off Clifford Islands on the twentieth, the little fleet entered Prince Jerome Gulf, and the following day *le Deroulede* was sent to explore the entrance to the Han River. Finding the channel between Kang-wha and the main land satisfactory, she returned to the anchorage and together they steamed up the river the only casualty being the loss of the false keel of the *Primauguet*. These vessels steamed up the river as far as the river towns opposite the capital, silencing a few forts on the way. Bishop Ridel used all his powers of persuasion to induce the commander to leave one of these boats here while the others went to China to report, but without avail. They all steamed away together.

Meanwhile there was panic in Seoul. The end had come, in the estimation of many of the people. A general stampede ensued and nearly a quarter of the citizens of Seoul fled away, leaving their houses and goods. We will remember that when Ridel escaped from Korea he left two companions behind. These made a desperate attempt to communicate with the French boats on the river, but so fierce was the persecution [page 91] and so watchful were the authorities that they were quite unable to do so. They finally escaped, however, by means of junks which carried them out into the Yellow Sea, where they fell in with Chinese boats that carried them to China.

Before the surveying expedition sailed back to China Bishop Ridel was informed by native Christians of the burning of the "General Sherman" and the fate of her crew, the renewal of the persecution and the order that all Christians be put to death after only a preliminary trial. He urged the commandant to stay, but the fleet sailed away and reported in China, where the real punitive expedition was rapidly preparing. On October eleventh the blockade of the Han River was announced to the Chinese authorities and to the various powers through their representatives at Peking, and then the French fleet sailed away to the conquest of Korea. The flotilla consisted of the seven boats *Querriere*, *Laplace*, *Primauguet*, *Deroulade*, *Kienchan*, *Tardif* and

Lebrethom,

But while these preparations were going on, other preparations were going on in Korea. The total complement of troops throughout the peninsula was called into requisition. Arms were forged and troops drilled. The Japanese government, even, was invited to take a hand in the war that was impending, but she did not respond. Japan herself was about to enter upon a great civil war, and had no force to spare for outside work, even if she had had the desire.

On October thirteenth the French fleet reached Korea and three days later the attack on Kang-wha commenced. In an hour's time the town was in the possession of the French and large amounts of arms, ammunition and provisions were seized, besides various other valuables such as treasure, works of art, books and porcelain. This reverse by no means disheartened the Koreans. Gen. Yi Kyung-ha was put in charge of the forces opposed to the "invaders." This force was led in person by Gen. Yi Wunheui who found the French already in possession of the fortress. The Koreans were in force at Tong-jin just across the estuary from Kangwha, and, fearing that the vessels would attempt to ascend the river, they sank loaded junks in the channel. This channel must have been much deeper than it is today.

[page 92] The Regent swore that any man who should suggest peace with the enemy should meet with instant death. A letter was sent to the French saying that the priests had come in disguise and had taken Korean names and had desired to lay their hands on the wealth of the land. It declared that the priests had been well killed. In reply the French said they had come in the name of Napoleon, Sovereign of the Grand French Empire, who desired the safety of his subjects, and that since nine of his subjects had been killed, it must be explained. They also demanded the three ministers who had been foremost in the persecution and in the killing of the priests should be handed over to them and that a plenipotentiary be appointed for the ratifying of a treaty. To this letter no answer was received.

Meanwhile Gen. Yang Hon-su had led 5,000 men to the fortress of Chong-jok on Kang-wha where a celebrated monastery stands. These men were mostly hardy mountaineers and tiger-hunters from Kang-gye in the far north, the descendants of those same men who in the ancient days of Koguryu drove back an army of Chinese 300,000 strong and destroyed all but 700 of them. This fortress is admirably situated for defense, lying as it does in a cup formed by a semi-circle of mountains and approachable from only one direction, where it is guarded by a crenellated wall and a heavy stone gate.

The great mistake of the French was in supposing this place could be stormed by a paltry 160 men. The whole French force could not have done it. No sooner had this little band come well within range of the concealed garrison than it was met by a withering fire which instantly put half of them *hors de combat*. After some attempts to make a stand in the shelter of trees, huts, rocks and other cover, a retreat was called and the French moved slowly back carrying their dead and wounded. They were closely pursued and with difficulty made their way back to the main body. The result would probably have been much more serious had not the retreating party been met by a body of reinforcements from the main body. The next day orders were given to fire the town and re-embark. This caused great surprise and dissatisfaction among the men, but we incline to the belief that [page 93] it was the only thing to do. The number of men that had been mustered to effect the humiliation of Korea was ridiculously small compared with what was necessary. Six thousand French might have done it, but six hundred — never. We need seek no further than this for the cause of the abandonment of the enterprise. To be sure, it had done infinitely more harm than good, and if it had been possible to succeed even at a heavy cost of life it would have been better to go on; but it was not possible.

The effect of this retreat upon the Regent and the court may be imagined. Peking had fallen before these "barbarians" but the tiger-hunters of the north had driven them away in confusion. If the reader will try to view this event from the ill-informed standpoint of the Korean court, he will see at once that their exultation was quite reasonable and natural. The last argument against a sweeping persecution of Christians was now removed and new and powerful arguments in favor of it were added. The fiat went forth that the plague of the foreign religion should be swept from the land. No quarter was to be given. Neither age nor sex nor quality were to weigh in the balance. From that time till 1870 the persecution was destined to rage with unabated fury and the French estimated the number killed at 8,000. The hardships and sufferings of this time are second to none in the history of religious persecutions. Hundreds fled to the mountains and there starved or froze to death. The tales of that terrible time remind one of the persecutions under the Roman Emperors or the no less terrible scenes of the Spanish Inquisition.

But to return to 1866. There were other events of interest transpiring. The pet scheme of the Regent to build his son a new palace was being worked out. The palace was in process of erection, when suddenly the funds gave out. Here the Regent committed his next great blunder. This time it was in the realm of finance. He entertained the fallacy that he could meet a deficit by coining money. Of course the only way to meet a deficit in this way was to debase the currency. He did it on a grand scale when he once determined upon it, for whereas the people had from time immemorial used a one-cash piece, he began to mint a hundred-cash piece [page 94] which was actually less than fifty cash in weight. One of these was given as a day's wage to each of the

workmen on the palace. This coin bore on its face the legend "The great Finance Hundred Cash Piece," but it proved to be very small finance indeed, for of course its issue was immediately followed by an enormous rise in the price of all commodities, and rice went up two hundred per cent. The government was thus plunged deeper in the mire than ever; but the Regent had set his will on this thing and was determined to carry it through at any cost. His next move, taken in the following year, was to bring in old, discarded, Chinese cash literally by the cart-load, across the border. This he had bought in China at auction prices and forced on the people as legal tender. At the same time he forced the people to work in gangs of 300 at a time on the palace without pay. In this way the work was finished, but it is safe to say that to this day the country has not recovered from the effects of that mad financiering. Wealthy citizens were called upon to make donations to the building fund, and this gained the sobriquet of "The Free-will Offering."

The year 1868, which meant so much for Japan, was not otherwise signalled in Korea than by a demand on the part of Russia that Korean refugees beyond the border be recalled. It also beheld the publication of the work "The Six Departments and their Duties." In September alone 2,000 Christians were killed, five hundred of them being residents of Seoul.

The United States had not forgotten the fate of the "General Sherman." She had no intention of letting the matter drop. In the early spring of 1871 minister Frederick F. Low, at Peking, received instructions from his government to go in company with Rear admiral Rudgers to the shores of Korea and attempt to conclude a treaty relative to the treatment of American seamen who might be cast upon the shores of that country. He was also instructed to try to make a trade convention with Korea looking toward the opening of Korea to foreign commerce. The fleet consisted of the war vessels *Colorado*, *Alaska*, *Bernicia*, *Monocacy* and *Palos*. These vessels rendezvoused at Nagasaki and on May sixteenth they set sail for Korea. Minister Low's correspondence with his [page 95] government shows that he had accurately gauged the probabilities of the situation. A long acquaintance with the Korean could not have rendered his diagnosis of the case more accurate than it was. From the very first he considered it to be a hopeless case, and he was right. But this in no way lessened the care he exercised in doing everything in his power to render the expedition a success. After fourteen days of struggle against dense fogs, tortuous channels and swift tidal currents the fleet dropped anchor off the islands known as the Ferrierre group, not far from Eugénie Island. This was on May 30th. They had not been there long before they were boarded by some small officials with whom Minister Low was of course unable to treat, but through them he sent a friendly message to Seoul asking that an official of equal rank with the American envoy be sent to confer with him on important matters. The Koreans had already received through the Chinese an intimation of what the Americans desired but they argued that as their policy of carrying ship-wrecked mariners safely across the border was well known abroad and as they did not care to open up relations with other countries, there was no call to send an envoy to treat with the Americans. The Regent shrewdly, though mistakenly, suspected that the "General Sherman" affair was at the bottom of this, as the death of the French priests had been the cause of the French expedition and he decided to garrison Kang-wha and deal with the Americans as he had with the French. Gen. OYo-jun was sent with 3,000 troops to Kwang Fort on the island of Kang-wha. A part of this force was stationed as garrison at Tokchin, a little fort at the narrowest part of the estuary between Kang-wha and the mainland, where the tide runs through with tremendous force and a dangerous reef adds to the difficulty of navigation.

Thus it was that when the *Monocacy* and *Palos* steamed slowly up the channel on a tour of inspection they were fired upon by the guns of this little fort. No special damage was done, and as soon as the gunboats could be gotten ready to reply to this unexpected assault they opened fire upon the little fort and speedily drove its garrison out. The Koreans supposed these gunboats were approaching for the purpose of assault. Indeed, as no intimation had been given the Korean government [page 96] that such a reconnoitering expedition was planned, and as this narrow passage was considered the main gateway of approach to the capital, the Koreans argued strictly from the book and the American contention that the attack was unprovoked was groundless, for to Korean eyes the very approach to this stronghold was abundant provocation.

When the fort had been silenced, the two gunboats steamed back to the main anchorage and reported. It was instantly decided that an apology must be forthcoming from the government, but as none came, retaliation was the only thing left to vindicate the wounded honor of the United States. A strong force was despatched, which, under cover of the ship's guns was landed near the fort, and after a hard hand to hand struggle in which every man of the garrison was killed at his post the place was taken. Thus was the tarnished honor of the Great Republic restored to its former brightness. But mark the sequel. The Admiral plainly was entirely unequal to the task of pushing the matter to the gates of Seoul, and so he withdrew and sailed away to China exactly as the French had done. The great mistake in this lay in ignorance of the Korean character. The government cared little for the loss of a few earth-works on Kang-wha. In fact, even if the Americans had overrun and ravaged half the peninsula and yet had not unseated the king in his capital or endangered his person, their departure would have left the Koreans in the firm belief that the foreigners had been whipped. In the last decade of the twelfth century the Japanese overran the country, forced the King to flee to the very banks of the Yalu, killed hundreds of

thousands of the people and for seven years waged equal war in the peninsula, and yet when Hideyoshi died and his troops were recalled Korea claimed that the Japanese had been defeated; and it was true. The approach of United States gunboats up to the very walls of the "Gibraltar" of Korea was nothing less than a declaration of war, and the paltry loss of the little garrison was a cheap price to pay for their ultimate triumph in seeing the American ships "hull down" in the Yellow sea.

When this glad news was published in Seoul the already plethoric pride of the Regent swelled to bursting. Another brilliant victory had been scored.

THE KOREA REVIEW

MARCH, 1904.

The Russo-Japanese War.

As can be seen at a glance, it will be some time before there can be a general engagement between the Russian and Japanese forces. The question is now being eagerly asked what tactics the Russians will pursue. Will they come forward and stubbornly contest every foot of ground beyond the Yalu or will they mass their forces at some strategic point and risk their whole cause upon a single great battle? It is the opinion of some that they will try to draw the Japanese further and further north as they did the French in Napoleon's time, but this is hardly credible, for even the novice in war will see that the Japanese will reconstruct the railway in their rear and so be able to withdraw at any time. And in addition to this, the Russians have no great towns and cities to retire to, as they had in Europe. It would even be worse for them than for the Japanese.

The last month has given some evidence of their intentions. We hear that they are throwing up strong redoubts at Andong, just across the Yalu, and it seems more than likely that they will try to defend that line. The few bands of Russian horsemen that are this side the Yalu amount to little; in fact they aid the Japanese cause, for they commit excesses which exasperate the Koreans and are making them rise in defense of their homes. News came from the north lately that a hundred or more Russians entered the far northern town of Kang-gei [page 98] and took people's grain and other food and offered insults to the women of the town. The prefect called together a strong force of tiger-hunters, who form a regular guild throughout the north, and set upon the Russians and inflicted severe injuries. We do not yet know which side suffered the more but it seems that the Koreans drove the obnoxious intruders across the Yalu. News of such things enrages the Koreans all over the country and the officers in the army are asking that they be sent to aid the Japanese. One difficulty that the Russian meets in the north of Korea is that he has no money excepting Russian paper roubles with which to pay for provisions. These notes are quite useless to the Koreans and therefore the Russians can live only by bringing all their supplies or by stealing from the people. Now that the Korean government has made an alliance with Japan, the Russians doubtless feel at liberty to treat Korean territory as hostile ground, and levy whatever supplies they may want. If food was all they extorted it might fall within the limits of civilized warfare, but they take other liberties which are entirely outside the pale of modern military methods.

Meanwhile, the Japanese are moving steadily northward and in a short time will have the Russians all the other side of the Yalu. That the Japanese recognize the seriousness of the situation and the probability of a long and exhausting war, is seen in the fact that they have already begun the building of a railway from Seoul to the Yalu River. At the same time the road from Fusan up to Seoul is being pushed to completion and when the two are finished there will be a continuous line from Fusan to the northern boundary of Korea. This road will serve a double purpose, for besides supplying a ready means of transport for troops, it will be still more useful as a means for carrying Korean food stuffs from the southern districts, the "garden of Korea," to the north, where the Japanese army is at work.

The past few weeks have witnessed the last dying flurry of the "peddler's" guild. This was once a simple mercantile society composed of travelling merchants or [page 99] peddlars, but they disbanded long ago and in their place there arose a so-called peddler's guild which was in truth a gang of desperadoes who under cover of the name "private police" were prepared to do any dirty work that unscrupulous officials in high places saw fit to give them. They have been the most dangerous element in Seoul all these weeks, and the only anxiety of the foreigners in Seoul was lest this gang of hoodlums should break out in some manner before the arrival of Japanese troops. Now that the Japanese are in power here they have caused a royal edict to be promulgated doing away with the Peddler's Guild. This naturally was not pleasant to the peddlars and they began plotting against the officials who had injured them. A few weeks ago a man armed with a sword climbed the wall of the Foreign Minister's house and searched the place, but as the Minister was fortunately spending the night elsewhere the assassin could not find him. Enraged at his failure, the felon struck the door-sill of the Minister's private room a vicious blow with his sword and then decamped. The same night three other houses were attacked with explosive bombs but the material with which they were charged was of such poor quality that they could do little damage. Since that time it has been found out that the ring-leaders in these cowardly assaults were officials who lately held high power on the Russian side of the fence and at the present moment these men are being sought for and arrested as rapidly as possible. It is certain that when the Russians were influential in Seoul they used the very worst elements in the government and among the people to effect their ends. The real head of this "Peddler's Guild" was an official high in the favor of the Russians.

Nothing could exceed the moderation and good sense of the Japanese in handling the delicate question of nominal Korean independence and virtual Japanese domination in Korea. We believe that Japan fully intends

to preserve the independence of the country but at the present crisis it is manifestly impossible to let the Koreans do just as they please; nor would it be for their [page 100] own best interests. Many people have predicted that the Japanese would secure the decapitation, or at least the execution, of the leading pro-Russian officials in the Korean government; but so far from this, the Japanese have taken one of them, and the leading one, in safety to Japan lest Korean people should fall upon him and tear him to pieces as they would have been glad to do. It is a wise policy of conciliation that the Japanese have adopted and not one of spite or revenge, and they will gain by it in the end. Just now the Koreans are complaining that the Japanese do not kill the pro-Russian officials, but they will come to see that it is better to make a friend of an enemy than to kill him. Many of these pro-Russians honestly believed that they were working in the interests of the country and all they need is to have their eyes opened to the truth. This is what is happening now and it is safe to say that most of them are converted already.

Since the above was written we learn that the Korean tiger-hunters in the north are taking things into their own hands. Most foreigners imagine that the Koreans are a mild people who have no fight in them, but if so they have either never heard or have forgotten how these hunters stood their ground against the French on the island of Kang-wha in 1866 and against the Americans in 1871. They fought with conspicuous bravery and in the fight with the Americans they stood their ground until every one of them was killed. The reports that are coming from the north at the present time show that these hunters have lost none of their old-time prowess, and though poorly armed and without anything that could be called proper military training they are attacking the Russians wherever they can get at them on Korean soil.

In the town of Yung-byun a band of Russian cavalry attacked and seized the Korean telegraph office, but the Korean hunters rallied and surrounded the Russians, and in the fight that followed they drove the intruders out, although the Koreans suffered heavier losses than the Russians. This was doubtless due to the [page 101] fact that the Russians are so much better armed than the Koreans.

The coming of Marquis Ito to Korea as a special Envoy from Tokyo is the most important subject of conversation at present. His mission is ostensibly a merely complimentary one but it is as clear to the Koreans as to the foreigners that there underlies it a very important move on the part of the Japanese. The Koreans are to be congratulated on the coming of a man so eminently fitted, in every way, to help the Korean government over this crisis. The Marquis is a man who has been intimately connected with the whole process of Japan's national regeneration and his wide experience, his advanced age, his wise conservatism and his conciliatory tendencies make it almost sure that the Korean people of every class will welcome him here.

It may be that Marquis Ito will not stay here but that Count Aoki will come to aid the Korean Government during these transition days. Some such statement is abroad. We wish the Marquis might stay but in Count Aoki Korea will have an adviser thoroughly capable of handling the situation.

The impossibility of foretelling anything with accuracy is illustrated by the fact that, even as we write this, news comes that the Russians have crossed the Yalu in force and occupied the Korean port of Yongampo. Whether this is true or not it is too early to say, but it is not at all improbable. It looks as if the Japanese were waiting till all Korean territory as far as the Yalu is cleared of Russians before throwing in their main force, which would land at this same port of Yongampo, thus saving a long and costly march over-land. This the Russians seem to have foreseen, and they apparently wish to stop it if possible by the occupation of Yongampo. How they can hope to hold it against a combined attack by land and sea on the part of the Japanese does not appear and time alone will tell.

The foreign war correspondents seem to be having a hard time, or at least a slow time, securing their credentials from the Japanese authorities to proceed to the front. [page 102] It seems likely that they will be provided with their papers only when the time comes to send the main body of Japanese troops to the scene of war. As yet only a few Japanese, comparatively, have come to occupy Korea and prepare the way for the coming of the main army. The permits have not yet been issued to the war correspondents, but they are so eager to get to the front that they have, a few of them, gone north hoping that their papers will follow them. As the Japanese have control of all the telegraph lines in Korea it will be hard to get news out of the north except such as the Japanese authorities wish should come. We imagine that it would be very wise to consult the wishes of the Japanese so far as possible, for it is sure that if information detrimental to the interests of the Japanese transpires, those responsible for it will have small chance of success at the front when the real fighting begins.

There was a busy scene about the hotels when these correspondents were bidding on horses and other necessary things for their trips to the north. Horseflesh naturally soared in price until it nearly got out of sight of even the plethoric purses of the representatives of the journalist magnates. One correspondent was offered a beast at the fancy figure of Yen 400. Another found, when he had secured his mount, that it was unfortunately blind in both eyes. Japanese who could speak a smattering of English and who had considered themselves happy at a salary of twenty yen a month held themselves cheap at a hundred yen, and one interpreter secured a position at two hundred. But then, one naturally wants a little more if he is expected to stand and watch a fight without being able to take a hand in it.

As the month of March draws to a close, we see that there has been some little development in the war

situation. The number of Japanese troops in the peninsula has not yet materially increased but the Korean territory is gradually being cleared of Russian troops, except along the Yalu. Just how many there are in that vicinity it is impossible to tell, but there may be three or four thousand. There is no evidence as yet that they intend [page 103] to attempt to hold any of the Korean soil against the Japanese. If there had been any large number of Russians this side of the Yalu we would surely have heard of it. It is not certain as yet even that they intend to try to prevent the Japanese crossing that historic stream. If, as has been intimated, the Russians are massing at Harbin, it is more than likely that the Japanese will have to penetrate Manchurian territory some distance before touching any real army. At this stage of the game it is useless to attempt any surmise as to what will happen. If authentic information should come that large detachments of Russians were approaching the Korean border by different roads it would then be time to predict that the Japanese will have to fight soon, but at the present moment no forecast can be made. Of course, we catch at every straw of evidence which would help to decide this important question. A few days ago the rumor prevailed that a prominent Russian has said that the Japanese would be crushed within four months. This may be true, but if the boast that Port Arthur was impregnable be taken as a criterion it will be well to add a few months to this estimate, or even to substitute the word Russian for Japanese.

The Royal Funeral.

Meanwhile Seoul has been entertained with a royal pageant. The funeral of the late Queen Dowager was a very spectacular event. She was the queen of King Honjong who reigned from 1835 to 1850. She was married in 1844 at the age of thirteen and was left a widow at the age of eighteen.

We have given a sketch of her life in a former issue of this magazine, but we will try to give a brief account of the funeral pageant.

According to the usual custom, this funeral would not have come for two months yet, but for reasons of state it was thrown forward and occurred on March 14. Royal funerals always take place early in the morning, sometimes before light. It was still dark when the main part of the procession took their places along the wide street which runs through the center of the city, but they [page 104] had to wait some hours before the final ceremonies at the palace were completed and the royal catafalque was borne out to take its place in the long line.

All night long the streets were made picturesque with flaring lanterns, hurrying messengers, impatient horses in gay trappings, groups of soldiers and grooms warming their hands by little fires built along the sides of the great street and by companies of guild-men bringing out their streaming banners and getting in place for the march in the morning. And around and among it all poured a constant stream of white-clad Koreans of every class, to whom this was a festive rather than mournful occasion.

The Queen Dowager's tomb is on a beautiful hill-side about ten miles outside the East Gate, near the spot where, as a young widow, she saw her husband buried. The road thither had been specially prepared for the occasion and it offered a wide and smooth avenue for the impressive cortege that was soon to wind its slow way to the Queen's last resting place. The procession was about two miles in length, for it stretched from the Big Bell, which has tolled the curfew for every king of the dynasty, to the Great East Gate. Down the center of the broad street there was laid the usual line of red earth which intimates that royalty cannot tread the common way but must have a new road to traverse. On either side of the road, all the way to the tomb, huge brush torches were placed at intervals of eighty or a hundred feet. These were a foot in diameter and about eight feet high. When the funeral starts on time and the procession goes out before the light has come, these huge flaming torches add just the necessary touch of weirdness to the impressive picture.

First in the procession come the great embroidered banners of the guilds, which make one think of the guilds of medieval Europe. They represent the industries in silk, linen, shoes, paper, tobacco, silver, furniture, fruit, rice, fish, furs, bronze, wedding outfits, cord, figured silk, and the river towns of Han-gang, Su-gang, Nodol, Kungduk-yi, Sam-ga, Yong-san, Su-bing-go, Tuk-sum and [page 105] Wang-sim-yi. Each of these great banners, hanging from a cross-piece, bears the name of the guild that furnished it, and the guilds vie with each other in making the banners as conspicuous as possible.

Behind the banners come gaily ornamented litters borne high on the shoulders of four men, and in the litters are placed the toilet articles and other utensils of the dead queen; such as mirrors, cosmetic dishes, writing utensils, jade ornaments and other jewelry. All these are to be deposited in her grave. This represents an ancient idea that the spirit of the dead will use the utensils in the other world.

Third in the procession come some more four-man litters in which are carried all the diplomas and other written honors that the dead queen received during her life-time. What use they can be, it is hard to say; for it is hardly to be believed that the dead can use these as passports at the gate of paradise. If so a good many queer people have gotten in.

After these come a crowd of small officials in chairs or on horse-back. They are the people who have

charge of the mere manual part of the funeral arrangements. They are all dressed in deep mourning which consists of linen roughly woven and of the natural color, a very light brown.

A body of Korean troops, about 200 in number, comes next. They carry muskets with fixed bayonets, but not reversed. These soldiers are dressed in what is intended as foreign uniform, but it is a rather queer imitation. All the suits seem to be made on a single pattern, whether the wearer be five foot two or six foot one. Perhaps it helps to give a semblance of uniformity but it is sometimes accomplished only with an inordinate exhibition of neck and shank. In the old days, say 1889, these soldiers, in their long flowing skirts, with red sleeves, looked far more imposing than they do in this painful attempt at foreign uniform. On each side of this body of troops walks a line of lantern-bearers. These are fortunately dressed in the old-time Korean garb, with long skirts, flowing sleeves and horse-hair plumed hats. The [page 106] lanterns are simply oval iron frames two feet long by a foot wide, over which blue and red silk gauze is draped. The candle is attached to the point where the iron ribs join and the whole is carried by a long wooden handle from the end of which the lantern hangs like the lash of a whip. The whole ensemble is remarkably picturesque to those who have not seen it too many times.

Then come some forty or fifty banners inscribed, in Chinese characters, with eulogistic biographical notes on the dead queen. Sometimes, in the case of an exceptionally renowned man, the number of these flattering banners runs up into the hundreds. We now jump from the sublime to the ridiculous, for these stately banners are followed by four men of low birth who are hidden under the ugliest masks that human ingenuity could invent. The wildest fancy can imagine nothing more grotesque and hideous. We have here a manifestation of one phase of the real underlying religion of the Korean, stripped of all its Confucian and Buddhist embellishments. These repulsive figures are intended to scare away all malignant spirits, who at such times make special endeavors to play their malicious pranks upon helpless humanity. The Korean has his own peculiar brand of devil, whose abilities along certain lines are so great and along others so circumscribed that it requires a careful study to really place him.

But even more interesting and striking are the six great paper horses that are trundled on carts behind these devil-scarers. The beasts are cast in heroic mould and are of various colors, gray, white and spotted red. The carts are drawn by means of ropes, and a dozen or more of the Seoul shop-keepers supply the tractive power. In some countries, among savage tribes, a horse is killed at the grave and its spirit follows the dead man to the land of shades, where he rides it as of yore; but in Korea they carry these paper horses instead. It is cheaper and satisfies the requirements as well. Besides, it is more spectacular, and that is a paramount consideration.

All these things are the preliminaries, the grand overture. [page 107] But now comes the real thing. It is led off by the Grand Marshal, an official of the highest grade, who is master of ceremonies. He is dressed in a well-fitting foreign uniform and is mounted on a fine horse. His appearance is tame compared with the flaunting splendor of an official of his grade in the olden times, but with his large retinue of soldiers flanked with lantern-bearers he is sufficiently imposing. The curious mixture of modern and medieval in this procession adds an element of humor which was lacking in the old-time pageant.

The Marshal is followed by the great chair of state in which the queen was wont to be carried in her lifetime. It is draped in gaudy colored trappings and is carried high on the shoulders of thirty-two men. Behind it comes what is called the "Small Catafalque" or Soyu. The casket is not in it, but in the Great Catafalque which follows. It is a curious custom, that of always carrying two of each royal vehicle. Whenever the Emperor goes out, an empty litter is carried in front and the Emperor follows in another. To the foreigner it looks as if there might be fear of a possible break-down, but the Korean would be horrified at such a suggestion. As the smaller catafalque is almost the same as the great one except in size we will describe but one. The Great Catafalque is formed of a heavy frame-work carried on the shoulders of 108 bearers. Thick transverse poles support the framework and stout padded ropes are run fore and aft between these poles so that the shoulders of the bearers shall not be galled. On the high frame-work is a structure like a little house ten feet long six feet high and five feet broad. The roof and sides of this little pavilion are painted and draped in the most highly colored paints and silks. All the tints of the rainbow compete for the supremacy in the war of colors. It is open at the front and rear, and the casket containing the remains of the queen is drawn in by a large number of men by means of ropes. When it had been carefully deposited the silken curtains which had been rolled up were let down and a crowd of palace women came to mourn for the last time beside the body of the queen whom they had served so [page 108] many years. They stood behind the bier and wept volubly, bending the body and wiping their faces with their skirts. When this lamentation was over the catafalque was ready to proceed. Two men took their stand on the platform, one in front of the casket and one behind it. These were to guide the bearers. The one in front held a hand bell which he rung as a signal.

After a good deal of running about and confusion the 108 bearers took their places with the heavy padded cords over their shoulders and with a rhythmic sort of chant lifted the catafalque from the wooden horses on which it rested and slowly forged ahead. Four long ropes led forward from the catafalque and two others led back. These were held by some seventy men each. Those in front were supposed to help it forward and those behind to ease it down a hill. As the catafalque passed down the street it had on either side a sort of screen or

curtain of black cloth behind which some women walked or rode. This was perhaps the most curious part of the whole procession from an historical point of view. It is well known that in ancient Korea two or more people were buried alive with the body of a king. We find it expressly stated in the history of one of the kings about twelve hundred years ago that he gave specific directions to omit this ceremony in connection with his funeral. During a part at least of the dynasty which existed in Korea between 918 and 1392 A. D. it was customary to bury kings in vaults which had several apartments. In one the body was placed and in the others three or four persons voluntarily took their place, provided with a small amount of food. Then the whole structure was covered deep with earth and the buried persons died of starvation or lack of air.

On the platform in front of the casket stood a man in full mourning dress, and behind the casket, facing backwards, stood another. The one in front held a bell in his hand with which he enforced his commands to the bearers. Beside him was a great brush pen such as the Koreans use in writing, but enlarged a hundred fold. It was a bamboo pole on the end of which was a huge [page 109] brush and when the "driver" saw any man shirking his work he would dip this brush in a bowl of paint and touch the shoulder of the miscreant with it. This would make it possible to single him out for punishment later. This man standing in front of the casket is the chief of the carpenters who have had the work of making the casket and other paraphernalia of the funeral. The man behind is the chief of the painters who have decorated the bier and the casket.

Immediately behind the catafalque comes a crowd of soldiers in the midst of whom rides the Emperor, when he attends in person. And behind all comes a mass of police and various kinds of messengers, servants and hangers-on.

A New Book on Korea.

Korea, by Angus Hamilton, London, William Heinemann, 1904, pp.xiii and 309. Illustrated.

We have received this new volume on Korea and have read it with great interest. Mr. Hamilton, as correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* spent three or four months in Korea during which time he secured a considerable amount of information. The book is printed on extremely fine and heavy paper and although much of the type used was old and broken the general get up of the work is good. Mr. Hamilton excels in descriptions of scenery, and the accounts of travel in the country are admirable. He has been able to catch the spirit of the occasion in a most happy manner and we consider this to be the best thing in that line that has yet appeared. But speaking of the Korean archipelago which he passed through on the regular steamers he says.

The coral beds display many violent tints and delicate shades forming in their beautiful colorings a sea garden of matchless splendor. Many varieties of cactus grow side by side with curious ferns, palms and creepers. In passing from group to group shoals of whales are to be seen blowing columns of spray aloft or sleeping idly on the surface.

[page 110] With all regard for Mr. Hamilton's correct intentions we must still be left to wonder where these coral beds form a sea garden of matchless splendor. His description is that of some tropic island, for it is quite sure that Korea produces neither cacti nor palms. The writer was peculiarly fortunate in getting such a good view of the whales, for in twenty voyages or more between Chemulpo and Fusan we have never been able to see one, and it is difficult to realize how whales can haunt the tide-swept estuaries of the southern coast. We had supposed that the whales were found mostly off the eastern coast.

The writer however, had a correct eye for natural beauty and in his description of inland scenery he is specially felicitous. For this, reason it is much to be regretted that the book should be marred by an occasional sentence like the following :

From Pak-tu-san to Wiju there is one mighty and natural panorama of mountains with snow-clad cloud-wrapped summits, and beautiful valleys with rich crops and quaintly placed, low-thatched houses, through which rivers course like angry silver.

We may safely say that this happens only when the rivers are swollen with the summer rains and is not a permanent phenomenon. On another page he speaks of practically this same region in the following terms :

Cut off from the eastern division of the Kingdom by ranges of mountains and extending from near Chinnampo to the northern frontiers of the Kingdom, is a stretch of country, partly inhabited. It is frequented by bands of Korean robbers and Chinese bandits — the haunt of the wild beast, barren and almost impenetrable. It is almost untouched by western civilization. Its groves of pines and firs recall the time when Korea was one vast forest. The soil is productive and the time is ripe, &c., &c.

This leaves us in grave doubt as to the author's meaning. It is a land of beautiful valleys, rich crops, the haunt of the wild beast, barren and almost impenetrable and infested with Korean robbers and Chinese bandits. No doubt all these conditions prevail in different sections of the north but unfortunately the author has failed to segregate the favorable and the unfavorable aspects of the country.

[page 111] He gives us a very fine description of Yongampo, and what appears to be a correct account of the methods by which it was taken and held by the Russians. We have seen nowhere else so vivid a description of the monastery region of Diamond Mountains. He gives us not so much a physical description but reproduces the feelings inspired by a visit to those venerable institutions. We may differ with him as to the statement that the pillars upholding the temple roofs are of teak wood, which must have come from Singapore or that vicinity, but we draw from his whole account the feeling of being on the spot and sharing the experience with him.

When we turn to his account of actual conditions as prevailing in Korea we see at once that three or four months is not long enough to make a correct estimate.

Speaking of the opening of Korea and the attitude of China he makes the following statement :

It was in 1876 that Korea made her first modern treaty. It was not until three years later that any exchange of envoys took place between the contracting party and herself. Despite the treaty Korea showed no disposition to profit by the existence of the new relations until the opening of Chemulpo to trade in 1883 revealed to her the commercial advantages which she was now in a position to enjoy. All this time China had been in intercourse with foreigners. Legations had been established in her capital: consuls were in charge of the open ports : commercial treaties had been arranged. She was already old and uncanny in the wisdom which came to her by this dealing with the people of Western nations. But, in a spirit of perversity without parallel in constitutional history, China retired within herself to such a degree that Japan, within one generation, has advanced to the position of a great power, and even Korea has become, within twenty years, the superior of her former liege.

How it happened that Japan's advance was dependent upon China's retrogression and in what genuine particulars Korea is the superior of China the writer leaves entirely to the imagination of the reader.

Mr. Hamilton draws the most flattering picture of Korea's progress toward enlightenment which we vainly wish was a true one. He says :

In less than a decade Korea has promoted works of an industrial and humanitarian character which China, at the present time, is bitterly opposing. It is true that the liberal tendencies of Korea have been [page 112] stimulated by association with the Japanese. Without the guiding hand of that energetic country the position which she would enjoy today is infinitely problematical. The contact has been wholly beneficial.

We understand by "infinitely problematical" that the author don't know. Compare this fulsome praise of the Japanese and their influence upon Korea with what the author says on a subsequent page:

The extraneous evidence of the power of the Japanese irritates the Koreans, increasing the unconquerable aversion which has inspired them against the Japanese through centuries, until, of the various races of foreigners in Korea at the present, none are so deservedly detested as those hailing from the Island Empire of the Mikado. Nor is this prejudice remarkable, when it is considered that it is the scum of the Japanese nation which has settled down upon Korea. It is, perhaps, surprising that the animus of the Koreans against the Japanese has not died out with time, but the fault lies entirely with the Japanese themselves. Within recent years so much has occurred to alter the position of Japan and to flatter the vanity of these island people that they have lost their sense of perspective. Puffed up with conceit, they now permit themselves to commit excesses of a most detestable character. Their extravagant arrogance blinds them to the absurdities and follies of their actions, making manifest the fact that their gloss of civilization is the merest veneer. Their conduct in Korea shows them to be destitute of moral and intellectual fiber. They are debauched in business and the prevalence of dishonorable practices in public life makes them indifferent to private virtue. Their interpretation of the laws of their settlements, as of their own country is corrupt. Might is right; the sense of power is tempered neither by reason, justice nor generosity. Their existence from day to day, their habits and manners, their commercial and social degradation, complete an abominable travesty of the civilization which they profess to have studied. It is intolerable that a government aspiring to the dignity of a first class power should allow its settlements in a friendly and foreign country to be a blot upon its own prestige and a disgrace to the land that harbors them.

And yet he says distinctly that the contact has been wholly beneficial! In view of the publicity given to these strange and extravagant statements we cannot pass them by without a strong protest. It is the purpose of this *Review* to discuss everything bearing upon Korea in a fair spirit and it would be unjust to the public to allow

such preposterous charges to pass unchallenged. We do not think that they are true. We appeal to the whole foreign community who have spent some years in [page 113] Korea to say whether in this tirade the occasional ill treatment of a Korean by a Japanese has not been made the ground for a sweeping condemnation of the whole Japanese community, a thing which turns the writer's charge of unreason and injustice upon his own head. We deny his charge that the Japanese settlement is the curse of every treaty port in Korea. We deny that the modesty, cleanliness and politeness so characteristic of the Japanese are conspicuously absent in this country. We deny the sweeping charge that the Japanese merchant is a rowdy and that the Japanese coolie is more prone to steal than to work. In the same breath he says that contact with the Japanese has been only beneficial and that it has been a disgrace. Both these statements are gross exaggerations.

Speaking of Chemulpo and its relative importance he remarks :

Chemulpo, however, the center in which an important foreign settlement and open port have sprung up, does not suggest in itself the completeness of the transformation which in a few years has taken place in the capital. It is twenty years since Chemulpo was opened to foreign trade and to-day it boasts a magnificent bund, wide streets, imposing shops and a train service which connects it with the capital. The sky is threaded with a maze of telephone and telegraph wires, there are several hotels conducted on western principles and there is also an international club. From small and uncertain beginnings four well-built, well-lighted settlements have sprung up expanding into a general foreign, a Japanese, a Chinese and a Korean quarter. The Japanese section is the best located and the most promising.

This in spite of the fact that "the Japanese settlement is the curse of every treaty port in Korea." What the writer means by saying that Chemulpo does not suggest in itself the completeness of the transformation which in a few years has taken place in Seoul becomes evident in his description of Seoul.

A few years ago it was thought that the glory of the ancient city had departed. Now, however, the prospect is suggestive of prosperity ...so quickly has the population learned to appreciate the results of foreign intercourse that, in a few more years, it will be difficult to find in Seoul any remaining link with the capital of yore, . . . Improvements which have been wrought also in the conditions of the city— in its streets and houses, in its sanitary measures and in its methods of communication have replaced these ancient customs. An excellent and rapid train [page 114] runs from Chemulpo and electric trains afford quick transit within and beyond the capital. Even electric lights illuminate by night some parts of the chief city of the Hermit Kingdom. Moreover an aqueduct is mentioned; the police force has been reorganized, drains have come and evil odors have fled. . . Old Seoul with its festering alleys, its winter accumulations of every species of filth, its plastering mud and penetrating foulness, has almost entirely vanished from within the walls of the capital. The streets are magnificent, spacious, clean, admirably made and well drained. The narrow, dirty lanes have been widened, gutters have been covered and roadways broadened, until, with its trains, its cars, its lights, its miles of telegraph lines, its Railway Station Hotel, brick houses and glass windows, Seoul is within measurable distance of becoming the highest, most interesting and cleanest city in the east. It is still not one whit Europeanized. For the picturesqueness of the purely Korean principles of architecture have been religiously maintained, and are to be observed in all future improvements.

Will our friends of Chemulpo accept this as a valid reason for granting that Chemulpo does not suggest in itself the completeness of the transformation that has taken place in Seoul? But in the very next sentence the author says:

The shops still cling to the drains, the jewellers' shops hang over one of the main sewers of the city, the cabinet makers occupy both sides of an important thoroughfare their precious furniture half in and half out of filthy gutters.

It is very difficult for anyone to write an interesting book on Korea, from superficial observation merely, without exaggeration. We read in this book that there are innumerable palaces in the city, that at all hours processions of chairs are seen making for the palace, that the pounding of clothes with sticks is the sole occupation of the women of the lower classes. He gives us to understand that the exposure of the breast is the rule with women on the street but he says it is not an agreeable spectacle as the women seen abroad are usually aged or infirm. The fact is that not one per cent of the women on the street are thus exposed. It is only the slave women and a few others of which this can be truly said, and these never wear the *chang-ot* over the head so that his remark that "the effect of the contrast between the hidden face and the naked breast is exceptionally ludicrous" is wholly imaginary. We are told that "the girls of the poorer orders are sold as domestic slaves and become attached [page 115] to the households of the upper classes." It is very uncommon for a parent to sell a

daughter in this way. One would think from the text that it was the rule rather than the rare exception.

The author gives six pages of the book to the dancing girl, ending with the following, which will be a surprise to those who have witnessed the inanity of the Korean dance and the execrable shriek of the accompanying native band :

The little figures seemed unconscious of their art; the musicians unconscious of the qualities of their wailing. Nevertheless the masterly restraint of the band, the conception, skill and execution of the dancers made up a triumph of technique.

Many foreigners who have listened to native music have wondered how those men could possibly endure the strident sounds they drew from their crude instruments, but if it is true that "they are unconscious of the quality of their wailings" it is all right. The riddle is solved.

The next chapter is on the Korean Court but we must decline to quote some things that the writer says about the Emperor. The mere quotation would be a discourtesy, but we fancy that the gentlemen of the Diplomatic Corps will hardly agree that the Emperor is "now almost a cypher in the management of his Empire," which is one of the author's milder statements. The chapter is a curious mixture of fact and fiction. On the whole the facts predominate though the description and history of Lady Om are given in the most "popular" modern journalistic style.

A bright spot in this book is the chapter devoted to a sketch of J. McLeavy Brown, C.M.G. LL.D., and the question of the Customs. Here the author was exceptionally well informed and he pays a most graceful and deserved tribute to the man and the system which have played perhaps the most important part in contemporary Korean history. The chapter is well written, thorough and conclusive.

The chapter on education, arts, punishments, marriage and divorce, concubines, children and government [page 116] contains much that is true and interesting though the statements that "the Mandarin dialect of China is considered the language of polite society" and "it is the medium of official communication at Court" will be read with a smile. The Chinese character is the official medium for documents and letters but the Mandarin dialect is not spoken in Korea.

We are told that the cause of the Japanese invasion of 1592 was that the King of Korea refused to renew a former condition of vassalage. No mention is made of the desire of Hideyoshi to invade China. It was Korea's refusal to help Japan invade China, or even to give the Japanese a free passage through the peninsula for that purpose that brought on the war. Korea was never the vassal of Japan so far as can be discovered in history.

We must protest against the implication that the Japanese government was directly responsible for the death of the late Queen. That implication is found in the following words :

Before she (Japan) had realized the potentialities of her position she had committed herself to a design by which she hoped to secure the King and Queen and direct herself the reins of Government; but her coup d'état was to recoil disastrously on her own head. The Queen fell a victim to the plot and although the King was imprisoned, he, together with the Crown Prince contrived in a little time to find refuge in the Russian Legation.

What we object to in this is the claim that Japan formed and carried out that plot, rather than a few Japanese on their own initiative and in defiance of what they must have known their government would approve.

In dealing with the religions of Korea the writer says that

Statements of ancient Chinese and Japanese writers, and the early Jesuit missionaries, tend to prove that the worship of spirits and demons has been the basis of national belief since the earliest times. The god of the hills is even now the most popular deity. Worship of the spirits of heaven and earth, of the invisible powers of the air, of nature, of the morning star, of the guardian genii of the hills and rivers, and of the soil and grain, has been so long practiced that, in spite of the influences of Confucianism and the many centuries in which Buddhism has existed in the land, the actual worship of the great mass of the people has undergone little material alteration.

[page 117] This, in the main, is quite true, for Confucianism is merely a code of etiquette and Buddhism has been rather assimilated by the native demonolatry than otherwise. For this reason we do not understand the concluding sentence in which he says that Korea must be classed among the Buddhist countries of the world.

Of the native Korean servants he makes the following remarks :

The Korean does not approach the Chinaman as a body-servant; he has neither initiative nor the capacity for the work, while he combines intemperance, immorality and laziness in varying degrees. The Master usually ends by waiting on his man. There is, however, an antidote for this state of things. If sufficient spirit be put into the

argument and the demonstration be further enforced by an occasional kick, as circumstances may require, it is possible to convert a first-class, sun-loving wastrel into a willing, if unintelligent servant. Under any circumstances his dishonesty will be incorrigible.

In the concluding pages of the book he gives us an illuminating account of how this kicking argument worked in his own case. He says :

The day had come at last, the horses were pawing in the courtyard. My effects, my guns and camp-bed, my tent and stoves, were picked and rolled. The horses had been loaded; the hotel account had been settled, when my interpreter quietly told me that my servants had struck for ten dollars Mexican monthly increase in the wages of each. I offered to compound with half : they were obdurate. It seemed to me that a crisis was impending. I was too tired and cross to remonstrate. I raised my offer to eight dollars; it was refused—the servants were dismissed. Uproar broke out in the court-yard which my host pacified by inducing the boys to accept my last offer — a raise of eight dollars, my head servant, the brother of my interpreter, repudiated the arrangement, but the significance of this increase had assumed great importance. It was necessary to be firm. Nothing more would be given. The interpreter approached me to intimate that if his brother did not go he also should stay behind. I looked at him a moment, at last understanding the plot, and struck him. He ran into the court-yard and yelled that he was dead — that he had been murdered. The grooms gathered around him with loud cries of sympathy. I strode into the compound. The head groom came up to me demanding an increase of thirty dollars upon the terms he had already accepted. I refused and thrashed him with my whip. The end of my journey had come with a vengeance. The head groom came at me with a huge boulder, and as I let out upon his temple the riot began. My baggage was thrown off the horses and stones flew through the air. I hit and slashed at my assailants and for a few minutes became the center of a very nasty situation. In the end my host cleared the court-yard and recovered my kit, but I was cut a [page 118] little upon the head and my right hand showed a compound fracture — native heads are bad things to hammer. Postponement was now more than ever essential, my fears about my health were realized. By nightfall signs of sickness had developed, the pain had increased in my hand and arm, my head was aching, my throat was inflamed. I was advised to leave at once for Japan; upon the next day I sailed, etc , etc., etc.

In describing the necessary outfit for travelling in Korea the author gives a valuable list. Among other things he says :

Fresh mint is useful against fleas if thrown about near the sleeping things in little heaps. It is an invaluable remedy and usually effective though by the way I found the fleas and bugs in the houses of New York and Philadelphia infinitely less amenable to such treatment than any I came across in Korea.

The author evidently went to New York by way of Ellis Island; and, so far as we are aware, no mint is cultivated there for the use of immigrants.

This volume is made up, apparently, of a series of articles written at different times and under different conditions and one article contradicts another in such an amusing way that it is impossible to get at the facts of the case. In different parts of the book he speaks in almost diametrically opposite terms of the Japanese, the missionaries, the king, the government, the topography of the country. The best picture in the book is that of a Russian riding a reindeer somewhere north of the Amur River, but there are a number of other good pictures, especially the one of the raft on the Yalu River.

A. B. Stripling, Esq.

It was on Monday March 21st that the foreign community of Seoul was summoned to attend the funeral of one of the oldest foreign residents of Seoul, in the person of Mr. Stripling. The very great measure of respect in which he was held was evinced by the large number of friends and acquaintances who gathered to pay their last sad offices to the dead. The prominent [page 119] part which he played in Korean affairs demands more than a passing notice.

It was some forty years ago that he first came to the Far East as a young man. For some years he held an important post on the Shanghai police force. He afterwards held the position as Chief of the Shanghai Water Police and he was well known among all classes in that city for his absolute fearlessness. He was a man of powerful build and an expert swordsman.

It was in June 1883 that he came to Korea under Herr von Mollendorf as Commissioner of Customs at Chemulpo, a post which he filled until the retirement of von Mollendorff from the post of Chief Commissioner

in 1885.

He then spent some time travelling in the interior prospecting for gold and other minerals; it is believed by some that he was the one who first discovered the gold deposit at Eunsan which an English syndicate are now working.

After the Japan-China War Mr. Stripling was appointed Adviser to the Police Department in Seoul, a post which he filled most acceptably for some time. But he found it impossible to get his ideas carried out in connection with the prisons and jails and consequently he resigned and retired to private life.

Some three or four years ago both his eyes were afflicted with cataract and he went to England to have an operation performed. This was partially successful and became back to Korea with one eye fairly restored. For the past year or two his health had been gradually giving way. A shock of paralysis did much to hasten the end and he passed away on the 19th of March.

He was a man of noble nature and generous instincts, of broad education and great literary taste. Even those who knew him best were aware of comparatively only a small part of the kindly acts which he performed among the Koreans. He used to buy medicines in large quantities and give them to needy Koreans without charge. One of those who knew him best says of him that "His kindness of heart has rarely been surpassed. He was [page 120] absolutely unselfish and always gave a large part of his income to needy friends and even to strangers."

No one could come in contact with him even incidentally and for a short time without discovering the intrinsic warmth of his nature. And those who knew him best are loudest in their praise of him.

Rev. A. B. Turner read the burial service at the residence of the deceased after which the body was taken to the foreign cemetery at Yang-wha-chin for interment.

News Calendar.

Ch'oe Sok-cho has been appointed Director of the Imperial Mint in place of Yi Yong-ik.

The following are the terms of the Protocol signed by Japan and Korea about the end of February last.

Mr. Hayashi Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and Major-General Ye Chi-yong Minister of State for Foreign Affairs ad interim of His Majesty the Emperor of Korea being respectively duly empowered for the purpose have agreed upon the following Articles :

Article I. For the purpose of maintaining a permanent and solid friendship between Japan and Korea and firmly establishing peace in the Far East, the Imperial Government of Korea shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvement in administration. Article II. The Imperial Government of Japan shall in a spirit of firm friendship ensure the safety and repose of the Imperial House of Korea. Article III. The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire. Article IV. In case the welfare of the Imperial House of Korea or the territorial integrity of Korea is endangered by aggression on the part of a third Power or by internal disturbances the Imperial Government of Japan shall immediately take such necessary measures as circumstances require, and in such case the Imperial Government of Korea shall lend its efforts to facilitate the action of the Imperial Japanese Government.

The Imperial Government of Japan may for the attainment of the above mentioned object, occupy when the circumstances require it, such places as may be necessary from strategic points of view.

[page 121] Article V. The Governments of the two countries shall not in future without mutual consent conclude with a third Power such an arrangement as may be contrary to the spirit of the present Protocol.

Article VI. Details in connection with the present Protocol shall be arranged as the circumstances may require between the Representative of Japan and the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Korea.

Late in February the Home Office sent a Korean to the north to report on the movements of the Japanese.

On 22nd of February the Korean Government threw open the border town of VViju to foreign trade.

Pak Chung-yang was appointed Minister of Finance on Feb. 24.

The Korean authorities at Pyeng-yang wired on the 23rd of Feb. that 2,000 Russian soldiers had arrived at Kasan, 400 at Pak-chun, and that 50 were on the way toward Pyeng-yang from Ch-ing-ju. On the 24th they wired that Japanese soldiers arrived at Pyeng-yang and were guarding the gates. Many officials in the towns along the line deserted their posts and came up to Seoul.

Min Pyung-sak was appointed Household Minister on Feb. 29.

At the beginning of March reports from the north indicated that there were fifty Russians at Anju, 1,400 at Chung-ju and 500 at Kasan.

On Feb. 28 a squad of Russian cavalry appeared near the Chil-sung Gate on the north side of Pyeng-yang. They were promptly fired upon by the Japanese guards at the gate. The range was about 700 yards. No great damage was done. The Russians returned the fire but soon withdrew carrying away, it is said, one wounded man.

It was on the same day that His Majesty gave Y 100,000, the Crown Prince Y50,000, and Prince Yung-chin Y30,000, to the Japanese as a present for the soldiers.

About March 1st Yi Pom-chin the Korean Minister to Russia was ordered by his government to leave St. Petersburg. He went to Paris.

The Japanese are paying the Korean government Y 5,000 a month as charter money for the Korean man-of-war Yang-mu-ko.

The Superintendent of Trade at Chemulpo reported on Mar. 1st that 28,000 Japanese troops had landed at that port up to date.

There has been a great reform in the promptness with which officials go to their offices. Of late, the ministers have fallen into the habit of attending to business at half-past twelve or one o'clock instead of at ten. Now they attend on schedule time and this forces all the lesser officials to do likewise.

The Japanese made a sort of bridge across the ice at Pyengyang.

On Mar. 1st news came that Japanese were buying much property on Ko-je Island in the mouth of Masanpo harbor and preparing to build fortifications.

The privilege of memorializing the Throne has been extended to all officials of any grade instead of being confined to those of high grade only.

[page 122] It was on March 1st that the unsuccessful attempt was made by an assassin on the life of Yi Chi-yong the Foreign Minister. This we have described elsewhere. The same night several other houses were attacked with bombs but without success.

On March 4th by Royal edict the organization known as the "Peddlars Guild" was once, and forever, it is hoped, done away with. The edict applied to the whole country.

The taxes from mining franchises, butchers and crown lands have been again put into the hands of the Agricultural Department. The Household, under Yi Yong-ik, had long held them.

On March 5th the Japanese Minister advised the Korean Government to arrest and try Kil Yung-su, Choe Nak-chu, Yi Kyu-hang and Yi Chai-wa. Some of them were arrested but the chief rascal, Kil Yung-su, "hid somewhere" as the Koreans say.

About March 6th the convalescent Russians in the hospital at Chemulpo were taken to Japan.

Dr. O. R. Avison has received from Nagasaki a supply of the virus of rabies and is prepared to treat a dozen or more patients by the Pasteur treatment. The virus will be good until about April 10th. It is his intention to arrange for the culture of the virus here so that people bitten by mad dogs can be treated at once. If there are any suspicious cases of dog bite it would be well to consult him at once.

Early in March several hundred Russians are said to have appeared at Kang-gye in the far north and to have committed excesses there. The local soldiers rose against them and drove them out.

Yi To-ja became Home Minister about the eighth inst.

The prefect of Yong-chun reported on the eighth that 200 Russian troops left Yongampo for the Chinese side of the Yalu.

On the eighth Min Yung-sun, the son of Min Yung-ik attempted to leave Chemulpo by boat but was stopped by the Japanese. It was suspected that he was carrying messages to Mr. Pavloff in Shanghai.

The British gunboat *Phoenix* went to Sung-jin early in March and brought the British subjects from that place to Wonsan.

Min Yong-whan became Minister of Education on the 9th inst. Soon after taking this position he issued a statement bearing on this long neglected department. Among other things he said that government appointments should be given only to graduates of the government schools. And that graduates of other schools should be eligible to government positions upon examination. It will have to be done gradually but in three or four years this rule ought to be in running order. He advises that all children should attend the common schools and, having graduated, should attend the middle school and that a college or university should be established for higher education.

Prince Yi Cha-sun died on the 1st. So far as can be learned the cause of death was pneumonia but as he unfortunately did not have a foreign physician this cannot be verified. He was the great, great-grandson of Sa-do Se-ja, the unhappy son of King Yong-jong, 1724-1777, whom his father nailed up in a box and starved to death [page 123] but who was raised posthumously to royal honors. It was from the second son of this prince that Yi Chi-sun was lineally descended. As he was the fifth generation of the collateral line he was not a prince in his own right. That title expires with the fourth generation as it did in the case of the Tai Won-kun, father of the present emperor. But Yi Chi-sun was a prince because he became the adopted son of the elder brother of the king who preceded the present emperor. His official title was Prince Ch'ung-an. He was still in the prime of life, fifty-four years of age, when he died. Very many of the foreigners of Seoul will remember him as one of the most affable Koreans they ever met. Those who could not remember his Korean name called him the Fat Prince but without casting the least reflection upon him as a genial and courteous gentleman. We remember once when he was taking tea at the Seoul Union one of the little urchins who chase tennis balls happened to pass. The boy had a hare lip, and the Prince called him up, gave him some money and told him to go and have a foreign physician treat his lip. This showed the kindness of his nature. He will long be remembered by those who knew him, as a man who would make friends wherever he went.

One of the most brilliant social events that Seoul has ever witnessed was the reception given to Marquis Ito, the special envoy from Japan to the Korean Emperor, at his temporary residence in Seoul, on the evening of the 24th inst. A large number of people were up from Chemulpo and it was quite evident that Seoul had turned out in force to grace this final reception to, perhaps, the greatest Japanese statesman, one who has been identified so perfectly with the whole process of Japan's modern evolution that he may in a sense be said to epitomize it. We trust that the results of his visit to Korea may be as lasting as they are sure to be salutary.

The Japanese Board of Trade in Fusan has petitioned the Japanese Government and the Minister in Seoul to secure the adoption of the following measures :—

- (1) A revision of the treaty between Korea and Japan.
- (2) The issuance of permanent deeds to real estate.
- (3) The management of the Imperial Customs by that power whose trade interests are largest in Korea.
- (4) A reform of the agricultural methods in Korea.
- (5) Permission for foreigners to reside anywhere in the interior of Korea.

(6) The establishment of four or more Japanese agricultural stations in each of the thirteen provinces as object-lessons to the Koreans.

(7) Permission for Japanese boats to visit and trade along the entire coast of Korea.

(8) The establishment of numerous branches of Japanese banks throughout Korea.

(9) The reorganization of the Korean monetary system so as to effect an equilibrium in exchange.

[page 124] If we examine these nine articles carefully we will see that it is impossible to grant them under existing circumstances. The Japanese ask for extraterritorial rights without any provision being made for their government. It cannot be supposed that the Japanese or any other foreigner would be willing to submit to Korean rule, and yet, under any other conditions, it would be impossible to grant extraterritorial rights. A foreigner in the far interior of Korea must be under some authority. The comparatively few who travel on passport cause little or no trouble, but if large numbers of Japanese should settle in the interior the government must pass into the hands of the Japanese, which would be a violation of the treaty and of the new protocol. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Fusan people ask that the treaty be revised. This desire on the part of the Japanese to spread out over Korea generally seems to us to be the most perplexing question before the Japanese authorities. This desire cannot be gratified, so far as we can see, without seriously impairing Korean sovereignty. The time may come when, under the elevating influence of education and careful guidance, the Korean government will command such a degree of respect that Japanese and other foreigners will be willing to submit to Korean jurisdiction, even as they have in Japan; but that time is evidently not yet.

The meaning of the article dealing with the Imperial Customs is quite evident. It is a request that it be taken out of the hands of the present Customs Service and be put under Japanese control. It seems to us as if this article were quite enough to make the Japanese government ignore the entire petition. If the Customs Service were in native hands and were corrupt and inefficient, or if it were in hands inimical to Japanese interests, this request would be intelligible; but the Customs Service is one of the few departments of Korean administration that is practically beyond criticism both in its personnel and its workings. Moreover it is in the hands of Japan's friends. The wish to take it over can be prompted neither by a desire for the betterment of the service nor the advantage of the Korean government but simply for the sake of the salaried positions it would give the Japanese. Our surprise at this request grows when we remember that the famous contest over the Customs Service, which occurred a few years ago and in which England scored a conspicuous victory over Russia, made the service of worldwide prominence; so that any attempt by the Japanese to tamper with it at such a time as this is almost inconceivable. We are positive that nothing can be further from the intention of the Japanese authorities and we can only wonder that any Japanese subjects have the temerity to suggest such an obvious absurdity. Our entire confidence in the correct intentions of the Japanese authorities is confirmed by the news that we have heard that the Foreign Office in Seoul has been advised by the Japanese Legation to pay no attention to any applications for concessions on the part of Japanese subjects or companies unless they are made through the Japanese authorities. We feel sure that the government of [page 125] Japan will make it clear to its subjects that the present conditions in Korea do not constitute an open door whereby Japanese subjects can overrun the country and exploit its resources for their own benefit, irrespective of the rights and interests of the Korean government and people. We are told that a large Japanese syndicate offered ¥5,000,000 a year with an immediate bonus of Y 1,000,000 for certain monopolies; this is a considerable amount of money, but when we note that the permanent monopolies asked for cover the best resources of the Korean government we see that it would be selling her birthright for a mesa of pottage

We believe in Japanese influence in Korea for we believe it will be rightly exercised, on the whole. At the same time it is going to demand the best statesmanship of which Japan is capable to hold in check the impetuosity of the acquisitive faculty in a certain class of Japanese. We believe this will be one of the most searching tests, if one were needed, to prove the genuineness of the claim, which Japan puts forth, to being an enlightened as distinguished from a merely civilized power. Of her ability to stand this test we have no doubt whatever.

Kim Ka-jin was appointed Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Public works on March 9.

Yi Yong-jik has been appointed governor of South Ch'ung-ch'ung Province.

Since March 8 Japanese gendarmes have been stationed in various parts of Seoul, notably Chong-dong and Chong-no.

On the evening of the 26th inst. Mr. Jack London gave a most interesting reading from his own works at the Y. M. C. A. building for the entertainment of American and British soldiers and a few other friends. We are promised a public reading by this same gifted author, at some not distant date, for the benefit of the Y. M. C. A. Notice will be given in due time.

The governor of North Ham-gyong wired on the 7th of March that 2500 Russians had come to Kyong-sung.

Beginning with March 9 the Law Office began the active prosecution of a large number of actual and supposed offenders. Thirteen of the Koreans who had been military students in Japan were arraigned on the charge of having conspired to overthrow the Government. Three of them were decapitated in the prison and ten were banished for life except two who received a lighter sentence. The Japanese, it is said, interfered, or many more would have been executed. It is said the charges were proved conclusively.

There were fifteen robbers in prison awaiting execution. Four of them met their fate but the other eleven broke jail and escaped. For this reason two officials were cashiered.

Beginning with March 9 the Japanese began the construction of redoubts on the island of Ko-je near Masanpo.

On Mar. 7th a Buddhist priest from the celebrated Sin-heung monastery bought a bull-load of wood but killed the driver threw his body into a ditch and sold the bull. He has been caught.

[page 126] Yi Ching-ha has been made Governor of South Pyeng-an Province.

Min Yung-geui has been made Governor of North Pyeng-an Province

There is a discount of 11 percent on the notes issued for use in the Japanese army.

On March 2nd assassins attempted to lay hands on the Foreign Minister and three other officials. Armed only with a sword, one of the rascals climbed the wall of the Foreign Minister's compound and searched for him, but without success. At the same time the houses of three other officials were partly wrecked by explosive bombs. It is generally supposed that these acts were committed by, or at least at the instigation of ex-peddlars who had been rendered desperate by the overthrow of their hopes through the coming of the Japanese. These acts have no special political significance, nor do we think there need be any uneasiness for fear of their repetition.

Yun Chi-ho has been made vice-minister of Foreign Affairs. This is a very hopeful sign. It is evident that a salutary change is gradually being made. With Min Yong-whan, Kim Ka-chin, Yi To-chai, Yun Pyung-yul, Sim Sang-hun and a few more men of their stamp in the foremost places there cannot but be a change for the better in political and social conditions throughout the country.

Col Nodzu, who is so well and favorably known in foreign circles in Seoul, has been appointed adviser to the Korean War Department. His knowledge of Koreans and of local conditions generally will add much to the value of his services. The comparatively large sum that is spent upon the army makes it specially appropriate that a man of experience be employed to see that the money so spent brings the maximum returns to the government. What Korea wants of a large army it is hard to discover. If half the money devoted to the army were spent on education we believe the net results would be far greater. It is not an encouraging sign that education is held in a sort of contempt at the present time. This is because the government gives little encouragement to the student. For this reason the new Minister of Education has struck the right note in urging a plan whereby in a few years official positions will open only to those who have graduated from some reputable school.

Marquis Ito has come and gone. It would be pleasant to describe all the festivities that accompanied his visit but these are not the kernel of the matter. The various social functions must have bored him more or less but they are unavoidable in the case of a man of his standing. What interests us most is the list of twenty-eight suggestions which he made to His Majesty, but the purport of which has not transpired. We shall look eagerly for the real fruits of this visit, feeling that the advice of the Marquis, if followed, must be of great value to this people.

The exaggerated accounts which circulated regarding the accident which Mr. McKenzie of the Daily Mail met in the north were fortunately dispelled when that gentleman returned from the north and reported [page 127] that

he only slipped on some stone stairs in Pyeng-yang and suffered a slight sprain.

We learn that M. Takaki, Ph. D., who recently went to Japan, has resigned his position as Manager of the Dai Ichi Ginko. The reason for this lay in the fact that the authorities of the Bank in Tokyo forbade the loaning of money to merchants in Korea. This singular action caused consternation among mercantile circles here and it was opposition to their policy that caused Dr. Takaki's resignation. We have the best of reasons for believing that he will soon be back in Seoul in a position of equal or greater importance. His intimate knowledge of monetary and financial conditions in the peninsula will surely be utilized in some important post. We shall welcome him back with great pleasure.

The Wiju Railway is definitely under way. This will become evident if one goes to Yong San and sees the great cutting that is being made there to carry the line through the hills westward. Work is going on briskly each way from Song-do and we expect to see the time soon when the wearisome journey to Pyeng Yang will become an easy six or seven hours run by rail.

Wiju and Yongampo have both been opened at last. It was only the stress of war that brought this about. The Russian Minister succeeded, so long as he was here, in blinding the Government to its own best interests but now the thing has been accomplished, and with the opening of these ports of course the Russian Timber Concession falls to the ground. How many millions this will save to the Korean Government it is hard to say but the Korean people are to be congratulated on having escaped so easily.

On March 12th the U.S. war vessel *Cincinnati* went north to Chinnampo to bring away ladies and children who might wish to get out of the zone of active war. But by the time the boat arrived there, conditions had so changed that it was found necessary to send only a few. This, however, does not detract from the credit due to the American authorities for their prompt and energetic action.

The sending of the *Cincinnati* to Chinnampo and the *Phoenix* to Sung-jin for the sake of a few nationals inspires awe in the mind of the Korean, who marvels that a great government like America or England would spend thousands for the sake of the convenience of a mere handful of their subjects. Not until the Koreans realize the reasonableness of such action will they be fitted for the higher reaches of constitutional government.

We learn that the Russians are recruiting the Koreans who have settled on Russian soil north of the Tuman River. It is something of an experiment, we should think, but it is evident that the Russians will have to press into their service every agency possible to ward off the "peril" which in her case is quite real.

On March 28th the Russians and Japanese came again in touch with each other near the town of Chong-ju. This is about half way between Anju and Wiju and the first large town this side of Sun-ch'un [page 128] where Dr. Sharrocks and his family are still stopping. One Japanese cavalry company and one company of infantry were engaged. One Japanese officer and three men were killed and about a dozen wounded. The Russian force is not definitely known but some say it amounted to 600 men. The result, as given by the Japanese, was a retreat on the part of the Russians. It is evident that the Japanese are pushing steadily on toward the Yalu without any serious opposition.

We notice in a recent issue of the *Kobe Chronicle* a review of a book by one George Lynch who, according to the Chronicle, quoted the *Korea Review* in support of some abusive statements against missionaries in Korea. It is a sample of the dishonest tricks to which men have recourse in attacking missionaries, for after quoting the statement in the April number of the *Review*, to the effect that hundreds of Koreans apply to the Christian churches each year for admission, with the idea of escaping official oppression, the writer omits the accompanying statement that extreme care is exercised by Protestant missionaries in preventing the entrance of these people into the churches and on his own authority and in utter ignorance of the facts asserts that all such people readily find entrance to the church and thenceforward are backed up by the foreign missionary. We wish to state very plainly that so far as Protestant missions in Korea are concerned this is the very opposite of the facts.

During the past month a son has been born to Mr. and Mrs. B. C. Donham and one also to Mr. and Mrs. Devose.

We find it necessary this month to enlarge the *Review* by the issue of a supplement, which we think will prove of great interest to our readers. It gives us a very welcome glimpse of conditions in the north. It is told in a very modest way and one is left to imagine the feelings inspired, for instance, by arriving at night at a Tong-hak

village and being ordered out instanter. As there was only one gentleman in the party it must have been a fairly exciting moment. The experiences of the party from the American mines were also very interesting. The two estimates of the Russian cavalry horses will be compared with interest.

[page 129] KOREAN HISTORY.

Another of the great powers of the West had been humbled. Korea could show her great patron China how to handle the barbarians. He immediately ordered the erection in the center of the city of a monument which had been in preparation since 1866. The inscription ran as follows.

“The Western Barbarians have attacked and injured us, with a view either to making war upon us or to forcing treaties upon us. If we consent to the latter it will mean the betrayal of the country. Let our descendants to the ten thousandth generation bear this in mind. Made in the Pyong-in Year and set up in the Sin-mi Year.”*

Chapter XV.

The “Frontier Guard” Japanese attempts at making a treaty agent at the palace . . . the Regent’s power on the wane . . . a “Combination” . . . the Regent retires . . a puppet . . “infernal machine”. . . reforms a dangerous memorial . . .fight with the Japanese two parties in Japan . . . Japanese commission . . . negotiationstreaty signed . . a mysterious conflagration Japanese minister. . . .French priests released a curious book. . . .anti-Christian policy abandoned . . .commission to Japan. . . .conspiracy. . liberal party hopeful outlook . . . the Min policy split between the Min and liberal factions . . .Minister to Japan . . . military studentsregular troops neglected . . . emeute of 1882 . . .Japanese legation attacked . . the palace entered . . . the Queen escapes the ex-Regent quiets the soldiers a mock funeral.

In order to understand the interesting train of events that transpired in 1873 it will be necessary to go back and review the relations that existed between Korea and Japan.

At the close of the Japanese invasion an arrangement had been arrived at between Japan and Korea by the terms of which the Japanese placed a number of traders at Fusan. The popular belief of the Koreans that the government [page 130] accepted these as hostages in place of an annual tribute of three hundred Japanese female hides is an amusing fiction which is intended to offset the ignominy of the ear and nose monument in Kyoto.

This colony was called the Su-ja-ri or “Frontier Guard.” The Korean government appropriated ten million cash a year to its support. The Japanese claim that these people were not hostages but were merchants and were placed there to form a commercial point d’appui between the two countries. That the money paid for their support was of the nature of a tribute is neither claimed by the Japanese nor admitted by the Koreans; in fact the terms always used in describing these payments implies the coordinate degree of the recipient.

This Japanese colony was continued up to the year 1869 without intermission but it was not destined to remain undisturbed. No sooner had the Imperial government become established in Japan than the Emperor appointed a commission to approach the Korean government through the timehonored avenue of approach, namely Fusan and the prefect of Tong-na, with a view to establishing closer commercial and diplomatic relations. This commissioner transacted the business through the Daimyo of Tsushima who sent the Imperial letter to the prefect of Tong-na and asked that it be transmitted to the capital. After reading it the prefect refused to send it, on the plea that whereas Japan had always addressed Korea in terms of respect she now adopted a tone of superiority and called herself an Empire. The envoy urged that Japan had recently undergone a complete change, that she had adopted Western ideas and had centralised her government, and urged that the missive must be sent on to Seoul. The prefect was prevailed upon to copy the letter and send it on to the Regent but the reply came back forthwith “We will not receive the Japanese letter. Drive the envoy away.” The following year the annual grant of rice was suddenly discontinued without a word of warning and the Japanese in Fusan were greatly exercised thereby. They made a loud outcry and their government made repeated attempts to come to an understanding with the Korean government but without success.

It was in 1870 that the Japanese Hanabusa, called [page 131] Wha-bang Eui-jil by the Koreans, came with an urgent request that a treaty of commerce be signed, but he was likewise unsuccessful. The King, however, was nearing the age when the Regent must hand over to him the reins of power and the Queen, a woman of natural ability and of imperious will, was gathering about her a faction which was wholly inimical to the plans and the tactics of the Regent. The latter found to his chagrin that the woman whom he had placed on the throne with his son with special reference to the cementing of his own power was likely to become the instrument of his undoing. Sure it is that in spite of the hatred which the Regent evinced against the Japanese

this same Hanabusa came to Seoul in 1871 or early in 1872, in a quite unofficial manner, and was given quarters at the palace where he was in constant communication with the Queen and the members of her faction, and where, by exhibiting curious objects of western manufacture, such as a toy telephone and the like, he amused his royal patroness and won his way into the favor of the party that was shortly to step into the place made vacant by the retiring Regent.

The queen's faction were diametrically opposed to the most cherished prejudices of the Regent. They favored, or at least looked with complacency upon, the growth of Roman Catholicism, they favored the policy of listening to China's advice in the matter of foreign relations. They were doubtless urged in this direction partly by pure opposition to the Regent and partly by the representations of the Japanese who had gained the ear of royalty. The palace was the scene of frequent and violent altercations between the heads of these two factions, but an open rupture did not occur until the year 1873 when an official named Ch'oe Ik-hyun memorialised the throne speaking disparagingly of the presence of the Japanese in the palace and, toward the end, charging the Regent with indirection in the use of the public funds. The king had for some time been growing restive under the control of the Regent, being led to some extent by the new party of which the queen was the patroness and at whose head stood her brother, Min Seung-ho. The memorial was received with marks of approval by the king and he immediately cut off a large part of the revenues of the Regent. At the same time Min Seung-ho [page 132] approached the Regent's son, Yi Cha-myun, elder brother to the king, and suggested that if the Regent could be removed they two might share the leadership of affairs. The young man accepted the offer and ranged himself in line with the opposition. The Regent was now in great straits. The combination against him had proved too strong, and in the last moon of 1873 he shook off the dust of Seoul from his feet and retired to Kap'yung, thirty-five miles to the east of the capital. After five months of residence there he returned as far as the village of Ko-deung, ten miles to the north-east of Seoul.

Among the people there was still a strong element that favored the ex-Regent. They missed a strong personality at the helm of state, for the Koreans have always preferred a strong even if tyrannical leadership. In recognition of this sentiment it was deemed wise to put the ex-Regent's brother, whom he had always kept severely in the back-ground, in the prominent if not necessarily important position of Prime Minister. He proved as was intended a rare puppet in the hands of the Min party who by this time had absorbed the whole power of the government. He was allowed, in compensation for this, to control the sale of public offices to his own profit, but always under the vigilant eye of the dominant faction.

A new era in the metamorphosis of Korea had now begun. Public affairs in the peninsula took a new direction. Min Seung-ho was court favorite and it looked as if matters would soon settle down to something like their former tranquility. But the latter days of the year were destined to bring a severe shock to the leaders of the new party. One day Min Seung-ho received a letter purporting to be from a certain party with whom he was on intimate terms, and with it came a casket wrapped in silk. He was requested to open it only in the presence of his mother and his son. Late at night in his inner chamber he opened it in the presence of these members of his family, but when he lifted the cover the casket exploded with terrific force killing the three instantly and setting the house on fire. As Min Seung-ho had but one enemy bold enough to perpetrate the deed the popular belief that it was done by his great rival is practically undisputed, though no direct evidence perhaps exists.

[page 133] Min T'a-ho immediately stepped into the place made vacant by the terrible death of the favorite. Soon after this the government discontinued the use of the 100 cash pieces with which the Regent had diluted the currency of the country. In the second moon of 1874 the crown prince was born. The year was also signalised by the remittance in perpetuity of the tax on real estate in and about the city of Seoul.

In 1875 three of the ex-Regent's friends, led by Cho Ch'ung-sik, memorialised the throne begging that the Prince Tai-won be again reinstated in power. For this rash act they were all condemned to death, and it was only by the personal intercession of the ex-Regent that the sentence was commuted to banishment for life. Even so, Cho Ch'ung-sik was killed at his place of exile.

In September the Japanese man-of-war Unyo Kwan, after making a trip to Chefoo, approached the island of Kang-wha to make soundings. Approaching the town of Yong-jung, they sent a small boat ashore to look for water. As they neared the town they were suddenly fired upon by the Koreans in the little fortress, who evidently took them for Frenchmen or Americans. A moment later the small boat was turned about and was making toward the man-of-war again. The commander gave instant orders for summary punishment to be inflicted for this perfectly unprovoked assault. He opened fire on the town and soon silenced the batteries. A strong body of marines was landed which put the garrison to flight, seized all the arms and provisions and fired the town. The man-of-war then steamed away to Nagasaki to report what had occurred.

At this time there were in Japan two parties who took radically different views of the Korean question. One of these parties, led by Saigo of Satsuma, smarting under the insulting way in which Korea had received the Japanese overtures, would listen to nothing but instant war. The other party, which saw more clearly the vital points in the question at issue, urged peaceful measures. The policy of the latter prevailed and it was decided to send an embassy to attempt the ratification of a treaty, and if that failed war was to be the alternative. This peace

policy was so distasteful to the war party that Saigo returned to Satsuma and began to set in motion [page 134] those agencies which resulted in the sanguinary Satsuma Rebellion.

For many centuries there had been a strip of neutral territory between the Korean border, the Yalu River, and the Chinese border which was marked by a line of stakes. This strip of land naturally became the hiding piece of refugees and criminals from both countries, for here they were free from police supervision whether Korean or Chinese. The statesman Li Hung-chang recognized this to be a menace to the welfare of both countries and took steps to put an end to it, by sending a strong body of troops who, in conjunction with a gunboat, succeeded in breaking up the nest of desperadoes and rendering the country fit for colonisation. Two years later this strip of land was definitely connected with China and the two countries again faced each other across the waters of the Yalu,

The Korean attack upon the Unyo Kwan off Kangwha proved the lever which finally roused Japan to active steps in regard to the opening of Korea. The war party regarded it as their golden opportunity while the peace party believed it would pave the way for a peaceful accomplishment of their purpose. An envoy was despatched to Peking to sound the policy of that government. The Chinese, fearing that they would be held responsible for the misdoings of Korea denied all responsibility and virtually acknowledged the independence of the peninsula. At the same time a military and naval expedition under Kiroda Kiyotaku, seconded by Inoue Bunda, sailed for Kangwha with a fleet of gunboats, containing in all some 500 men. The Chinese had already advised the Korean government to make terms with the Japanese, and this in fact was the wish of the dominant party; so when the Japanese demand reached Seoul, that commissioners be sent to Kangwha to treat with the visitors the government quickly complied. Two high officials, Sin Hon and Yun Cha-seung, were despatched to Kangwha and the first definite step was taken toward casting off the old time isolation policy, the fond dream of the ex-Regent.

The Japanese envoy opened the conference by asking why the Koreans had given no answer to the repeated requests of the Japanese for the consummation of a treaty of [page 135] peace and friendship. The Korean commissioner replied that from the very earliest times Japan had always addressed Korea in respectful language, but that now she had arrogated to herself the title of Great Japan and called her ruler the Great Emperor. This seemed to imply the vassalage of Korea, an entirely new role for her to play. The Japanese replied that the mere assumption of the name of empire on the part of Japan implied nothing as to the status of Korea one way or the other. This seemed to satisfy the Koreans.

The Japanese then asked why they had been fired upon at Yung-jung. The answer was that the Japanese were dressed in European clothes and were therefore mistaken for Europeans. But when the Japanese asked why the Koreans had not recognized the Japanese flag, especially since the Japanese government had been careful to send copies of their flag to Korea and ask that one be sent to each of the prefectures throughout the land, the Korean commissioners could find nothing to say and had to confess that they had been in error.

All these things were duly reported to the authorities in Seoul where daily councils were being held to discuss the important questions. The ex-Regent sent an urgent appeal to the ministers not to make a treaty, but the tide had turned, and after some sharp discussion as to how the two governments should be designated in the treaty it was finally ratified on February 27th 1876, and Korea was a hermit no longer. Three months later a semi official envoy was sent to Japan in the person of Kim Keui-su.

Meanwhile the closing days of 1875 had beheld a curious event in Seoul. In the dead of night the house of Yi Ch'oeung, the Prime Minister and the brother of the ex-Regent, was set on fire by an unknown hand and burned to the ground. None of the inmates were injured. The culprit was seized and under torture confessed that one Sin Ch'ul-gyun had hired him to do the work. Sin was therefore seized and put to death as a traitor. Whether he was indeed guilty and if so whether he was but an agent in the business are questions that have never been answered.

It was not until the sixth moon of 1879 that, in pursuance of the new treaty, a Japanese Minister, Hanabusa, [page 136] was sent to represent his government at Seoul. We will remember that he had already served his government most successfully at the Korean capital in a private capacity. The new legation was situated at the Ch'un Yun-jung near the lotus pond outside the West Gate. At almost the very same time two French priests arrived in Seoul and took up their quarters outside this same gate and began to proselyte. They were forthwith seized by the authorities, and were for sometime in imminent danger. There was however a strong feeling in the government that this was inconsistent with the new role that it had elected to play and that it was distinctly dangerous. A halt was called and the Japanese Minister took advantage of it to inform the authorities that he had received a message from the French Minister in Tokyo asking him to use his good offices in behalf of these endangered men. The Minister added his own advice that the Korean government should hand over the imprisoned men at once. This was done and the Japanese Minister forwarded them to Japan.

One year later, in the summer of 1880, Kim Hong-jip, a man of progressive tendencies, went to Japan. Soon after arriving there he met a Chinaman who seems to have made a strong impression on him. This Chinaman had many talks with him and gave him a long manuscript dealing with the subject of Korea's foreign

relations, which he asked should be transmitted to the king of Korea. In it he advised the cementing of friendship with the United States, China and Japan, but he spoke disparagingly of Russia. It mentioned Protestant Christianity as being the basis of Western greatness and advised that its propagation be encouraged. It compared the division of Christianity into Roman Catholic and Protestant to the division of Confucianism into the two sects Chu-ja and Yuk-sang-san. When Kim Hong-jip brought this manuscript and placed it in the hands of the king it created a profound sensation, and awakened the bitterest opposition. Many advised that he be killed as an introducer of Christianity. The most violent of all were Yi Man-son, Hong Cha-hak and Pak Nak-kwan who memorialized the throne urging the execution of Kim and the overthrow of all Christian work in the peninsula. This met with the severest [page 137] censure from the king, not because it was in itself seditious but because it was an attempt to reinstate the policy of the Regency. Yi Man-son was banished, Hong Cha-hak was executed and Pak Nak-kwan was imprisoned. This put an end to anti-Christian talk for the time being and it was never again seriously raised.

By the fourth moon of 1881 the progressive tendencies of the new regime had made such headway that the king determined to send a commission to Japan to look about and see something of the world, from which Korea had been so carefully secluded. For this purpose His Majesty selected Cho Chun-Yung, Pak Chung-yang, Sim Sang-hak, Cho Pyung-jik, Min Chong-muk, O Yun-jung, Om Se-yung, Kang Mun-hyong, Hong Yung-sik, Yi Wun-whe, and Yi Pong-eui. These men immediately took passage for Japan. At the same time a party of young men was sent to Tientsin under the chaperonage of Kim Yun-sik on a similar errand.

Late in this year, 1881, four of the adherents of the ex-Regent conspired to overthrow the government, dethrone the king and put in his place Yi Chilsun, a son of the ex-Regent by a concubine. The ex-Regent was then to be brought back to power. The last day of the eighth moon was set for the consummation of this plot. But on the day before, Nam Myung-sun and Yi P'ung-na divulged the whole scheme to the favorite Min T'a-ho, and as a result the four arch-conspirators were seized on the morning of the day set for the culmination of the plot and within a few days eleven others were taken. In the eleventh moon they were all beheaded, and at the same time Yi Chi-son was given poison and expired.

By this time a real liberal party had begun to form. Its leading spirits were Kim Ok-kyun, Pak Yung-hyo, So Kwangbom, Hong Yong-sik, Yi To-ja, Sin Keui-sun and Pak Yungkyo. These were all men of very high family and held important positions under the government. They were in favor of the immediate opening of Korea to intercourse with foreign powers and the establishment of reforms such as had been effected in Japan. The king was largely influenced by the progressive policy mapped out by these men and an era of rapid advancement seemed to be dawning. A special department was established called the Ki-mu or Machinery Bureau which [page 138] was to take charge of the introduction of foreign machinery and implements of all kinds.

It is important to note the position of the Min faction at this point. It was with the downfall of the Regent that, through the queen's influence, the Min faction sprang to life. With the utmost celerity all government positions were filled with them or their sympathizers and it seemed sure that they would have a long lease of official life. The extreme opposition of the Regent to all reforms and to the opening of the country to foreign intercourse naturally inclined his rivals in that very direction and it was directly through the Min faction that the policy of non-seclusion was inaugurated. The queen likewise was in favor of opening up the country to the civilizing influences of the West. But with the Min faction, as a whole, the question of national policy were entirely secondary to the one main idea of preserving the ascendancy which they had gained. Here is the key to all that followed. The Mins were not at that time facing China-ward, and they never would have been had it not become necessary in order to preserve the enviable position they occupied. As we have seen, a number of high officials who had imbibed something of the spirit of reform which had permeated Japan were filling the ear of the king and queen with plans for reform. They were meeting with a favorable hearing and in proportion as they succeeded, the power of the Mins must wane; not because the latter disliked the idea of opening up Korea but because it was another faction that had the work in hand, and that faction would naturally attain more and more power at court as success crowned their efforts. It was just here that the difficulty began. If the liberal leaders had been willing to put the working out of the plan into the hands of the Min faction all might have gone along smoothly and Korea might have realized some of the hopes of the would-be reformers. But such self-abnegation could scarcely be expected from men who saw in the carrying out of their brilliant scheme not only rewards for themselves but the advancement of the country. The personal element was present in full force and this was the rock on which the reformation of Korea split. We may believe that it was at this point that the Min faction determined its policy, a policy that led it straight into the arms of [page 139] China. From this point it became not the progressive party but the conservative party. Its leading members were Min T'a-ho, Min Yung-muk, Min Ta-ho, Han Kyu-jik and Cho Ryung-ha. There was one of the Mins however who held with the liberal party, for a time at least. This was Min Yung-ik, nephew to the queen, adopted son of Min Seung-ho who had been killed by the infernal machine in 1874. That this man took his stand at first with the liberals is shown by the fact that in the spring of 1882 he joined Kim Hong-jip, Kim Ok-kyun, Hong Yung-sik and other liberal

leaders in advising the king to select 200 young men and engage a Japanese instructor to drill them in military tactics. The advice was followed, and Lieutenant Isobayachi was employed for that purpose. Without delay he began work at the Ha-dogam near the East Gate. At the same time a number of young men were sent to Japan to study military matters. Among these the most prominent was Su Cha-p'il who was intimately connected with the liberal movement, though at that time he was too young to take a prominent part.

The first regularly appointed Minister to the Japanese was Pak Yung-hyo the liberal leader. In the early part of 1882 he departed on his mission. It was at Chemulpo on board the little Japanese steamer that the Korean flag was first designed. Pak Yung-hyo, Kim Ok-kyun, Su Kwang-bom and Su Cha-p'il were all present when it was hoisted for the first time in honor of the first Minister to Japan.

While the two hundred men who were being drilled at the Ha-do-gam were being plentifully fed and clothed by the government, the 3,700 troops, called the Hul-lyun To-gam, the former Royal Guard, were being badly neglected. Their pay was two or three months in arrears and for a similar period they had not received a grain of rice. They were naturally incensed and there were angry mutterings against the two hundred men who were being treated so much better than they. When the king was made aware of this he ordered that a month's allowance of rice be given out to these discontented troops. This work was put into the hands of Min Kyum-ho the overseer of the government finances, and he in turn handed the matter over to his major-domo who, it appears, sold the good rice and with the proceeds bought a large quantity [page 140] of the poorest quality which he mixed with sand and doled out to the hungry troops. The result may be imagined. They congregated in various places and determined that since they must die in any event they would rather die fighting than starving. They strengthened the feeble-hearted among their own number by threats of death in case any proved unfaithful and refused to assist in the work in hand. On the night of the ninth of the sixth moon, in the midst of heavily falling rain, they arose en masse and proceeded to their general's house, where they announced that they were going to take revenge on those who had wronged them. That they not only did not attack him but that they even had the courtesy to go and tell him what they were about to do shows clearly that he was in no wise to blame for the ill-treatment they had received. They also sent a messenger to the ex-Regent, but the purport of the message is not known. They then hastened to the residence of Min Kyum-ho. but he had heard of the trouble and had fled to the royal presence for protection. The infuriated soldiery vented their rage on the property by tearing down the house and destroying the furniture. They seized the dishonest major-domo and beat him to death upon the spot. The sight of this aroused all their worst instincts and, separating into bands of two or three hundred, they hastened to different parts of the town to complete what had been begun. Some ran to the prisons and liberated the inmates who naturally joined the ranks of the rioters. One of these prisoners was Pak Nak-kwan who had memorialized the throne in favor of the ex-Regent. They took him on their shoulders and rushed through the streets shouting "Pak Chung-sin" or "Pak the patriot." For this, a few months later he was torn to pieces by bullocks outside the West Gate. Part of the mob went to the Ha-do-gam, but on their approach the Japanese military instructor took to his heels and made for the Japanese Legation. But he was overtaken and cut down in the streets. Another detachment hastened to the Japanese Legation itself, but found the gates shut and barred. Within were nine Japanese. In order to make it light enough to carry on their dastardly work the assaulting mob threw firebrands over the wall and thus illuminated the place, for it was night. The little company of Japanese soon became [page 141] aware that they could not hope to stand a siege and that their only hope lay in a bold dash. Suddenly the gates flew open and the nine determined men rushed out brandishing their swords and firing their revolvers straight into the crowd. The Koreans were taken wholly by surprise and beat a hasty retreat. In their headlong flight many of them fell into the lotus pond adjoining. As the Japanese hurried along to the governor's *yamen* which was not far away, they cut down a few of the mob. They found that the governor had gone to the palace and so they turned their faces toward Chemulpo and hastened away. Another party of the insurgents went outside the city to various monasteries which they burned to the ground. The most important of these was the Sin-heung Monastery outside the Northeast Gate. This move was dictated by hate of the Min faction whose patroness was known to be very well affected toward Buddhism and to have made friends with the monks.

Other parties scattered over the city carrying the torch to the door of every member of the Min faction. The houses of Min Kyum-ho, Min T'a-ho, Min Yung-ik, Min Yung-so, Min Yung-jun. Min Yung-ju Min Ch'ang-sik, Prince Heungin, Kim Po-hyun and Yun Cha-duk were torn down by the use of long ropes. The furniture was piled in a great heap in the street and burned. The only member of the Min clan however that was seized that night was Min Ch'ang-sik who lived at Kon-dang-kol. He had the unenviable reputation of having taken large sums of money from the people by indirection. When he was seized he cried "I am not a Min; my name is Pak." They bound him and carried him through the streets shouting "Is this a Min or a Pak?" The populace answered fiercely "He is a Min." So they took him down to the big bell and stabbed him in a hundred places with their swords and cut his mouth from ear to ear.

When the morning of the tenth broke Seoul was in a terrible condition. Bands of frenzied soldiery were ranging through the streets. The people either huddled about their fireplaces with barred doors or else

sought safety in flight from the city. At last the mob rendezvoused in front of the palace gate and finding no opposition they boldly entered. Rushing into the inner court of the king's private apartments [page 142] they found themselves face to face with His Majesty. About him stood a few of the officials who had not fled the city. There were Min Kyum-ho, Kim Po hyun, Cho Ryung-ha and Prince Heung in. Rushing forward the soldiers struck their swords against the floor and the door-posts and demanded that these men be handed over to them. It was quite evident that there was no escape and that by refusal they would only endanger the king's life. So these men made obeisance to His Majesty and then stepped down into the hands of the soldiers. Min Kyum-ho and Kim Po-hyun were instantly struck down and hacked in pieces before the very eyes of the king. Of Kim nothing remained but the trunk of his body. Cho Ryung-ha was spared but Prince Heung-in died the same day for he was mashed to a jelly by the gun-stocks of the soldiers.

This done, the soldiers demanded the person of the queen. The king sternly demanded how they dared ask of him the person of his Queen. Without answering they rushed away to her private apartments. Seizing palace women by the hair they dragged them about demanding where their mistress was. But while this was going on one of the palace guard named Hong Cha-heui entered the Queen's presence and said that she was in danger and that her only hope of escape lay in getting on his back and being carried out. This she instantly did. A skirt was hastily thrown over her head and the heroic man took her straight out through the midst of the infuriated soldiery. Some of them seized hold of him and demanded whom he was carrying. He replied that it was one of the palace women, his sister, whom he was conveying to a place of safety. His heroism was rewarded by seeing her safely outside the palace and comfortably housed at the residence of Yun T'a-jun to the west of the palace. The next day she was taken in a closed chair toward the village of Chang-wun in the district of Chung-ju in Ch'ung ch'ung Province, where she arrived several days later. In that place she found refuge in the house of Min Eung-sik. This journey was made not along the main road but along by-paths among the mountains, and it is said that Hong Cha-heui lost several of his toes as a result of this terrible march, for shoes could not be procured.

But we must return to the palace. The ex-Regent [page 143] appeared on the scene while the soldiers were still raging through the palace in search of the Queen. He gave the signal to stop, and instantly the soldiers obeyed and quietly left the palace. That these soldiers, worked up as they were to a perfect frenzy, should have obeyed the commands of the Prince Tai-wun so instantly and implicitly would seem to argue a closer connection with this outbreak than any overt act on his part would give us warrant to affirm.

The ex-Regent was now in power again. He supposed that the Queen had been killed, and on the next day he summoned the officials and said that though the Queen was dead yet her body had not been found; they must therefore take some of her clothing and perform the funeral rites with them instead. The proclamation went forth, and from the middle of the sixth moon the people went into mourning for their Queen.

Chapter XVI.

A panic. . . . Japanese envoy . . . a counter demand. . . . Chinese troops arrive . . . rioters captured . . . the Regent kidnapped . . . the Queen returns . . . Foreign Office. . . von Mollendorf . . . minting . . . American Minister . . . various innovations . . . special envoy to the United States . . . the American farm . . . treaties . . . liberal and conservative parties drift further apart . . . Pak Yung-hyo's attempted reforms . . . school for interpreters . . . fears of the progressive party . . . a crisis imminent . . . understanding with the Japanese . . . the dinner at the Post Office . . . attempted assassination . . . confusion . . . Liberal leaders hasten to the palace . . . Japanese called in . . . conservative leaders put to death . . . official changes . . . Chinese demands . . . the fight in the palace . . . the king goes over to the Chinese. . . liberals killed . . . the Japanese retire to Chemulpo . . . indemnity . . . executions . . . Japanese terms . . . hospital . . . missions. . . Tientsin convention . . . corruption . . . von Mollendorf dismissed . . . China takes over the customs . . . Judge Denny engaged as adviser . . . obstacles put in his way . . . government English School. . . mission schools. . . Minister to the United States . . . the "baby war."

A few days after the flight of the Queen a rumor was circulated to the effect that a large body of men belonging to [page 144] the peddler's guild had congregated outside the East Gate and were about to enter and loot the city. A panic seized the people, and men, women and children might be seen flying in all directions, some out into the neighboring country and some up the steep sides of the surrounding mountains. The gates being all locked the people forced the South Gate and the two West gates and thus made good their escape. The king himself was affected by the rumor and leaving the palace sought safety at the house of Yi Che-wan. But the panic ceased as quickly as it had begun, and within three hours the people were returning to their homes again. The extreme haste with which the people tried to get away is illustrated in the case of one old man who seized his little grandson, as he supposed by the hand, and fled up a mountain but found to his dismay that he had taken the boy

by the leg rather than by the hand and that the little fellow had succumbed to this harsh treatment.

On the fifth of the seventh moon Count Inouye arrived in Chemulpo as Japanese envoy and immediately sent word to have a high Korean official sent to Chemulpo to discuss the situation. Kim Hong-jip was sent, and as a result the Korean government was asked to pay an indemnity for the lives of the Japanese who had been killed. It appears that besides the Japanese military instructor five or six others had been killed, also a considerable amount of Japanese money had been seized and destroyed at the Japanese headquarters. The indemnity was placed at a million cash apiece for the Japanese who had fallen. This amounted to something like \$2,500 each, a ridiculously small sum, but perhaps all the Japanese thought they could get. The ex-Regent replied that if the Japanese demanded this indemnity the Korean government would feel obliged to levy a tax upon all Japanese merchants doing business in Korea. This was practically a refusal to pay the indemnity and the envoy took his departure.

Hardly had he left before a Chinese force 3,000 strong arrived at Nam-yang off the town of Su-won. They were commanded by Generals O Chang-gyang, Wang Suk-ch'ang, Ma Kun-sang and by a lesser officer named Wun Se-ga who was destined to play a leading part from this time on.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE KOREA REVIEW

An exciting journey through the hostile lines in northern Korea by a party of American ladies and gentlemen.

The following account is by Rev. Mr. Keams of the Presbyterian Mission, and is of great interest, giving us, as it does, a glimpse of actual conditions in the north.

The town of Sun-ch'un is in North Pyeng-an Province, 110 miles north and west of Pyeng-yang city and 55 miles southeast of Eui-ju. The missionaries, of the Presbyterian Mission, nine adults and five little children, were the only foreigners north of Pyeng-yang except the American settlement at the gold mines of Unsan 90 miles away on the east side of the province. The little mission station established in 1901 rapidly developed work among the Koreans, until at the outbreak of the war there were about 5,000 adherents grouped in over 60 churches scattered throughout the province. Nearly 2,000 of these were in the populous magistracy of Eui-ju, which lies along the east bank of the Yalu river. The people were eager to learn and the Christian community soon won the respect and tolerance of the heathen population.

About a year ago Russia first began to encroach upon Korea using the timber concession in the Yalu valley as an excuse. Yongampo near the mouth of the Yalu was selected as an advantageous site for a port, and substantial brick buildings were erected. The Koreans near by resented the coming of the Russians, but their building operations employed a large number of men and as they paid higher wages than had ever been paid before, private animosity gradually died down. The writer visited this port in December and was [page 2] courteously received by the Russian officer in charge, who was interested in hearing of his American neighbors forty-five miles away and asked a great many questions about the people and surrounding country. He stated, what was apparent, that the building operations had stopped for the winter, but that they expected to do greater things the following summer and would employ a great many laborers. He also said frankly that, while there were only a hundred or so of his countrymen in Yongampo for the winter, he hoped in the coming summer to see many more. The communications were poor from Yongampo to the railway but Chinese carts made fairly good time and mail was reasonably quick. A walk about the place showed seven or eight neat brick dwellings, large barracks and stables and substantial breakwater, a very creditable performance for one summer's work. No fortifications of any kind were apparent though they might easily have been concealed on the surrounding hills. The Russians with one or two exceptions were all military men. The Koreans seemed to both admire and fear their new neighbors. Though there were various complaints of injustice, it was generally conceded among the Koreans that the Russians meant to treat them fairly and that the injustices could nearly all be laid at the doors of the interpreters, who were all Koreans. The Russians not knowing a word of Korean were compelled to do all their business through these men, who could not resist the temptation to squeeze a large part of the money entrusted to them for paying the laborers, and when complaint was made the complainer was usually arrested and beaten on the testimony of the interpreter.

Being so far from the world and with a very slow mail service the rumors of approaching war did not effect the little missionary community at Sun-ch'un seriously. There was always the hope that the question between Japan and Russia might be settled without war and if not, that the fighting would be done in Manchuria and not in Korea. But certain precautions were taken. Orders were left with the larger missionary station at Pyeng-yang for the stoppage of Sun-ch'un mail and its forwarding by private courier at the first sign of disorganization of the Korean post. If it became necessary to remove the ladies and children the only means of transportation was by chairs carried by coolies and the order was left for twenty-four chair bearers to be sent from

Pyeng-yang to bring down the ladies and children at the first indication of fighting or an uprising near Sun-ch'un.

[page 3] These precautions taken, all work went on as usual. The Koreans were quiet, but somewhat anxious and a few of the wealthy men began to buy horses in the back country, away from the main road and get their possessions ready to move out suddenly. They knew nothing of our anxiety.

Early in February we heard of the threatened riots in Seoul and of the coming of the foreign legation guards and the lawlessness of the Korean soldiers in Pyeng-yang and the great activity of the Tonghaks, in South Pyeng An and Whang Hai provinces. Russian scouts also began to be seen to the west of us and about February 10th, twenty of them passed through Sun-chun and went down the main road toward Pyeng-Yang. Many Koreans began to be frightened and a few moved out. Sunday February 14th, all the Japanese settlers in Eui Ju and the Chinese towns across the river, Antung, about eighty in number, came through Sun-ch'un on their way to Pyeng Yang. They reported that they had been ordered out by a telegram from the Japanese Minister in Seoul. We received a telegram at the same time saying that the U. S. Minister was alarmed by movements towards the Yalu and wished American citizens to stop travelling in the interior, keep together and be ready to come to a place of safety should war break out. Three days later twenty more Russian scouts went down the road and the Koreans began to flee to the country. All the roads leading out of Sun-ch'un were filled with the household goods of the people who were hurrying to get their families as far from the main road as possible.

The Christian population still held firm and looked to the Missionaries to tell them when it should be necessary to leave. The great event of the year, the annual Bible class, had been scheduled to begin on the 18th. This is a sort of Chautauqua assembly that brings hundreds of, Christians from all over the province together for a fortnight of Bible study and conference. In accordance with the policy of going on with all work and doing everything possible to prevent a panic, this class was allowed to convene in the hope that the war might hold off at least until the conference was over. In spite of the anxious times a larger number appeared for the opening day than ever before, many coming even from the towns near the Yalu river, on the opposite bank of which a large Russian force was lying, which rumor said would soon cross into Korea. The 18th and 19th were very busy days registering and organizing into divisions the hundreds who had come at their own expense, many from [page 4] distances of from 100 to 250 miles, all eager to study and forgetful of the overhanging danger.

Saturday, Feb. 20th a telegram came saying that chair coolies had already been sent from Pyeng-Yang and urging that the ladies and children be sent immediately to Pyeng-Yang. Hasty preparations were begun but were stopped in a few hours by the arrival of 400 Cossacks who seized houses and prepared to camp for the night. Opinions differed as to whether escape was any longer feasible. The Koreans were in a panic and fleeing from their homes by scores. The main road was fast becoming deserted. An American woman travelling in Korea requires at the minimum about eight coolies, four to carry her and four to carry her baggage. To move the five women and five children of Sun-ch'un station to Pyeng-Yang would take at least fifty Korean coolies and if the houses along the road were deserted, how was such a force to be fed? To take food enough for fifty men for a four or five days' march was impossible. And then would the Russians let us pass through their lines when we overtook them on the road? Would they not be justified in turning back those who might take news of their movements into the Japanese lines? And if we succeeded in getting through the Russian lines we were likely to meet the Japanese advance from Pyeng Yang and a road filled by a marching army would hardly be the route for women and children who wanted to go in the opposite direction. And last and worst of all, with the panic at its height, how could men be bribed or argued into going as coolies? The twenty four professional chair bearers from Pyeng Yang, if they came through all right, could be relied on to go back when the route was towards their own home, but could the rest of the force possibly be recruited in Sun-ch'un for any sum? These were real anxieties and there was much discussion, for it was no small hardship to leave the homes that had become dear by long association. The Cossacks went on in the morning and were followed by an equal number during the day. The chair coolies arrived on Sunday morning bearing urgent messages from missionaries in Pyeng Yang. After consultation a narrow mountain path parallel to the main road was selected as a possible route. This side road was longer than the main road and much more difficult, but it was far enough from the beaten track to insure the possibility of getting in to Pyeng Yang without meeting either Japanese or [page 5] Russian troops in any large numbers, and it was also probable that the people along such a narrow by-way would consider themselves safe and not desert their homes. Christian coolies were finally secured after much effort. The only condition on which they would go was that the missionaries who remained behind should attend immediately to sending their families out into the mountains. This was faithfully promised and Monday morning three ladies and one child escorted by one of the men started on the difficult trip with ten professional chair coolies, one horse, and a few Christian men from Sun-ch'un to carry the very small amount of baggage which it was possible to take. This amount was decreased on the journey as coolies gave out or deserted and their loads had to be abandoned. By the end of the second day this force had diminished to nine men, two of whom acted for the rest of the trip as chair bearers, leaving seven men and the horse to carry what was left of the baggage. The missionary walked and his riding donkey was pressed into service as a baggage carrier.

A second party consisting of another missionary with his wife and two small children, left at noon on Monday taking the same road. Notes were left by the first party at all stopping places for the guidance of this second party. The narrow winding mountain path was made doubly difficult by a heavy fall of snow that lay on the ground. There were only two incidents of importance in the five days' trip. On the third day a Japanese disguised as a Korean and speaking Korean perfectly made himself known to us and told us that the first body of 400 Cossacks which we had seen pass through Sunch'un was then at the very village where we had planned to make our noonday stop. This caused a change of route by which we passed some distance to the northward of the troops. The change of plan brought us that night to a Tong-hak village the inhabitants of which were very hostile to foreigners. Scarcely were the loads off and everybody comfortably disposed when there was a great uproar outside and we learned that we would not be allowed to stop. There seemed nothing to do but go on if we wished to avoid trouble. Fortunately there was a moon but there was no other inn for thirteen miles. The next day we crossed the river half way between Pyeng Yang and Sun-ch'un and passed within seven miles of Anju, where the telegraph office had been seized by 200 Cossacks. For the next two days we travelled parallel with a party of scouts who [page 6] were going down the main road on the other side of a mountain range. By travelling late on Friday night we reached Pyeng Yang about nine o'clock. The next day a courier from the second party brought word that they had fallen behind and would be in Sunday morning. Saturday night eight Cossacks slept in a village only an hour's ride from the city walls on the main road and Sunday morning several of them came in sight and exchanged shots with the Japanese sentinels. There was momentary expectation of a battle and the Japanese consul sent a note to the mission compound to say that he would be glad to receive the ladies within the walls if they felt disposed to go inside the city. There was considerable anxiety about the second party from Sunch'un but they arrived safely about noon, having seen nothing of the skirmish, which seems to have been the first exchange of compliments on land and was reported as quite a battle at the time.

It was found on reaching Pyeng Yang that some of the reasons for not coming via the main road were not well grounded. Another party from the mines came down the main road for half of the distance between Sunch'un and Pyeng Yang and were not stopped by the Russians or put to great inconvenience by deserted inns. The Japanese army had not begun to leave Pyeng Yang for the north. However, the first half of the road between Sun-ch'un and Anju would probably have been very difficult, and the men who had conducted the small missionary parties felt that they had chosen the best route.

The station physician and family with one other man remained at Sun-ch'un in spite of the arguments of their colleagues, who felt that the wife and children ought not to remain. They felt that the hardship of forsaking their home, the exhausting journey and the existence for months with but a minimum of baggage was too great a price to pay for the additional safety. They have been able to help the Koreans greatly in this crisis and so far have been unmolested by the Russians. They have trusted servants at hand and a place of refuge prepared should it be necessary to flee suddenly because of a battle at Sun-ch'un. They are in constant touch by couriers with their brethren in Pyeng Yang and the departure of most of the station leaves them supplies enough to withstand quite a siege. It was originally intended that the two men after seeing the ladies safe in Pyeng Yang should return to Sun-ch'un to help look after the mission property but the skirmishing between [page 7] and the preemptory prohibition of the Japanese military authorities has prevented that.

At the present writing Sun-ch'un is still within the Russian lines and the skirmishing and possible battle ground is still between the two mission stations, but the overwhelming Japanese force in Pyeng Yang must soon push its outposts beyond Sun-ch'un. We had a very good chance to observe the Russians, they are physically a very fine lot of men. Their arms and accoutrements seem to a novice inferior to those of the Japanese. Their horses are Manchurian ponies, larger, but akin to the Korean ponies and hardy, but looking ill-fed and overworked. The criticism which the Koreans make is very comical from the wearers of the voluminous Korean dress. They said of the Cossacks, "Those men cannot fight. They have too many clothes on."

The first bodies of cavalry were followed soon by a couple of full regiments of cavalry and a small field battery. The general in command rode in a carriage, which caused great amusement to the Koreans. They also brought heavy baggage wagons. The commissary department bought provisions of the Koreans, but did the buying through their interpreter and the local magistrates, which means that most of the money lined the pockets of those worthies. The officers took great care to restrain their men and to permit no depredations, but of course there were isolated cases of theft by the Cossacks. When the Koreans understood that the foraging soldiers were unarmed, quite a number of fights occurred in which the offending soldiers were handled pretty roughly.

At the home of the American physician was stored some fodder for the cow which supplied milk for the children of the family. A sargeant with a detail attempted to confiscate this, which resulted in a visit of the two Americans to headquarters to procure an order for protection. They found the general dining on an unsavory mess in the kettle in which it was cooked and after returning home sent a servant with some dainties which were accepted with thanks. As a result of this friendly intercourse proclamations in Russian were posted on the gates of the three foreign houses notifying soldiers that the property was American and to be respected.

The Russians on Korean soil are badly handicapped by their ignorance of the language. Their

interpreters take advantage of the people and the Russians are hated for it. Even their spies who are paid fancy wages bring them false reports to alarm them and get them out of the country. There is very good reason to believe that the [page 8] first retreat of the Russians was due to lying reports from Korean spies of overwhelming Japanese forces in front. While they held Anju, the telegraph line was kept in repair. As soon as they retreated from Anju the line was destroyed all the way back to the Yalu river.

The *Kobe Chronicle* of Mar. 24 contains an interesting account of a journey made by a party of Americans, including several ladies and children, from the American Mines at Unsan, north of Anju, to Pyeng-yang. They fell in with Russian Cossacks at Anju and were politely treated by them. These travellers describe the Russian cavalry as the finest they had ever seen. "The horses were magnificent animals and their riders might have been born in the saddle. As an instance of fine horsemanship, the lady said she herself observed an officer, note-book in hand, making a survey of the surrounding country on horseback under most difficult circumstances. The officer sat his horse, which was mounting a very steep, hill zig-zag fashion, with perfect ease, making notes during the ascent, the reins hanging loose. It was a remarkable feat of horsemanship." We fail to see anything specially remarkable about it, though, of course, every one knows the Cossacks are excellent horsemen. One of the ladies in the party secured a number of photographs of the Cossacks who good naturedly posed for her. One of the party states that at one of their stopping places these Cossacks regaled themselves on raw Korean pork.

THE KOREA REVIEW.

APRIL, 1904.

The Russo-Japanese War.

We are evidently approaching a second crisis in the war. It was inevitable that the scouring of the seas by the Japanese fleet would be followed by a season of waiting for that was a necessary preparation for the transportation of troops to the mainland. The delay may have been increased by the fact that the Japanese could not have known that the sea victory could be so easy.

Be that as it may, things are beginning to look lively once more. The Japanese have driven the Russians back across the Yalu by a series of what the Russians themselves in their dispatches to St. Petersburg call "Japanese reverses." The Russians considered it a great feather in their cap that they destroyed the two men-of-war in Chemulpo Harbor. The *Shanghai Mercury* says with the finest touch of irony that the Russians will never despair so long as they can do such things as these. By whatever name we wish to call this victorious retreat of the Russians they are now beyond the Yalu and Korean soil is clear of them. It is not much to be regretted when we read the telegram sent down here by the commissioner who went north to bring back the body of the prefect whom the Russians killed because he refused to supply provisions. The Commissioner found the body decapitated, both arms and legs cut off and the trunk [page 146] frightfully mutilated. We cannot assert that the Russians mutilated the body but there is no doubt that they killed the prefect.

Once more the old Yalu comes into notice. There are few more historic streams than this one. For nearly four thousand years it has seen many armies facing each other across its waters. It is the Rubicon of Korea. The parallel is accurate.

When the Koryu dynasty, away back in 1392, had become so rotten that it was a disgrace to the whole Korean people the great general Yi was ordered by the priest-ridden king to take the army and attack China! Gen. Yi knew it was the command of a maniac but he had to make a "bluff" at obedience; so he took the army as far as an island in the middle of the Yalu and then made a speech to them, to the effect that it was worse than suicide to attempt the invasion of China and asked them if they would follow him back to the capital and engage in a little political house-cleaning. They applauded the speech and recrossed the arm of the river and marched on the Capital, where Gen. Yi soon became king and founded the present dynasty. Old Sindon was the monk who had hypnotized the fallen king. One of his tricks is worth recording. Feeling that his bluff needed a little "upholstering" he dug a hole by night in front of his door; at the bottom of the hole he put a barrel of beans; on top of the beans he put a gilded image of Buddha so that his head would come about two inches from the surface of the ground, and then he filled in the dirt so that nothing could be seen. He had taken good care to throw in a couple of pails of water on the beans. In the morning he called the people about him and said "By noon a gilded Buddha will come up out of the ground in front of my door." They sat down to watch. The beans began to swell, and at 11:57 the gilded head broke through the surface of the soil. They went down on their faces as if they had been shot and Sindon's hold was strengthened for another year or two.

The world is waiting eagerly for news of a land [page 147] fight but this is not likely to come off for several weeks yet. The Japanese might land some troops back of Port Arthur and attack that place by land and sea simultaneously but the strength of Port Arthur has been proved to be so much less than the Russians boasted that even the capture of that stronghold would really not be considered a hard blow. It is when the two armies meet in the death clinch in Manchuria that we shall hear of something definite. Meanwhile we seek for evidences of strength or weakness on either side. The frantic efforts that the Russians are making to secure food in Manchuria and the fact that they have had to bribe the bandits to keep them still, show that the Siberian road is going to prove all but inadequate to supply the army in the Far East.

Manchuria is heavily populated with people hostile to Russia, her railroad runs so near the Arctic circle that in winter it will be an enormous undertaking to keep a large army in Manchuria supplied. At some stations along the road we looked carefully at the track and, as the train moved along, the railroad ties would sink half or three quarters of an inch and mud would ooze up over them. If this was the case with comparatively light passenger cars what must it be with heavily loaded ones? It is probable that to keep that road in running order and to transport what the army will need will require an average of fifty men to the mile along the whole 6,000 miles, or in round numbers a total of 300,000 men who must themselves be fed and provided for and paid. We have lately heard that 100,000 more men are asked for as guards alone for the railroad. So when people talk about Russia's game being a waiting game, it is true only in case she can concentrate a large army at Harbin or elsewhere and then push the Japanese rapidly and steadily out of Manchuria and Korea. If the statement of the Japanese is true, that the war will take two or three years, we feel confident that its prolongation will be worse

for Russia than Japan. It may be that Japan sees that it will be necessary to play the waiting game herself and attempt to drain [page 148] the resources of the Russian government. In order to make it succeed it was necessary to have complete command of the sea and render it impossible to feed the Russian army by any other avenue than the Siberian Railway. This they have done and the next step is to keep things moving enough to make it necessary for Russia to support an enormous army in Manchuria at three times the cost of keeping a Japanese army there. If the Russians want to stop the suicidal expenditure they must drive the Japanese army off the southern point of Korea; but the nature of the Korean country is such that the Russians would be constantly fighting an uphill game with the ever present danger of a Japanese army landing in their rear and cutting off their communications. We very much doubt whether the Japanese wish to bring the matter to the issue of a single great battle. Japan is now paying for something like fifty thousand men on the field while Russia is probably paying for six times that number and when we take into account the vastly greater expense of putting Russian troops in the field than that of putting Japanese troops there we might be within bounds in saying that Russia's daily expenditure is ten times as great as that of Japan. At that rate Japan can afford to play the waiting game. This looks the more likely when we notice the satisfaction with which Japan views the restriction of the belligerent territory and the arrangement which she has made with Korea, for whereas it prevents Russia from drawing supplies from any Far Eastern territory excepting Manchuria, which in a state of war will produce comparatively little, it leaves Japan free to draw upon the enormous agricultural resources of Korea which, being in the southern part of the peninsula, will be out of the area of actual hostilities at least until the Russians have succeeded in pushing the Japanese to the wall. And before this can be accomplished Russia will have drained every bourse in Europe and beggared her own people.

But even this does not exhaust the indications which point to Japan's intention of prolonging the war. She [page 149] recently secured an extension of the fishing privileges of the Japanese along the whole western coast of the peninsula and the avowed purpose was to provide another means of supplying the Japanese army with food. This shows that she does not expect to end the war in a single season. We must also add to this the fact that Japan is hastening the building of the railroad between Seoul and Wiju, which cannot possibly be finished inside of two years.

General Kuropatkin's statement that he expected to finish the war in July probably voices the profound wish of the Russian Government, and to realize this wish they will depend upon the hot-headedness of the Japanese in precipitating a general engagement. But Japan is not out to do what Russia wants and we fully believe that an entirely different policy will be adopted by the Japanese leaders. A prominent Russian official has already foreseen that Japan will adopt the tactics of the Boers. It is an ominous forecast for the Russians; for with Japan's resources and the number of men she can put into Manchuria it will mean the Boers with thrice their force and backing.

The war correspondents who have been waiting so impatiently in Tokyo have come on at last. They passed through Chemulpo the other day on a Japanese transport. The boat dropped anchor in the harbor at five in the morning and left before noon for the north. Not one of the fifteen correspondents was allowed to land and a newspaper man here who boarded her was allowed to stay only fifteen minutes. Mr. Jack London was waiting in Seoul for that boat. He was told that it would arrive at noon but it arrived and sailed again before that hour, so he was left; but he went north by a subsequent boat.

To show how well Japan keeps her own secrets, I will say that for three weeks a fleet of over forty loaded transports lay off the Korean islands within fifty miles of Chemulpo and yet very few in Seoul had heard a word about it. That fleet was waiting for the Russians to be pushed back across the Yalu and when [page 150] that event was in sight the time had come for this new force to land near the mouth of the Yalu. For this reason the war correspondents in Tokyo were sent forward.

This newspaper crowd, like all crowds, is made up of all kinds. There are veterans like Burleigh, James, London, Davis, and Palmer and then there are callow youth just out of college, whose notions of the East and whose estimate of Russian or Japanese character is based upon a few days observation from the deck of a steamer. One of them called on us the other day to ask questions about Korea, which we gladly answered; but we found that he had formed preconceived notions of it that were decidedly youthful and he disputed with us at every point. We could tell him nothing. He had learned more about Korea in four days than we had in eighteen years. He was like the fellow who crossed from Dover to Calais for the first time, and seeing a redheaded man on the pier at Calais wrote back to his friends that all Frenchmen were redheaded. And, strange to say, this man represented one of the greatest papers in the United States.

The withdrawal of the last Russian force across the Yalu River brings to an end one period in the war; only a preparatory step, of course, a clearing of the decks for action, and yet a very definite step and one in which the Koreans are deeply interested. It means that the war is to be fought on other than Korean soil and only those who have lived in territory which was the actual scene of conflict can properly understand what a blessing this is to the Koreans.

It will be well therefore to give a resumé of what has been done and the manner in which the advance

and retreat of the Russians was accomplished. It is evident that the Russians never expected nor intended to attempt to hold any of the Korean territory against the Japanese, but it was necessary that they should send forward a small force to keep in touch with the Japanese so as to be always informed of the movements of the latter. For this purpose they made use of Koreans as spies and through them gained some useful information but, if reports are correct, they were often deceived by these Korean spies as to the number of the Japanese. The passionate longing of the Koreans to see the war carried to the other side of the Yalu evidently affected these Korean spies and more than once their reports of the Rapid approach of strong detachments of Japanese made the Russians decamp in haste when in truth they could easily have stood their ground and caused delay to the enemy. The question here arises as to whether one of the objects of the Russians was to cause serious delay to the Japanese so as to give more time for preparation to the military authorities in Manchuria.

The rather serious business at Chong-ju might indicate that such were their orders. The little skirmishes at Anju, when shots were exchanged across the river and two or three on either side were killed, could not be called serious opposition. The Russians were looking for the best place to take their stand and see what they could do at holding the Japanese in check. They may have seen the futility of it, and probably did, but an attempt, at least, must be made to obey orders if only to prove that they could not be carried out. The skirmishes at Anju occurred about the middle of March and it was not until nearly a fortnight later that the battle of Chong-ju was fought, namely March 28th.

But before describing that encounter we must note some of the movements of the Japanese that preceded it. The Russians spread out over the southern portion of North Pyeng-an Province in a desultory sort of way. They must have known through their scouts that the Japanese were going north by the main road only but the Russians scattered far to the right and left of this road apparently bent upon forage. On March 15th they entered Yŭng-byŭn, the capital of the province, about a hundred strong and made a demand upon the governor for food. He could do nothing but comply, so he gave them orders on various prefects in the vicinity. These the Russians took and presented at various prefectures saying that the Russians were going to fight the Japanese and that the Koreans must aid them with food. They seem to have had the curious notion that this would be [page 152] pleasing to the people, when in fact nothing could be more distasteful. The Russians gradually came to see their mistake when prefect after prefect announced that orders straight from Seoul were superior to the governor's orders and that they could furnish no provisions. The result was that the Russians had to take what they wanted. These provisions were not paid for even though the Russians may have offered Russian money. That money was worthless to the Korean and however much he received it could not be called pay. It is amply proved that they took things without leave, for they entered the grounds of American citizens in Sun-ch'un and were going to walk off with some fodder, and it was only by an appeal to the head officer that the theft was prevented.

On the 22nd a Russian band, twenty-five strong, entered Ch'ul-san and took a hundred pecks of rice and five bullocks. A large majority of the people had run away leaving their houses empty. The Russians entered these houses and took whatever they needed. It was the same in all the towns along the main roads. The number of Koreans who fled from their homes in the north would mount up to thousands. Where did they go with their wives and children? It was bitterly cold. Winter had but just begun to break up. The imagination is taxed to the utmost to form even a faint conception of the terrible suffering those people must have endured. The number of actual deaths among those fugitives must have been ten times the number of Japanese and Russians who were killed or wounded in the various small engagements. We may smile and say that it was quite unnecessary for them to run away from their homes, that they were themselves to blame for their suffering; but we forget that they know of war only as rapine and plunder, the loss of property, of life and of honor more precious than life. They know nothing of "civilized" warfare.

It was on this same day March 22nd that the Russians at Yongampo, connected with the Timber Concession, and the Chinese under them, removed to the other side of the Yalu. Only 100 Russian soldiers and ten Chinese remained. The Koreans say that they put a [page 153] large number of "boxes" into the water at that port. The Koreans took it to be the Russian form of burial but they learned later that these were torpedoes. We cannot be sure as yet that the Russians actually mined the harbor, but these reports would lead us to suppose so. On the next day even the 100 soldiers and the Chinese all left hurriedly and went across the Yalu leaving everything in the hands of the Korean interpreters.

When the Japanese crossed the river at An-ju the Russians being greatly outnumbered evidently determined to move steadily back toward the Yalu but to leave enough men at Chong-ju to hold the Japanese temporarily in check and prevent an attack in the rear. That there was no general concentration of troops at Chong-ju is shown by the fact that on the 20th 500 Russians arrived at K wi-siing which is almost north of Chong-ju and then in a day or so went westward. But still better proof is found in the report that on the 29th just one day after the fight at Chong-ju 2,600 Russians arrived at Sun-ch'un and the following day went toward Wi-ju. These men could not have been in the fight at Chong-ju. There was a little brush between the Japanese and Russians at Pakch'un a

few days before the Chong-ju affair and it is plain that the Japanese were hot on their trail for we hear from Ta-ch'un, just north of Pak-ch'un, that on the 26th twenty-nine Japanese cavalry arrived and most of these immediately hurried westward toward Kwi-sung.

It was on the morning of the 28th that the Japanese cavalry scouts approached the walled town of Chong-ju which is on the main road thirty-five miles beyond An-ju. We are able to give a little sketch map of the situation of Chong-ju, indicating, the main road along which the Japanese came, the lay of the land about the city, the spot where the first firing took place and the position occupied by the Russians and from which they were driven by the Japanese. It will be seen that a stream comes down a valley from the northwest and flows around to the south side of the city where it is joined by a corresponding stream coming down from the northeast, so that the city lies in the fork of the streams, which then flow south into [page 154] the sea a few miles distant. Some of the Japanese scouts came across the stream about half past ten in the morning and approached the south gate of the town while others took a circuit around the eastern side of the town to see what was going on in that direction. It soon became clear that they were in touch with a considerable body of Russians who were in the city and outside the west gate. The scouts started back to report but the Russians seem to have followed them out of the south gate and soon the main body of Japanese appeared and a sharp encounter took place a hundred yards outside the south gate. The Russians were not in force enough to hold this position which was a poor one, so they retired, leaving, as it is reported, two or three dead on the field, who were afterward buried by the Japanese. When the Russians retired they all went outside the west gate up the stream and took their position on rising ground, evidently with the intention of making a stand there. The Japanese cavalry had followed close on their heels, but when it was seen that the Russians had drawn up for business the cavalry retired to the main body of the Japanese and reported. Going around the south side of the city the Japanese attacked the position of the Russians with fifty cavalry and seventy infantry but it was two or three hours before they were dislodged and compelled to retire toward Wiju. If the Japanese could have pushed on and kept up the fight the Russians would perhaps have been more thoroughly beaten but snow was lying deep on the ground and the cavalry alone could have effected nothing. So the Japanese had to let the Russians off without further loss. A few days later the Russians were streaming through Sinch'un carrying their wounded. They were in full cry for the Yalu. This little battle in which there were only about fifteen casualties on each side seems to have sufficed for the Russians. No more stops were made until Wiju was reached. The Japanese followed steadily, welcomed every-where by the Koreans who had learned the difference between Japanese and Russian treatment. When they appeared before Wiju the Russians had already crossed to the other side of the [page 155] Yalu and Korea was rid of the Cossack, it is to be hoped forever.

It was on March 4th that Korean soil once more ceased to be belligerent territory. We understand that the Russians have taken a stand on the other side of the river and will dispute its passage. In fact General Kuropatkin is reported to have said that the Russians would attempt to surround the Japanese at the Yalu.

There is little use in trying to forecast the immediate future. General Kuropatkin is an experienced officer and when the Japanese come in contact with him there will be some sharp work.

The Burning of the Palace.

The night of April 14th witnessed one of the greatest conflagrations that Korea has suffered for many years. The new Imperial Palace called the Kyong-un was swept out of existence in a few short hours. It will be remembered that this was the palace built soon after the Emperor took refuge in the Russian Legation in 1896. Compared with the old time palaces it was small and insignificant but even so it was a huge collection of buildings, huddled closely together, some purely native in style some purely foreign and others still a mixture of the East and West. It was about eleven o'clock that the alarm bells were rung, though the fire is said to have begun some thirty minutes sooner. The cause of this fire is not definitely known but rumor states that it came from the overheating of some newly made flues under the floor of a building lately occupied by the Emperor as his private apartment, but in order to understand where the fire originated the reader is invited to refer to the diagram which accompanies this article. This represents only the most important buildings in the palace enclosure but between these and around them were hundreds of thousands of buildings; so that when the fire once caught it was sure to sweep clear through.

[page 156] It was in the building numbered 20 in the diagram that the fire started. This was the apartment of His Majesty before the Queen Dowager died. At that time he removed to the building numbered 11. The buildings that he had temporarily left were being renovated. Carpenters, masons and painters had been hard at work upon it. It is said that there were many shavings lying under the *maru* and when the workmen built a fierce fire in the newly made fireplace some of these shavings, being whirled about by the wind caught fire and communicated the flames to the shavings under the *maru*. The newly painted wood burned readily and when the

fire was first noticed it had already taken a firm hold. It is probable that instant and vigorous measures would have prevented a great conflagration but in a Korean palace ordinary rules do not work. In the first place there must be no outcry or tumult; in the second place the gates must all be tightly closed and guarded. Then the Emperor must be awakened and informed of the fact that the palace is on fire. Then and only then can any attempt be made to stop it. It is quite irregular for any efforts to be made in this direction without the express order of the Emperor. The result is that if a fire once starts in a palace the whole place is practically doomed. History shows us that seditious attempts have often been begun by starting such a fire, so that the first care must be to close the palace gates and give access to no one.

On this occasion matters were made worse by a high wind that was blowing from the northeast and the building where the fire started was in the northeastern part of the palace grounds; so that the flames were practically sure to sweep a clean path through the palace inclosure diagonally to the southwest corner.

Not long after the fire was perceived from the outside the Japanese fire-bell was rung and the Japanese and Chinese firemen hastened to the palace but found all the gates fast closed and no answer was made to their shouts, so they were unable to render any assistance. No noise was heard from the palace enclosure except the angry roar of flames and the crash of falling roofs.

[page 157] There was something sinister about the stillness. Fire in the orient is always associated in the mind with screaming crowds and frantic efforts to dam the tide of flame, but here all was silent. Crowds surged around the palace on the outside but what of the thousand people or more who were within. They might all be burned to death.

The British Legation guard turned out promptly and armed with patent fire extinguishers attempted to get in at the back gate and on the side near the Custom House, but they were foiled at every point. They then went to Mr. Chalmers' place and secured a hand fire engine and dragged it around to the palace in readiness to enter if an opportunity should be afforded.

Meanwhile the fire was rapidly gaining a firmer hold upon the closely packed buildings in the palace. It leaped from the house in which it started to the adjoining buildings to the west, south and southwest, and it was not long before it threatened the apartments in which the Emperor was anxiously awaiting the issue. Within forty minutes of the time when the fire was discovered he hurriedly moved to building numbered 9 on the diagram and called to him Prince Yung-chin and Lady Om. Of course the Crown Prince was with him all the time. This move was made so hurriedly that His Majesty is said to have gone out in the garments that he wears at night. It soon became evident that the whole palace was doomed and that there was no part of it sufficiently safe for His Majesty to risk remaining there. It was therefore decided to leave the palace and go to the Library building which is just west of the American Legation. To do this he must go out the small gate on the west side of the palace, but when this was reached it was found already open. The reason for this was as follows: Along the west side of the palace enclosure, inside the wall, was a row of buildings used as barracks and magazine. The smoke drove straight in that direction and a shower of burning cinders was falling. The soldiers were drawn up in front of their quarters and it was plain that unless something was done and done very [page 158] quickly they would be burned to death. They had no mind to emulate the example of Casablanca and so made for this west gate to gain egress from their critical position. It was closed, barred and locked but with the flames behind them they soon had the gate unbarred and streamed out. A number of the American Legation guard were there waiting for an opportunity to be of service. The Korean soldiers told these men of the ammunition stored in the threatened buildings and so the Americans together with some of the Koreans made a dash for the building and soon had the ammunition outside the palace where it could do no harm. If this had not been done a very serious explosion might have occurred. It was about this time, approximately 11:30, that the Emperor, the Crown Prince, Lady Om, Prince Yung-chin and a crowd of eunuchs, officials and palace women came hurrying out of the gate to make their way to the Library building.

Soon after this the British Legation guard entered this gate, got their hose-pipe into a large well at the northwest corner of the palace enclosure and set to work to save the new palace building that is in course of construction. They kept a stream of water on the scaffolding and succeeded in preventing the fire from spreading in that direction.

The wind was blowing strongly from the northeast and about midnight the fire reached the great Audience Hall called the Chung-wha-jon or "Middle Harmony Hall." The fire went around three sides of this great building before it caught fire. The large amount of ornamental work under its double roof made it bum with one great roaring tide of flame. The sight from the British Legation grounds was truly awe-inspiring. In half an hour the enormous pillars which supported the double roof were seen to totter and then the whole pile came with a deafening crash to the ground. Even so the debris stood sixty feet high or more and burned as fiercely as ever. This building alone represented an outlay of something like half a million dollars.

Fears were felt for the safety of some of the foreigners' [page 159] houses to the southwest of the palace. The constant steam of sparks and cinders which fell upon and around them required careful watching and some of the foreigners were busy pouring water upon the most exposed portions of the buildings. Some

gentlemen mounted the roof of the Methodist Church, which was nearest the fire, and kept watch for signs of fire there.

In the room occupied by His Majesty there was a heavy chest containing a large amount of solid gold and silverware of various kinds. As soon as His Majesty left the apartment eight soldiers were detailed to bring out this chest but their combined strength was inadequate to the demand and it had to be left. After the fire the debris was removed and it was found, of course, that the gold and silver had melted and run in all directions but the bullion was recovered. In an adjoining room was another case containing a large number of silver spoons and other implements which had been presented to His Majesty as souvenirs on many festive occasions. The cover of this was burned off and the contents partially melted but many of the spoons though blackened and twisted still retained some semblance of their original shape.

It would be a mistake to suppose that all the buildings were burned or that all the occupants of the palace buildings had to leave. There were seven or eight buildings on the north, northeast and east sides of the enclosure that were not burned and many of the palace women, clerks and others remained in them until morning.

Many valuable books and documents were burned in the cabinet council house numbered in the sketch. These books were histories, secret documents, ceremonial laws and a large number of foreign books. In the house occupied by His Majesty a large amount of Japanese paper money was burned. The furniture of some buildings was hastily carried out and piled up in the road or passage-way and in some instances this was burned, although the building from which it was taken escaped. In the buildings surrounding the great Audience Hall [page 160] were stored the uniforms and instruments of the native musicians. These were all destroyed. Many jinrickshas that had been prepared for use in the jubilee celebration, that was so many times postponed, were also burned. The number of screens, silver utensils, rolls of silk, vases, and other valuables is unknown but the aggregate value must have been very great indeed.

The morning after the fire inquiries were immediately set on foot to discover the parties responsible for the calamity. It was found that the cause was as we have stated already; so the men who had charge of the repairs, and to whose carelessness the fire was due, were immediately arrested and lodged in jail at the Law Department. It is said that these men will be banished nominally for a term of years but that they will be soon reprieved. The matter of the place of the Emperor's residence was taken up immediately. The various functions of the Household were temporarily lodged in buildings owned by the government in the vicinity of the palace but this could not continue long. Rumors were abroad that His Majesty would go to the Chang-dok Palace, called "The Old Palace" by foreigners. Others said he would lease the Russian Legation while others still believed that he would stay in the Library building until sufficient repairs could be effected on the site of the burned palace to make it habitable. Of these three the last was by far the most congenial to His Majesty and inquiries were set on foot to find out what such repairs could be effected for. An estimate was made that it would require Y 9,000,000 to put the whole palace in the condition it was before the fire. This, being nearly equivalent to a year's revenue for the whole country, was of course out of the question; but 300,000 dollars were appropriated for temporary repairs and carpenters and other workmen were ordered to be in readiness to begin the work. Most of the leading officials and the Japanese Minister advised that the Court be moved to the "Old Palace"* but this was very distasteful to His Majesty so the matter was not pressed. But as the days passed it became more and more evident that this would [page 161] be the outcome of the matter for the government treasury can ill-afford the tremendous strain and, in addition to this, the "Old Palace" has lately been renovated and put in order so that a very slight expenditure will make it habitable. Strong pressure was again brought to bear upon the court and at the present writing, April 25, it has been practically decided that the court will remove to that palace. It is by all odds the finest situation in the city and much more commensurate with the dignity of an imperial court than the cramped quarters in Chong-dong which are elbowed on every side by foreign legations and other foreign properties. Of course it will mean that we shall be able to have no more of those delightful picnics in the "Old Palace" grounds where one can imagine himself for a time transported far away from the sights and sounds of the city.

In connection with this fire there is an amusing prophecy said to have been unearthed. Someone posted an anonymous statement at Chongno, the center of the city, saying that such a prophecy had been found and that it reads as follows :

XXXXXXX

The curious thing about it is that this inscription was posted at the beginning of the year. The literal translation is as follows: "The pine forest will suffer a calamity; at first hide in the tiger's tail; green dragon of ancient times; superior will be attached to twenty." This means absolutely nothing as it stands but it is one of those curious oriental conundrums in which the Korean delights. It depends upon a clever juggling with the Chinese characters. The first four characters are said to foretell the burning of the palace, as the thousands of posts used

in its construction may be called a "forest of pines." The next four characters are interpreted generally to refer to the fact that the Emperor took refuge in the Library building which, being a sort of annex to the palace, may by a stretch of the imagination be called a "tail." The use of the word tiger describes the Library building more perfectly, for the tiger is the animal that [page 162] corresponds to "West" even as rat corresponds to north, dragon to east, and bird to south. The third combination, the green dragon, refers to the present year, for each year of the sixty year cycle has its own "animal name" and this year, being the kap-chin year, may be also called the green dragon year. But the character for dragon also means the third moon of the year, for each moon is presided over by some animal. Then the last character, meaning "ancient" is made up of the characters meaning twenty-first day. So the whole of this third line gives the exact year, month and day in which the idea in the last line will be carried out. The day here specified is the sixth of May. The enigmatical meaning of the last line is "The superior will be attached to the double *sun*" now the character *sun* is * and if two be put together the two characters for day * come together one above the other and this is the character *, chang, which is the name of the "Old Palace."* So the whole is interpreted as follows : In 1904 a disaster will overtake the palace. Its inmates will find refuge in a building to the west of the palace and on the fifth of May they will remove to the "Old Palace." When this poster was discovered in the morning by the police it was instantly torn down and taken to the Police Headquarters. If the author could be found he would suffer capital punishment. But many people saw and copied it and it appeared in the native papers a few days since. To say the very least it is a curious coincidence. It will be rather interesting to note whether the last line of the prophecy is fulfilled. If the interpretation of the lines is the right one the only rational explanation would be that the conflagration was incendiary in its origin and that the last line is a clever effort to force its own accomplishment by making the individuals to which it refers hesitate not to follow it lest worse evils befall. It will be noticed that the fifth of May is a lucky day and one on which a moving can be accomplished without fear of the spirits taking offence. If there is anything in this, it gives us just a glimpse into the workings of the oriental mind.

At last advices the plan to rebuild five of the buildings [page 163] has been changed and two only will be built. The two buildings in the diagram marked with a cross are the ones to be rebuilt.

The Internal Condition of Affairs in Korea.

In such a country as this it is rather difficult to gauge the feelings of the people, but everybody who knows anything about them must admit that the whole country is in a very unsettled mental state. The people do not know whether the tide of war will turn and they may be called upon to entertain a Russian army. They do not know just to what extent the Japanese will assume the direction of affairs here. They do not know what the Home Office will do about the prefects throughout the land. They do not know how much or how little the talk of the Tong-haks and other disintegrating factions may amount to. They do not know where the multiplication of robber bands is going to stop. The outlook is not as promising as it might be. Two of the highest officials in the so-called reconstructed government are having a violent quarrel over the appointment of the country prefects. Each has brought in a list of appointees and each insists that his list shall be adopted. This is very suspicious on the face of it, for it looks as if it was a clear case of that same partisanship which has been the bane of good government in Korea ever since the middle of the sixteenth century. This uncertainty at Seoul is thoroughly understood in the country and increases the feeling of insecurity there. The depredations of the bandits, especially in the south, has reached a point where steps must soon be taken to put them down or the people will feel that the only way to be secure is to become robbers themselves. One morning not long ago a band of five armed men entered a town in southern Korea and forced the people to point out all the houses [page 164] of well-to-do citizens. They said that a large number of beggars were on their way north and would soon be passing this town, and the people were warned to feed these tramps or they would suffer for it. The crowd of tramps arrived, a veritable Coxey's Army, and the people took them in and fed them. As soon as the eating was over these tramps each produced a short sword and began looting the town. They took away some 30,000 dollars with them.

We have received from Dr. W. B. McGill some notes on observations he made recently in Kong-ju, about a hundred miles south of Seoul. He says that about five miles from that place there are some fanatics who have formed a new religion. He went out to the place and saw their antics. He found that they called their cult **** the Sound, Influence, Dance Doctrine. They believe that if they chant the five sounds of the ancient Chinese gamut, the ***** and dance with all their might, God will be pleased, the Holy Spirit will descend and all evil will be taken away. They call God their Father and say that Jesus being fixed in the heavens forms a cross. They say that Christ will come to earth again together with Confucius and Mencius, and that the time is at hand. They dance so hard that the "trees, men and mountains seem to be leaping in unison with them" and the elements seem to be dissolving. The ignorant on-looker is tempted to join in the intoxicating dance. Dr. McGill says that the local "Dowie" approached him and waved over his head some paper on which were written in red

certain meaningless characters, apparently trying to hypnotize him. We fancy he was not a very docile subject. These people in the excess of their frenzy have hemorrhages of the lungs and believe that the evil goes out of them with the blood and that renewed spiritual life comes with the renewed flesh. They claim that they and the Christians belong to the same family and believe the same things. They read the "Great Learning" and the "Little Learning" and believe that their doctrine came from Confucius, find that the scholars have forgotten the true doctrine of [page 165] Confucius. They allow women to follow the doctrine equally with men.

One day he was walking through the town and he saw a crowd of beggar boys huddled around some object. He approached and found them seated in a circle about a smouldering fire eating a dead dog that they had found in the sewer. They had made a little fire, enough to bum the hair off and singe the flesh a little. It was a very sad sight to see the little fellows fight for the possession of the only knife in order to cut off a piece of the meat. One little fellow had secured the head of the dog as his share and looked up at the Doctor and smiled and said "I have the best part of all." The next day he saw five of these boys crowded into a single fireplace at the local butcher shop. After the fire is out, ten of these beggar boys crawl in and sleep. Some, of course, go clear in out of sight. Several cases brought to him were boys who had been burned by contact with the hot stones on the sides of these fireplaces.

One day he was startled by his boy who came in to say that four men and one woman had just been hanged. The next day he saw three of the bodies hanging from a willow tree just outside the town. There were two other broken ropes showing where the others had been hung. The woman and a boy had been cut down during the night. It was said the woman was a murderess. She had fed her husband lamprey eels in his rice and so poisoned him. When he was dead she tore his face off so that he could not be recognized. The Doctor says—

"I went to the prison and talked through a hole in the door with those inside. Some were thieves and others murderers. There were thirty-seven in all. One of them seemed to show some signs of contrition. He said that he and three others got into a fight on the way home from a funeral and one of them was killed. They were all drunk at the time. Most of these thirty-seven were hanged within a week. I knew of some forty-five who were hanged within a month. From a distance I witnessed nine of them being hung to a single branch, so close to each other that their faces touched. They had [page 166] their hands tied behind them with straw rope and they walked to the tree with the constable holding them by the arm, and put their heads in the noose without any attempt at resistance. They seemed to die without the least struggle. One of the prisoners was sent up the tree to tie the straw ropes. The man to be hanged was held up off the ground a foot or so while the rope was being tied to the limb and then he was dropped and slowly strangled. The first victim was so heavy that the straw rope broke three times, and he looked up and cursed the man in the tree for not tying the rope properly. Death usually followed in three or four minutes. Two little boys stood near me crying. I asked them what the matter was and they said, "That is our father." Two or three days later these bodies were taken down. Some were thrown into the ditch and some were half buried, so that a hand, a foot or a top-knot showed above the surface. The dogs had been helping themselves. In that same place there were many skulls and other portions of the human skeleton. It was said that a few years ago a large number of tonghaks were placed in a group and a huge fire built around them. I went to the prison again and this time gained admission. There were thirteen inmates, three of whom were in the stocks. The keeper's house was in front of the outer door of the prison and a meaner face I do not care to see. As I was going home after witnessing the hanging described above, I met an old woman with a grass-hook or sickle in her hand and I asked her where she was going. She said she was going to cut down her son who had been hanged. I also met another old woman and two younger ones with some children going for the same purpose. The ajun told me that there were about forty more to be hanged soon. My servant was going along the road at dusk and neared a village. There were nine policemen just behind him. The door of an inn opened and the first of the policemen fell pierced by a shot. The other policemen scattered in all directions. Three thieves had stopped there to eat and did not propose to be disturbed.

"It isn't safe to accuse the wrong man in this country, [page 167] though. Once a man was brought to my dispensary with both eyes hanging down on his cheeks. He had lain hands on the wrong man for the thief, and as a penalty had his eyes gouged out.

"Oh yes, he lived."

It is no pleasure to record these horrors, but they give us just a glimpse at native life in Korea. The cruelty, the brutality, the cheapness of human life are appalling, and such things occur not in Kong-ju only but all over the country.

We are sorry to note that native Protestant Christians in the south near Mokpo are suffering severe persecutions at the hands of the populace. Dr. Owen writes under date of April 4th that he has brought the matter twice to the attention of the governor who seems to be prejudiced and unwilling to investigate but later he put the matter into the hands of the Kamni of Mokpo who immediately took active steps to have the ringleaders arrested. Two of the native Christians had been imprisoned, several beaten, and others had been robbed of their books. Kwang-ju and Na-ju are said to be hot-beds of the tonghaks and pukaks, A later notice says that the police sent by the Kamni secured four out of six of the ringleaders of the persecution and were bringing them to

Mokpo. But after the police had started on their return trip a company of ruffians came and seized some fifty men, women and children connected with the Christian work. It is not known yet what was done to them, but the Kamni immediately telegraphed the governor and the Foreign Minister in Seoul and sent a man post haste to the governor to secure the release of these people. The man mainly responsible for the trouble is wealthy and this may be the reason why justice is so slow.

It looks as if the unsettled state of things in Seoul was being reflected in the actions of the people in the country. This delicate barometric relation between the politics of Seoul and the actions of the country people is one of those things which no one not native born will ever get to understand. These poor deluded people suffering under an incubus of ignorance, of poverty, of [page 168] hopelessness are a heart-breaking spectacle. The time must come when this government will see that education is more necessary than an army.

Both in the north and south, the tonghak are much in evidence. The country about Pyeng-yang swarms with them. They are practically nothing but organized robbers but the name they have assumed invests them with a sort of dignity in the eyes of the Koreans. It is an attempt to veil sedition under a religious name. In the south also the country is rife with the same sort of thing. It is all based on the desire to get something for nothing. Many of the gentry have turned robbers. The reason for this as given by competent Korean witnesses is that a great change has been effected in the attitude of the common people toward the gentry. In former times the gentry were a genuinely superior class whose education, and manners commanded and received respect. They were respected by the common people and found no difficulty in requisitioning whatever of the necessities and luxuries of life they might want; but all this is changed now because of a double movement in society. The upper class have ceased studying and have dropped to a point but little above the common people while the latter have slowly but surely had their eyes opened to facts of which they were before ignorant. They now despise the yangban who while preserving all his former pride has lost his former claim to consideration. Once he had only to suggest what he wanted and it was forthcoming; now when he demands it the people seize and beat him or else pass by with a disdainful smile. The power of the yangban is gone. Some will regret the passing of this old time social condition but there can be no doubt whatever that it is a distinct advance in genuine civilization.

Editorial Comment.

We have heard a great deal of late years about the deteriorating effect of yellow journalism. The aim seems to be to provide something startling even if not true.

[page 169] The appetite grows with what it feeds on and the degree of "hairbreadthness" must be constantly increased or the pampered appetite of the public will reject it. All this we have had dinned into our ears but we had fondly thought the Editor of the *Kobe Chronicle* was proof against such things. We described a journey of some missionaries through a section of the belligerent country in northern Korea and stated that one cold night when the little party, consisting of one foreign gentleman and three ladies with a few coolies, came to a mountain village and applied at the local inn for lodgings they found it was a tonghak village, and it was well known that the tonghaks had lately vowed to massacre the foreigners and clear the land of them. The little party was refused lodgings and ordered to leave the town on pain of death. In spite of fatigue and cold they were compelled to push on through the night over a snowy road to a distant village. This is what we said, but the Editor of the *Kobe Chronicle* can see nothing exciting about it. He does not understand why we call it an exciting trip. He says that in a really exciting trip he would have expected to hear of various dangerous experiences, but that this one was very tame. Who would have thought that the "yellow" fever would have claimed our worthy contemporary as its victim? The following is doubtless the sort of thing he would look for in a genuinely exciting trip :

It was a wintry night and all the world had gone to sleep in that lone wilderness, except a little band of Americans who wound their way over the hills and through the darksome forests, far from home and surrounded by unknown dangers. The cold, un pitying stars looked down upon them from above and the ladies glanced repeatedly from side to side ever on the lookout for lurking danger. The footsore but courageous coolies trudged stolidly along and in front strode the only foreign gentleman in the party, his alert bearing and set jaw proclaiming his determination to win through or die at his post.

Hark! what was that?

The party came to a sudden halt; the ladies' faces blanched, the coolies muttered incantations against the spirits of the air. The leader stood in a tense, listening attitude with his finger on the trigger.

Again the ominous sound!

It was the barking of a dog in a village nearby. Their approach had been detected and now there was nothing to do but push forward [page 170] and brave the imminent peril. The leader drew his belt tighter, set his jaw a little more firmly, glanced back at the ladies, laid his finger on his lip in sign of caution and then they

silently struggled forward in the gloom of night. What might they not be approaching? Was it safety or was it death?

They came to the outskirts of the village. There it lay, bathed in the moonlight, but not a soul was visible. Only the ominous howling of the dog broke the starry stillness of the night. The hardy leader put on a bold front though fear had laid its icy fingers on his heart. He approached a door and gave it a sounding blow with the butt of his revolver and at the same time called out with masterful voice.

“Chu-in-ah!”

There was in his tone the masterfulness of the West but the house rang hollow to his touch. Again he struck louder than before and again the same wailing cry came from his throat.

It was all in vain!

An impatient coolie muttered, “Break it down,” but this was beneath the dignity of our hero. At last by dint of shouting and pounding the inmates of the place were awakened, but no sooner had they seen that the party was composed of foreigners than they raised a wild cry which instantly aroused the entire hamlet. Men came pouring forth from every house, each with a weapon in his hand. The leader of the party felt the crucial moment had come. He stood boldly forth as daring them to attack him. Fierce, blood-shot faces were pressed close to his own, eyes that betokened murder glared upon him from every side. One of the blood-thirsty crew raised a great bludgeon above his head and with a wild yell was about to . . .

But we draw the veil over the harrowing scene without even so much as a “Continued in our next” to cheer our able contemporary. We would be pleased to learn whether this style would make the trip really exciting to him or whether it would be necessary to have the ladies dragged about by the hair and the hero beaten “to a pulp” in order to raise the responsive thrill in his breast. If he will let us know what degree of yellowness is necessary perhaps we might manage to evolve something that would be more exciting than a plain statement like the one we gave in our last issue.

The Vanguard.

The Vanguard, by Rev. Jas. S. Gale. Fleming H. Co., Chicago, Publishers. 8vo. pp. 320; \$1.50. Illustrated.

[page 171] We have lately received a copy of this book and have examined it carefully. The author has adopted a most novel and interesting method of depicting the life and experiences of the modern missionary. It is a distinctly new departure though “The Bishop’s Conversion” and one or two other books may be said to border on the same field. Mr. Gale has brought to this work all the necessary qualifications for a successful book. In the first place he knows Korea and the Korean mind as intimately as they can well be known by a foreigner. The experiences and incidents he relates are at least the counterpart of those which have come under his own observation. The characters are drawn in some sense from actual life though it cannot be said that there is anything “personal” about the actors in the story. It is inevitable that shrewd guesses will be made, but these guesses may or may not be true; and in any case the characters are all handled with a kindness of manner and a charitableness of touch which would disarm criticism. And last but not least the author has brought to this work a fascinating style which makes the book well worth reading simply for its diction. All these things together make it quite certain, even before we open the book, that it will be good reading, but we must add to this the fact that there is, underlying it, a deep purpose. It was not thrown off as a mere literary pastime. It is a serious and successful attempt to lay open the inner life of the missionary. There is no attempt to minimize the difficulties of the work nor the human limitations of the missionary. His faults and failures are frankly granted and yet the story is instinct with the spirit which makes possible the accomplishment of mighty things even by the use of such imperfect instruments. No one can write a successful book about an individual or a system unless he has appreciation and sympathy. These two qualities shine out from every page of this book. As to the style, the word that best describes it is suggestiveness, the subtle power that tells more in a simple word, perhaps, than most people can tell in a whole sentence.

Another thing we like about the book is that there is [page 172] no attempt to conceal its real motive and purpose. On every page you read between the lines these words

If all you get out of this is an interesting story to while away an idle hour, it is a failure.

There is no room in the world to-day for any apologies for Christianity. In the parlance of ordinary business, it is a “going concern,” and the author places this book before the general public as confidently as you would place before it the annual statement of any other business that is paying a handsome interest on the investment. We are simply asked to take a look at the inner life of a successful missionary enterprise. It is an array of facts, more

conclusive than statistics.

We do not propose to spoil it for the reader by giving an outline of the story but we can only say that the man or woman who fails to read it will miss the best thing that has yet appeared on Korea.

News Calendar.

On the 7th inst. the soldiers of the British Legation Guard gave a concert at the barracks on the Legation Compound. It took the form of a farewell entertainment in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Baldock who were about to leave Korea permanently. The concert was a distinct success in all respects. The room was amply large for the audience. The stage was very gracefully draped with the British Japanese and American flags. The songs were repeatedly encored and the choruses were rendered in fine shape. The singers were fortunate in having such an exceptionally fine accompanist in the person of Mr Ferguson who was as much at home on the piano stool as Private Curson» claimed to be *not* at home on horse-back. Private Deluhery gave free rein to his exceptional genius at comedy and kept the house going from one convulsion of laughter into another. During the intermission the men presented Dr. and Mrs. Baldock with a large framed photograph of the guard and officers, and accompanied it with some very appreciative words which the recipients will value even more highly than the memento.

On the evening of the 22nd inst. the members of the American and British Legation Guards gave a concert for the benefit of the local Y. M. C A. By the kindness of Dr. Brown they were given the use of a fine hall in one of the customs buildings just inside the Little West Gate. The soldiers were assisted on the program by some of the civilians [page 173] of Seoul but most of the program was very successfully filled by the soldiers themselves. It was divided into three parts, the first and third of which were general and the second a Minstrel performance in which the end men did themselves proud. The singing was a distinct success throughout and many of the choruses were specially fine. We understand that the net proceeds were upwards of Yen 150. Special thanks are due to the British Marines who worked so assiduously and successfully on the decorations, and to Mr. Gillett, on whom the responsibility for the whole affair rested. The hall was well filled and the frequent encores showed that the performance was enjoyed to the full.

A good deal of news was crowded out of our March number by the press of other matter but we shall try to include it in the present number by the issue of supplementary pages.

On March 10th a new Japanese daily newspaper was established in Chemulpo under the name of the *Tai-kan Il-bo* meaning The Korean Daily Record. It is a little larger than the other dailies in Korea. It purports to be published in the interests of the Korean government and people. His Majesty, the Emperor, was pleased to donate Yen 1,000 as a present to the new venture.

Cho Min-heui the Minister to Japan arrived at Tokyo on March nth.

About seven men who have been long imprisoned on account of their connection with the sometime Independence Club were finally released on March 12th. Yi Seung-man was not among those released.

On March 24, the birthday of the Prince Imperial, there were no special festivities because the court was in mourning for the Queen Dowager .

On March 24th the Emperor sent a present to the Japanese soldiers, consisting of twenty bottles of champagne, fifty boxes of cigars, fifty boxes of cigarettes, thirty bottles of sake, fifty bullocks, 300 boxes of Japanese cigars; and to the naval men he sent 30,000 cigarettes.

One of the Japanese native dailies in Seoul published a statement about the 23rd ult. praising some Korean students in Japan who had been charged by their own government with sedition. The Che-guk copied the statement, with the result that Chang Chi-yun the editor of the Whang-sung was arrested by mistake. When he challenged his captors to show where he had published it they were unable to do so, so he was liberated and the editor of the Che-guk, Yi Chong-il, was arrested. He said he had not originated the article in question but had only copied it, but he was told that this was itself a seditious act and he was lodged in prison where he still remains, and with no immediate prospect of release.

While Marquis Ito was in Seoul he had the honor of sitting at the table with His Majesty at a dinner on March

25th.

U Keui-wun, a teacher in the German language School, has been appointed to succeed Hong Hyun-sik the secretary who committed suicide at Berlin.

[page 174] The Japanese in constructing the Seoul Fusan Railway are said to have struck a rich deposit of copper about 170 *li* from Fusan. A little further on they came across a fine vein of coal.

Yi Chi-yong was appointed special envoy to Japan to return the the visit made by Marquis Ito. He left Chemulpo on the 14th and arrived in Tokyo on April 23rd.

The Korean Emperor conferred the highest decoration in his gift upon Prince Henry of Germany on March 20th.

The American Minister received from the Emperor the first class decoration of the Tai-geuk on March 20th. Mr. Hayasbi also received the same decoration and many other Japanese received decorations of various grades.

On March 20th twenty Koreans departed for the Hawaiian Islands to engage in work.

Special efforts are being made to check the use of opium by Koreans. Some of the people who smoke opium have been punished by tying to their backs the opium pipes and marching them about the streets to be jeered at by the people. Gambling, too, is being punished. Even the son of Han Kyu-sul, lately Minister of Law, was recently given twenty blows for gambling.

The Law Office recently sent out a notice that any Korean either official or private who joins with any foreigner and does anything derogatory to the dignity of the government will be punished. This refers to recent arrangements in which private parties attempt to put through various schemes by which the government is compromised. We need not go into particulars. Punishment will follow even though the effort be unsuccessful. Some specific forms of this offence are specified. (1) Going to any foreign legation and asking them to render aid to the Korean Government. (2) Disclosing any Government secret to any foreigner. (3) Asking the loan of soldiers or money from any foreign source; or offering any kind of mining, timber or railroad concession to any foreigner. (4) Making any contract with a foreign firm for war vessels or material or any machinery; or making any arrangement or promise of a position as adviser or assistant in any department of the government. (5) Attempting to secure office because of services rendered as go-between for any foreigner and a Korean official. (6) Starting absurd rumors that tend to unsettle the public mind. (7) Selling or in any way alienating any land to a foreigner, outside the treaty ports (8) Becoming naturalized in any foreign country without the consent of the Korean government.

A special court for Seoul has been established separate from the Supreme court. It has been housed in the buildings used by the former Surveying Bureau, which has been attached to the Finance Department,

Yi Han-yung resigned the War portfolio and Hyun Yang-un was appointed on March 31st. He was the man who acted as confidential interpreter between Marquis Ito and the Korean Emperor.

The prefect of Ch'ung-ju neglected his business and spent a good [page 175] deal of his time praying to the great rock Buddha at Ung-jin. So the governor of the province locked up the prefect's house and relieved him of his position.

Sin Ta-hyu, the Chief of Police had begun a vigorous campaign against certain evils in the social life of Korea. He has posted in conspicuous places the list of his proposed changes and commands the people to observe the new regulations. Many of these are really important and strike at genuine evils. Some of them are as follows:

(1) Ordinary notes of land, payable at sight shall not be considered negotiable but must be cashed immediately. (2) Any man who comes up to Seoul and tries to buy office or anyone who helps him will be severely handled; (3) Any one who obtains a loan on false pretenses will be punished, (4) It is forbidden for any policeman to use his office as a means for extorting money. (5) Children shall not go about the streets soliciting money. (The government has undertaken to feed them); (6) Servants of officials shall not be allowed to take what they wish from shops or stalls without payment.

On April 3th 700 Japanese troops arrived in Seoul and on the same day eighty-six who were on the sick-list

returned to Japan.

About the beginning of the month many counterfeit notes of the Japanese Bank were issued. The Y. 5 denomination were so well made as almost to defy detection. Two Japanese were arrested and imprisoned for a term of two years for this offence.

Early in April a number of special taxes and imports were remitted namely those on fire-wood, charcoal, tobacco, and on river boats. There were also many lesser ones.

The Dai Ichi Ginko bank notes have now reached a circulation of some Y 1,300,000.

So Chung-sun the Governor of South Ham-gyung arrested two Tonghak leaders and had them shot.

The foreigners in Kunsan desire to express, through the columns of of this Review, their thanks for the generous manner in which the friends in Seoul responded to their request for garden seeds. Unlike us in the Capital they are wholly dependent on their own gardens for vegetables and when the steamship companies refused to bring freight from San Francisco the loss of garden seeds was a serious inconvenience.

It is reported that the Japanese are building temporary barracks in Chong-ju, Un-san, Kwak san, Son-ch'un and Yung-byun. It is not very creditable to the Koreans that the prefect of each of these places is attending to "important business" in Seoul. The Governor and the people are sending urgent requests that the prefects be sent down.

The native papers state that advices from the island of Ko-je at Masampo indicate that the Japanese are actively engaged in fortifying the place, building barracks and erecting batteries.

The native papers say that a French citizen who made a secret engagement with the Government to superintend some building operations had failed for some months to receive his salary. He went to the private residence of Min Pyung-suk the Minister of the Household [page 176] and found that he had gone to the country. He therefore declared that as his salary was not forthcoming he would seize the house and hold it as security. The Foreign Office communicated with the French authorities objecting to this method of procedure and said that while the salary would be paid, the government would expect the gentleman in question to be dealt with somewhat strenuously by the French authorities.

On the 23rd inst. about seventy of the American Legation Guard were withdrawn from Seoul and sailed for Manila. Forty men volunteered to remain here but as only twenty-eight were needed they could not all stay. This would indicate that Seoul has not proved an altogether unpleasant berth. Many of them expressed themselves as highly pleased at the hospitable way in which they had been treated by the American residents of Seoul.

A great monastery in Mi-ryang near Fusan has been destroyed by fire. It is said it had several hundred inmates.

Col Chang Tal-heun stationed at Puk-ch'ung in the northeast near Sung-jin has been charged by the Japanese with sympathizing with the Russians and working against the interests of Japan and they suggested that his services be dispensed with. The government immediately complied with this request.

When it was decided to send the Pyeng-yang regiment north Col. Kim Wun-gye told the soldiers that those who wished to go might go and those who did not care to go might stay in Seoul. So out of a thousand men 600 elected to go. It is a curious method to adopt in time of war and the Colonel has been subjected to severe criticism. Soldiers are supposed to obey orders during the term of enlistment and to allow them to choose whether they will go or stay seems to be a serious breach of discipline.

The laying of the Seoul-Wiju Railway is proceeding apace. Notices from Song-do indicate that we shall soon be able to go to that city by rail.

About the beginning of April one of the Japanese soldiers had a quarrel with a Korean merchant in So-heung and the latter was killed. The Japanese authorities promptly arrested the soldier and sent him back to Chemulpo to be sent back to Japan for punishment.

The 600 Korean troops who were sent to the northeast thought better of the proposition before they reached

Wonsan and about a third of them deserted on the way. This is not surprising when we remember that they were given the option whether to go or not.

We regret to learn that on the 8th inst. a part of the buildings belonging to Townsend & Co., Chemulpo, were destroyed by fire.

The prospect of an exciting tennis contest between Seoul and Chemulpo this season has been somewhat lessened by the departure from Seoul of Dr. Baldock and from Chemulpo of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Sabattin. The remaining devotees of the racquet should pull themselves together and practice all the harder to make up for these serious losses.

[page 177] KOREAN HISTORY.

These troops came, it can hardly be doubted, at the request of the conservative party. These troops encamped all about the capital, some at Pa-o-ga outside the West Gate and some at the Ha-dogam just inside the East Gate.

Some of the soldiers who had been most active in creating the disturbance lived at Wang-sim-yi three miles outside the East Gate. The Chinese made it their first work to seize these men by night. Ten of them were court-martialed and were torn to pieces by bullocks.

The Chinese general O Jang-gyung was told that the ex-Regent was at the bottom of the emeute, and he sent a letter informing the Emperor of this fact. The latter ordered him to seize the person of the offending party and bring him to China. The Chinese general thereupon visited the palace where the Prince Tai-wun was in full control and invited him to visit Yong-san on the river, where he said there was something important for him to see. Having once gotten him on board a Chinese boat there, under pretext of showing him over it, the anchor was quickly raised and the baffled Prince found himself on his way to China. When he arrived at Tientsin he was refused audience with Li Hung-chang but was banished by imperial decree to a place not far from Tientsin, where he was well cared for until his return to Korea three years later.

After this *deus ex machina* had spirited the ex-Regent away, an official, So Sang-jo, memorialized the throne stating that the Queen was still alive and ought to be brought back to the capital. It is said that Yi Yung-ik covered the space between the capital and her place of hiding, sixty-three miles, in a single day, carrying the message of recall. A large retinue of officials and soldiers were sent southward and brought the Queen back to Seoul where she arrived on the first day of the eighth moon. The people immediately doffed their mourning garb.

Toward the close of 1882 a Foreign Office was established in the capital and Kim Yun-sik was made Minister of Foreign [page 178] Affairs. He invited P. G. von Mollendorf, a member of the customs staff of China, to act as adviser, and the Chinese generals Wang Suk-ch'ang and Ma Kun-sang were made attaches of the new department.

The year 1883 witnessed more advance in Korea than any year before or since. In May Gen Foote, the first United States Minister, arrived and on the nineteenth of that month the treaty which had been drawn up at Chemulpo between Commodore Shufeldt and the Korean Commissioners was ratified. After this was done Gen. Foote left Korea to make preparations for the establishment of a legation in Seoul.

Kim Ok-kyun, one of the leading members of the progressive party was made "Whale Catching Commissioner" and departed for Japan to fit out an expedition to carry on this lucrative government monopoly along the Korean coast. He was selected for this work because of his intimate acquaintance with the Japanese. It was a move looking toward the development of Korea's resources and was therefore in direct line with the wishes and plans of the progressionists. At about the same time a powder-mill was built outside the Northwest Gate, and a foreign mint was erected inside the Little West Gate. This was done with the aid of Japanese experts at a great and, as it proved, useless expense to the government. An office was founded for the printing and dissemination of useful literature on the subjects of agriculture, forestry, stock-raising and the like. The ports of Chemulpo and Wun-san were opened to foreign trade according to the stipulation of the Japanese and American treaties. In contrast to the progressive moves we find that eight men who were suspected of complicity with the ex-Regent in the émeute of the preceding year were executed by poison. Of like character was the building of the Kwanwang temple, devoted to the interests of sorceresses and exorcists who enjoyed the patronage of the Queen.

In the summer of 1883 Min Yung-ik was made special envoy to the United States. His second was Hong Yung-sik. Among his suite were Su Kwang-bom, Pak Un and others, all of whom were members of the progressive party or at least well affected toward it. This same summer the king founded the American Farm some ten miles east of [page 179] Seoul and stocked it with foreign seeds and cattle, with the idea of providing Korean farmers with a sort of object-lesson in farming, and to provide seeds for distribution among the people. The United States Department of Agriculture sent a large stock of seeds by the hand of the special embassy of which Min Yung-ik formed the head.

Late in the autumn the German representative arrived and concluded a treaty on behalf of his government. A month later a treaty was ratified with Great Britain and a Consulate General was founded in Seoul.

With the opening of 1884 the state of affairs in the peninsula was something as follows. The progressive and conservative elements in the government were clearly differentiated. The innovations effected by the progressives had raised in them the hope of being able to speedily reorganize the government on a foreign basis, and the degree of their success marked the increasing suspicion and opposition of the conservative element. The latter were strengthened in their position by the presence and active support of the Chinese generals and troops, and the influence of the foreign adviser von Mollendorf was always on the side of Chinese interests. The ex-Regent was for the time being out of the war and a great stumbling-block to the Min faction was thus removed. The king and queen were both favorably inclined toward a progressive policy but the latter was gradually being drawn back into line with the conservative element of which the Min family was the leading representative. Min Yung-ik was still true to his better instincts and was an ardent supporter of the progressionist views but his return from America was the sign for a vigorous attack upon his enlightened views by the members of his family and he was being rapidly alienated from the party whose interests he had tentatively espoused. It was not, however, till later in the year that he broke away entirely from the progressive following.

The spring of 1884 saw the arrival of Ensign Geo. C. Foulk as naval attache of the American Legation. He rapidly became acquainted with the leading officials and it was through his advice and aid that several reformatory measures were promulgated. In the sixth moon the influence of the [page 180] progressive party secured the position of Mayor of Seoul for Pak Yong-hyo, one of the most ardent of the reform party, and he immediately set to work at sanitary reforms and municipal improvements. He began by tearing down houses that had encroached upon the main road between the East and the West Gates. He had not proceeded far in this good work before he was blocked by the influence of the opposing faction. His next move was in the direction of dress reform and he succeeded in putting through a law prohibiting the use of the long sleeves, long hat-strings and long girdle strings. In these efforts he was seconded to a certain extent by Min Yung-ik, but at this point terminates the latter's active interest in reforms, and from about this time the progressive leaders began to look upon him as a traitor to their cause. Here again personal interest came to injure a cause which, while good in itself, was discredited by the means used to effect its end. One sign of advance was the establishment of a school for the training of interpreters in English, under the charge of a competent foreign instructor.

In the autumn of this year 1884 twelve of the young men who had been sent to Japan to study military tactics returned to Seoul, among them being Su Cha p'il, known in later years as Dr. Philip Jaisohn, who though still a youth of about twenty years began to take an active part in the plans of the liberal or progressive party. By this time Min Yung-ik had practically taken his stand with the conservatives, and this tended in no small measure to draw away from the progressives the sympathy and support of the queen. It was becoming evident that the hopes of the liberals were to be dashed to the ground. Yuan, the Chinese commissioner, was staying at the barracks in front of the palace and was active in the interests of his own government, which meant that he urged on the conservative party in their opposition to reforms. It can hardly be wondered at then that the progressives looked more and more to the Japanese from whom they had imbibed their ideas of progress. Japan had recognized the independence of Korea and this naturally carried with it a desire to see Korea progress along the same lines that had raised Japan out of the rut of centuries to the more satisfactory plane of enlightened government.

[page 181] How to stem the tide that had set so strongly against them was a difficult problem for the progressionist leaders to solve. From time immemorial the method of effecting changes in the Korea government had been to make an uprising, secure the person of the king and banish or execute the leaders of the opposition. It must be remembered that at that time, so far as the mass of the people was concerned, the progressive party had little or no backing. On the other hand the conservatives had the ear of the king and were backed by a Chinese army. It was evidently necessary to secure military backing, and for this Japan alone was available. But it was manifestly impossible for Japan to come in and attempt to effect the change. It must be at the request of the Korean government, or at least of the king. It seemed that the only thing to do was to hasten a crisis, obtain possession of the person of the king and then see to it that Japan be invited to loan troops to preserve the new status.

Instead of waiting patiently and suffering temporary defeat with the hope of ultimate success, the progressive leaders determined to have recourse to the old method, and in so doing they made a fatal blunder. Even had they been successful the means they employed would have fatally discredited them in the eyes of all enlightened people.

It is generally accepted as true that the progressive leaders had a distinct understanding with the Japanese. A Japanese man of war was on the way to Chemulpo and was expected to arrive on the fifth or sixth of December and the uprising was set for the seventh of that month. The leaders in this movement had not been

able to keep it entirely a secret, for some of them talked about it in a very excited manner of the Naval Attache of the American Legation and it came to the ears of the British Consul-general, who, meeting Yun T'a-jun on December fourth, asked him if he had heard that there was trouble in the air. That gentleman who was himself a strong conservative and a close friend of Min T'aho, hastened to the house of the latter and reported what he had heard. Min advised him to hasten to the house of one of the relatives of one of the progressionists and secure information if possible. He did so, and there happened to meet one of the leaders of the progressive party and intimated to him [page 182] that he had heard that trouble was brewing. This man denied all knowledge of any such plan but the minute his caller had gone he hastened to the other progressionist leaders and told them that all was lost unless instant action were taken. News had just arrived that the Japanese gun-boat that was expected at Chemulpo had broken down and could not come. There were only a few hundred Japanese troops in Seoul at the time. But it seemed to these men that it would be better to risk the whole venture on a single cast than to wait passively and see the destruction of all their hopes and plans. The seventh of December was the appointed day but as this was a matter of kill or be killed it was decided to proceed at once to business. Hong Yung-sik had been made Post-master General and on this very night he was to give a banquet at the new post-office which was situated in that part of the city called Kyo-dong. It was decided to start the ball rolling at this point. The evening came and the guests assembled to the dinner. They were the Chinese leaders Yuan, Chin and Wang, United States Minister Foote and his secretary Mr. Scudder, the British Consul-general Aston, the Foreign Office Adviser von Mollendorf, the Koreans Hong Yung sik, Kim Ok-kyun, Min Yung-ik, Pak Yung-ho, Su Kwang-bom, Kim Hung-jip, Han Kyu-jik, Pak Chong-yang, O Yun-iung and a few others. The Japanese Minister had excused himself on the plea of ill-health. It was noticed that Kim Okkyun rose and left the table several times and went out into the court-yard but no special significance was attached to this. The dinner began at an early hour, not far from six o'clock, and about seven o'clock an alarm of fire was sounded. A house immediately in front of the Post Office was in flames. Min Yung-ik, being one of the officials whose duty it was to superintend the extinguishing of conflagrations, rose from the table and hastened out, calling to his servants to follow. As he passed out of the inner gate, a man dressed in Japanese clothes leaped out of the shadow of the gate-way and struck at him savagely with a sword, wounding him severely in the head and in other parts of the body. He fell heavily to the ground and in the confusion that ensued the would-be assassin made good his escape. Von Mollendorf was not far behind, and seeing what had happened he hastened forward, [page 183] lifted the wounded man in his arms and carried him back into the dining-room. The Koreans who were present fled precipitately making their exit not by the door but by way of the back wall.

The wounded man was conveyed to the residence of von Mollendorf which was in the vicinity, where Dr. H. N. Allen of the American Presbyterian Mission was soon in attendance.

The die had now been cast and there was no retreat. The leaders of the conspiracy, Kim Ok-kyun, Su Kwang bom, Pah Yung-hyo, Hong Yung-sik and Su Cha-pil, hastened immediately to the palace known to us as "The Old Palace" where the king had resided since the insurrection of 1882. Entering the royal presence they announced that the Chinese were coming to take possession of the king's person and that he must hasten to a place of safety. The king did not believe this report but as they insisted he had no recourse but to submit. The little company hastened along under the west wall of the palace until they came to a small gate leading into Kyong-u Palace which adjoins the "Old Palace" on the west. As they proceeded Kim Ok-kyun asked the king to send to the Japanese Minister asking for a body-guard, but he refused. Thereupon Sin Kwang-bom drew out a piece of foreign notepaper and a pencil and wrote in Chinese the words "Let the Japanese Minister come and give me his help." This was immediately despatched by a servant. That it was a mere matter of form was evident when the little company passed into the Kyong-u Palace, for there they found the Japanese Minister and his interpreter already in attendance and with them some two hundred troops drawn up in line. When the king appeared they saluted. There were present also the twelve students who had been in Japan. Word was immediately sent to Sin Keui-sun, Pak Yung-hyo and O Yunjung to come and receive office under the reconstructed government. Within half an hour they were in attendance, excepting O Yunjung who happened to be away in the country at the time.

Very early in the morning a royal messenger was sent with the *myong p'a* or "summoning tablet" to the houses of Min T'a-ho, Min Yung-mok and Cho Ryung-ha, ordering them to appear at once before the king. They complied and [page 184] hastened to the palace but no sooner had they entered the palace gate than they were seized and cut down in cold blood. Then the summons was sent to Han Kyu-jik, Yi Choyun and Yun T'a jun. They too were assassinated as soon as they entered the palace. A eunuch named Yu Cha-hyun was also put to death. It is useless to ask by whose hand these men fell. Whoever wielded the brutal sword, the leaders of the so-called progressive party were wholly responsible. The twelve young men who had returned from Japan were all fully armed and it is more than probable that they took an active part in the bloody work. Not only was not the king consulted in regard to these murders but in the case of the eunuch it was done in spite of his entreaties and remonstrances.

These seven men who thus went to their doom were not entirely unconscious of what awaited them.

When Cho Ryungha received the summons the inmates of his house pleaded with him not to go, but as it was the king's summons he would not disobey even though he knew it meant death.

Just at daylight the king was removed to the house of his cousin Yi Chil-wun, escorted by the Japanese soldiers who surrounded him four deep. Kim Okkyun gave passes to those who were to be allowed to go in and out and only such had access to the premises. After remaining there some three hours the whole company returned to the "Old Palace." In the reconstructed government Yi Cha wun and Hong Yungsik were made Prime Ministers, Pak Yung-hyo was made General-in chief. Su Kwang-bom was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kim Ok-kyun Minister of Finance and Su Chap'il Lieutenant-general. The rest of the young men who had studied in Japan were also given official position.

Before Yun T'a-jun, Yi Cho-yun and Han Kyu-jik went to the palace and met their fate they sent word to Yuan warning him of the state of affairs and asking help, but he made no immediate move. As the morning broke thousands of Koreans came to Lim and said that the Japanese held the king a prisoner in the palace and begged him to interfere. Yuan replied by sending a messenger to the Japanese Minister demanding why he had surrounded the king with soldiers and had killed the ministers, and demanding that he immediately evacuate the place. Three hours passed and still no answer [page 185] came; and at last Yuan and the two other Chinese leaders took a strong body of Chinese troops and several hundred Korean troops and proceeded to the palace. Entering by way of the Sun-in Gate and passing through the Ch'ang-kyung Palace they approached the Pot'ong Gate which gave entrance to the "Old Palace" but they found it strongly guarded by Japanese. Here a sharp encounter took place which lasted an hour, beginning about three o'clock in the afternoon. About ten each of the Chinese, Japanese and Koreans fell in this assault. As the darkness came on the Japanese began to fall back and taking the king and the newly appointed ministers they made their way to the extreme northeasterly portion of the palace grounds, not far from the Hong-wha Gate. The royal party took refuge in a summer house there and the Japanese stationed themselves behind trees and guarded the place, keeping up a lively fusillade with the Chinese who had followed them. Meanwhile the Crown Prince, the Queen and the king's foster-mother had escaped in small closed chairs out the Sun-in Gate and had found refuge in the house of Yi Pom-jin in the village of No-wun, twenty li outside the East Gate.

The chances of success for the Japanese were becoming smaller and smaller and the king was anxiously looking for an opportunity of escaping from them and making his way to the Chinese side. At last, taking advantage of the extreme disorder that prevailed, he made his way to the Puk-chang Gate at the extreme northeastern part of the palace enclosure. Outside there was a crowd of Korean soldiers who wished to gain entrance and rescue the king from his captors. When the latter made his presence known inside the gate these soldiers effected an entrance and lifting His Majesty on their shoulders carried him in triumph to the North Temple just inside the Northeast Gate. Seeing that all hope of immediate success was gone, Pak Yung-hyo, Kim Ok-kyun, Su Kwangbom, Su Cha-p'il and a part of the company of military students accompanied the Japanese troops out the front gate of the palace to the Japanese Legation which was then situated in Kyo-dong. This was accomplished in the midst of great excitement.

Meanwhile Hong Yung-sik, Pak Yung-kyo, Sin Keui-sun [page 186] and seven of the military students had followed the fortunes of the king. But no sooner did the party arrive at the North Temple than the people fell upon Hong Yung-sik and Pak Yung-kyo and hacked them to pieces before the king's eyes. Hong Yung-sik attempted to hide in a closet behind His Majesty but the latter indicated by a nod of the head that he was concealed there and the people dragged him out and dispatched him on the spot. The seven students tried to effect their escape but were pursued and killed, one below Chong-no, and another at Yun-raot-kol.

No sooner had the morning dawned than the Japanese Minister formed his little company in a hollow square, placed the Korean refugees and the Japanese women and children in the center, fired the legation buildings and marched out through the city on their way to Chemulpo, shooting at any Koreans whom they happened to see in their way. They found the West Gate locked but they soon forced it and hurried away to the port. All the Japanese in Seoul did not escape thus, for there were a few living in Chin-go-ga. That same day the Koreans mobbed them and killed them all, men women and children.

A Japanese merchant vessel happened to be lying at Chemulpo and the Minister with all his company boarded her, carrying the Koreans with them. The latter were hidden in the hold.

That same day, later in the afternoon, the king made his way to the Ha-dogam where the Chinese had camped, and put himself under their protection. Cho Pyung-ho was sent to Chemulpo to ask the Japanese Minister not to leave, and to effect the arrest of the fugitives. In neither quest was he successful.

An anxious month passed by and at last the Japanese, Count Inouye, came with a guard of 600 troops and took up his quarters at the governor's place outside the West Gate. Negotiations were at once begun and as a result the Korean Government agreed to pay an indemnity of 600,000 yen. Su Sang-u and P. G. von Mollendorf were sent as commissioners to Japan to arrange suitable terms for the renewal of friendly relations. To make good their protestations of regret at the killing of defenseless Japanese in Seoul four men who took [page 187] part in that work were arrested and put to death. At the same time Yi Ch'ang-gyu, Su Cha-Ch'ang, Kim Pong-

jung and five others who had been charged with complicity in the plot were seized and executed.

On January ninth 1885 Kim Hongjip, Special Korean Commissioner, signed with Count Inouye a convention regarding the trouble of the preceding month, by the terms of which the government agreed to apologize to the Japanese emperor, to pay an indemnity of 110,000 yen, to execute the murderer of Lieut. Isobayachi, to give a site for a new Legation and 20,000 yen for its construction and to set aside a site for barracks for the Japanese guard. Early in the Spring the Japanese Legation was built, being the first foreign building in Seoul.

The year 1885 beheld many events of importance. The government hospital was founded under royal patronage by Dr. H. N. Allen of the American Presbyterian Mission. It beheld also the arrival of that great vanguard of civilization the Protestant Missionary. Dr. Allen had arrived in the previous year but now the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches of America sent a number of representatives into Seoul to secure property and begin preparations for the founding of regular evangelistic and educational work. In April the Chinese and Japanese signed the celebrated Tientsin Convention by the terms of which they both agreed to evacuate Korea and not to send troops there without previously notifying each other. It was the breaking of this convention by China which was one of the immediate causes of the Japan-China war. At this same time, England, fearing the occupation of Port Hamilton by Russia, sent a fleet of war vessels and occupied the place herself. She was finally induced to leave, but only after China had guaranteed to secure it against occupation by any other power. In October the treaty with Russia was signed and a Legation was established in Seoul. The ex-Regent was still in China, but the Chinese government now deemed it safe to send him back to the peninsula, and Min Chung-muk was sent to act as his escort.

Since the day when the Regent threw the finances of the country into confusion by the debasement of the currency and since the officials had learned how much the people would [page 188] endure of unjust taxation, in the days when every means was adopted to wring from them the funds for the erection of the palace, official indirection had been on the rapid increase. The people were being imposed upon more and more. All the money that dishonest men paid to corrupt officials to purchase office had to be drawn from the people later by dishonest means. The main qualification of a successful prefect was the ability to judge when he had reached the limit of the people's endurance. The year 1885 beheld a serious revolt in Yo-ju where the prefect had overstepped the dead-line of the people's patience. He was driven out and his *ajun* or clerk was killed. The prefect of Wun-ju also escaped death only by flight, while an *ajun* was killed.

Not the least important event of 1885 was the completion under Chinese patronage of the Seoul-Peking telegraph line by which Korea was for the first time put into quick communication with the rest of the world. At the dictation of China a commissioner, Yi Chung-ha was sent north to meet a Chinese commissioner and determine the exact boundary between Korean and Chinese territory along the Tu-man River.

A customs service had been begun by von Mollendorf on an independent basis but in July of 1885 he was dismissed from service in the Foreign Office and two months later he was relieved of work in the Customs because of unwarrantable schemes into which he had drawn that department of the government. The whole service was thereupon put under the management of Sir Robert Hirt the Inspector General of the Chinese Customs. An entirely new staff of men was sent from China. H. N. Merrill was made Chief Commissioner and Chemulpo, Fusan and Wunsan were put in charge of men directly from the Chinese Customs staff. This was a guarantee of excellent management but it proved to be the strongest lever China had in the carrying out her ambitious plans in the peninsula. Before the close of the year Gen. Foote without giving specific reasons retired from the United States Legation and returned to America. Ensign Geo. C. Foulk becoming Charge d'Affaires.

In the early months of 1886 Yi To-ja, Sin Keui-sun, Hong Chin-yu, An Chung-su and Kyong Kwang-guk were banished to

Supplement

April 29.

On the morning of April 25 at nine o'clock the little Japanese merchant steamship *Koyo Maru* dropped anchor in the harbor of Wonsan. The last thing that her captain or agent would have thought of was danger from the Russians. The preliminary formalities were finished and she was about to unload her cargo, when at eleven o'clock the people on shore saw four men-of-war and two torpedo-boats outside the harbor. No one even then had any fears as to their identity—Japanese war vessels appear and disappear without giving warning. The busy life of the settlement went on, buying and selling, marrying and giving in marriage as usual. But as it happened this peaceful scene was destined to be disturbed in a very informal manner. The four men-of-war remained outside but the two waspish looking torpedo-boats came gliding into the harbor, and approached the unsuspecting *Koyo*. When they were well within hailing distance a Russian officer appeared on board one of the

torpedo boats and called out to the people on board the *Koyo* to take to their small boats and leave immediately as the *Koyo* was about to be torpedoed. This was like lightning from a clear sky and, like lightning, it was sure to be followed by a clap of thunder, so the people on board the merchant vessel made for the gangway and got away from her as fast as oars would take them. Before they reached the shore a torpedo was launched at the side of the helpless ship and a terrific explosion followed which needed no farther explanation. The little steamer gave a lurch to port and sank like lead.

Meanwhile the watchers on shore were beginning to grasp the situation and the business portion of the town awoke to strenuous life like a bee-hive struck with a club. "Then there was hurrying to and fro" and a general [page 2] panic among the Japanese civilians who had no reason to doubt that the Russians might throw a few torpedoes into the town. The steamer was an inoffensive merchantman and if they could destroy her why not the Japanese property ashore. The Japanese gathered together what they could take in their hands and sought places of safety. Many of them are said to have hidden in Korean houses in the native town.

But this agitation proved to be unnecessary, for the Russians soon steamed out of the harbor and left for parts unknown, and then the Japanese came back to their homes. Of course no exception can be taken to this act on the part of the Russians for the Japanese set the example at Chemulpo, but it shows rather conclusively that Russia no longer puts any stock in the fiction of Korean neutrality. We have not learned yet what the foreigners in Wonsan thought of this little by-play but we suppose they had the pleasure of a little excitement to vary the monotony of life in that rather isolated port.

It is very difficult to get any reliable information from the front. The Japanese know their business and they probably feel that until they are ready to strike decisive blows any information from the front will give the enemy a basis for guessing at future movements. We hear that Korean couriers from the north are stopped somewhere along the line. There must be some good reason for it and if this extreme reticence on the part of the Japanese will be of genuine benefit to their cause, those who wish them well should be willing to put up with the tiresome delay without grumbling. Japan has to fight against the modern newspaper as well as against the Russian, for there can be no doubt that if the war correspondents had their way there would not be a single movement of Japanese troops or boats that would not be made public to the world within twenty-four hours. One of the war correspondents told us the other day that if Japan did not modify a little this extreme sensitiveness to publicity the newspapers would recall their highly paid men and depend for news upon one or two leading news agencies, the inference being that this would be an [page 3] injury to Japan. We venture to surmise that such a solution of the difficulty would be eminently satisfactory to the Japanese authorities.

There have been all sorts of rumors from the north, most of which have come from Russian sources, but it is very unlikely that there has been any serious fighting on the Yalu as yet. It seems to be sure that the Japanese are throwing a pontoon bridge across the river without special opposition from the Russians. Whether the Russians will concentrate near that stream and offer determined resistance to the Japanese or whether they will draw the Japanese on in the hope of bringing about a great general engagement we do not profess even to guess. We will find out in time — and no sooner. A large number of war correspondents have gone to the front but where they are and what they are doing we know no more than if they had started for the moon. It is reported that on April 10 some Russians in Chinese clothes attempted to come to Yongampo but were detected by Japanese and fled. Two of them were killed and the rest escaped. Then again we are told that on the 12th about forty Russians crossed the Yalu below Wiju but were attacked by the Japanese who killed one captain and about twenty of the men. Other skirmishes have been reported from Russian sources but they are not of great consequence. All we know is that the two armies are close to each other and that the Japanese attitude is distinctly aggressive.

News Calendar.

A new Japanese daily paper printed in mixed script has begun publication in Seoul. The name is the Great Eastern Daily Record. This makes seven daily papers published in Seoul and Chemulpo.

It is stated that enterprising Japanese are about to establish an Agricultural and Industrial Bank in Chemulpo and that the capital will amount to three million yen .

Sixty houses in On-yang were burned by robbers about the middle of March.

The number of police in Seoul has been increased by sixty men.

The Government contemplates establishing a large business and industrial school and for this purpose the Finance Department has been drawn upon for an initial sum of 27,000 dollars.

On the night of the 14th inst the palace occupied by the Emperor was almost completely destroyed by fire. We have described this more fully elsewhere in this issue. The last advices as we go to press leave it quite undecided whether His Majesty will go to the "Old Palace" or remain where he is until repairs have been effected.

[page 4] At Yong-san, so the native papers say, a man fell into the water and was about to drown when another man jumped in and saved him. The latter was arrested and asked why he had thrown the man into the water. The people who witnessed the incident testified in his favor but he has not yet been released. The people declare that hereafter if a man is drowning they will let him drown.

The government has appropriated 30,000 dollars for replacing the musicians' uniforms and instruments that were destroyed in the recent fire.

It is said that the war has thrown a large number of men out of work on the northeast coast and that many of them want to go to Hawaii.

The Dai Ichi Ginko is preparing an issue of 50 cent, 20 cent and 10 cent bank notes for circulation in Korea. We understand that they will be issued the first of May.

After the disbanding of the Peddlars in Seoul that organization continued its operations in Kangwha but the prefect caught them and took away their certificates of membership in the society, which put an end to their active operations.

The authorities of the Seoul Fusan Railway asked for the temporary use of some Crown lands outside the South Gate but the Minister of the Household replied that it could not be granted.

Yun Yong-sun, Pak Chong-yang and Min Pyung-suk were appointed directors of the work of rebuilding the palace. The estimate for complete reconstruction amounted to 9,000,000 dollars but as this was out of the question 300,000 dollars were appropriated for the erection of the two most important buildings. His Majesty ordered that the Imperial residence be completed within twenty days.

Several of the treaty powers sent to His Majesty notes of condolence regarding the burning of the palace.

Taiku must be getting to be a rather lively place as there are upwards of 1,000 Japanese there.

The contract of M. Cremanry as adviser to the Law Department has been extended one year.

An old woman was accidentally killed on the railway outside the South Gate on the 18th inst. She was walking on the path beside the track as the train was passing and she slipped and fell so that her head was severed from her body.

Yi Ha-yong was appointed Foreign Minister on the 19th inst.

The work of robbers in the south has resulted in the burning of houses as follows, Pu-yu twenty-seven, Chongyang forty, Chun eui ten.

On April 16th thirty Russian cavalrymen entered Sung-jin. The Japanese had been warned of their approach and had left the place but one foreigner remained at the Custom house and two Canadian missionaries in the suburbs. The Russians burned the Japanese post office, shops and godowns. They are said to have taken some papers from the Customs. They smashed the telegraph instruments and cut the lines. They did not remain long but having accomplished their purpose left for Puk-Chung.

The Emperor has ordered that the rebuilding of the Audience Hall be delayed until next Autumn.

A police regulation has been published which commands that young men of low grade shall alight from jinrickshas when they pass the chair of a minister of state on the street.

Yi Keun-gyo has been appointed governor of Kyung-geui Province and Chu Sung-myun governor of Kang-won Province.

Severe penalties have been threatened against soldiers who pawn their uniforms and against those who accept them.

The Japanese bank at Sung-jin has been removed to Wonsan.

[page 189] KOREAN HISTORY

distant islands for complicity in the plot which led to the emeute of 1884.

In February the king by royal edict abolished the hereditary transmission of slaves and the use of slave labor by the guilds in the work on the palaces This was a measure of far-reaching import had it been carried out in full; but we find that it had to be re-enacted in 1894.

The government desired to secure the services of a foreign expert as adviser to the Home and Foreign Offices and with the sanction of Li Hungchang, the Chinese Viceroy, Judge O. N. Denny, ex-Consul-general of U.S. to China, was called and he arrived in the spring of 1886 just in time to be present at the signing of the treaty with France. He had for some years been on rather intimate terms with the Great Viceroy and it is probable that the latter hoped to use the Judge in forwarding Chinese interests in Korea. If so he found himself grievously mistaken for the United States as well as Japan and France, had recognized the independence of Korea, and Judge Denny devoted his energies to the maintenance of that independence. Yuan the Chinese commissior had taken up his residence in Seoul and had dubbed himself "Resident" in opposition to the Korean claim to independence. The Peking government, forgetting or ignoring the fact that whenever Korea had gotten into trouble she (China) had always disavowed responsibility and had practically disclaimed suzerainty, now began to bolster up her claims and to use every means to make good her pretensions. The dominant party which had ridden into power on the shoulders of the Chinese put no obstacles in the way and thus JudgeDenny found himself blocked in his efforts to better the condition of the country.

It was generally understood that the right of Japanese and Western foreigners to reside in Seoul was based on the most favored nation clause in the treaties and that if the Chinese removed from Seoul the others could be compelled to do likewise. The Chinese, therefore, hoping, it is said, to secure more exclusive power in the capital by the removal of other foreigners began to agitate the question of removing all their nationals to Yong-san near the river three miles from Seoul. For a time it appeared as if this might be done but the large [page 190] vested rights of the Japanese in the capital as well as the interests of others caused a counter agitation which frustrated the scheme.

Geo. C Foulk, Ensign in the U. S. Navy, had long been in connection with the Legation in Seoul. Early in 1884 he had suggested to the government the advisability of founding a school for the instruction of young Koreans in Western languages and sciences, and consequently the United States Secretary of State was requested by the Korean government to secure three men as instructors; but the emeute of that year had deferred the matter. In 1886 it was again brought up and in July three men who had been selected by the U. S. Commissioner of Education arrived at the Korean Capital. A terrible epidemic of cholera devastated the city that summer and as many as seven or eight hundred deaths occurred daily. It was in September that the Royal English School was opened.

Chinese claims to suzerainty emboldened the Chinese merchants to attempt to evade the customs regulations and the result was a serious affray in Chemulpo when the Chinese tried to evade the export on ginseng. The Chinese Commissioner tried to uphold them in it but a vigorous protest to him Hung-chang righted the matter and the offenders were deported and the Customs Service was vindicated.

It was in this year that the trading station Whe-ryung on the Tuman River was established for convenience of trade with Russia but it was not made an open port. About this time the school founded by the American Methodist Mission received royal recognition and the king conferred upon it the name Pai Chai Hak Tang or "Hill for the Rearing of Useful Men."

Contrary to the wishes of the Chinese a Korean Minister to America was appointed in the person of Pak Chong-yang, but in attempting to start for America he was intercepted by the Chinese just outside the South Gate and compelled to return. Two months later, however, he succeeded in getting away. He was received in Washington with all the punctiliousness due to a Minister from any sovereign power. This helped in a certain way to forward Korea's claim to independence but America's well-known policy of non-interference in foreign matters largely neutralized its effect.

[page 191] The year 1888 beheld what is known as the "Baby War." The report was spread abroad that the Europeans and Americans were stealing children and boiling them in kettles for food. It was also generally believed that the foreigners caught women and cut off their breasts in order to extract from them the condensed milk which was so commonly used among the foreign residents. The Koreans knew that the foreigners had no

cows and they could explain the use of milk only on the above theory. The *modus operandi* was said to be as follows. The foreigners were possessed of a peculiar drug which became a powerful gas when introduced into the mouth. Approaching a Korean paper covered lattice door at the dead of night the operator would make a tiny hole in the paper and applying his mouth to it would blow the gas into the room. The effect would be that if there were a woman in the room she would waken and be seized with an uncontrolable desire to go outside. Once without, the door, the foreigner would seize her, cut off her breasts and return to his home. It was believed that they had paid agents among the people to whom they taught the secret and whom they sent about the country to secure women's breasts. Two suspicious looking men were set upon in Hong-ch'un charged with being breast-hunters. They narrowly escaped with their lives. For a short time there was imminent danger of an uprising but a royal proclamation couched in trenchant language did much to calm the excitement and the danger subsided as suddenly as it had arisen. In Eui-ju there was a most destructive flood in which 300 lives were lost and 1927 houses were swept away.

Chapter XVII.

Corruption . . . edicts of reform trouble with Japan envoy to Europe death of Queen Cho . . . the fisheries dispute oppression retrogression excessive taxation insurrections foreigners threatened on the verge of anarchy. . . . prefects punished revolt in Song-do Tong-hak manifesto government helpless Japan uneasy. . . . Kim Ok-kyun murdered. . . . revolting barbarity. . . . the fall of Chon-ju. . . . Korea asks China for help . . . [page 192] Chinese troops arrive Japanese movementsthe other powers interfereJapanese demands proposed reforms the palace taken by the Japanese the sinking of the Kowshing war declared Korea breaks with China Japan promises to leave Shanghai alone Japanese in Shanghai. . . .battle of Asan battle of P'yung-yangbattle of the Yalu.

At this time the administration of the government was anything but exemplary. The selling of the same office at such short intervals increased the burden on the people to an almost unbearable point, so that there were frequent uprisings in country districts. In Korea the people form the court of final appeal. If a prefect oversteps the line which marks the limit of the people's endurance and they drive him from the place the government ordinarily accepts it as final.

The following year the government was obliged to take notice of this state of things and the king sent out a proclamation saying that the taking of bribes and the extortion of money in the provinces would be severely punished. He took this opportunity also to speak about robbery and gambling, which had begun to run rife in the land. The people were forbidden to dress in silk, excepting those over fifty years of age.

The year 1890 opened with serious trouble in Ham-gyung Province. Cho Pyong-sik, a man of indomitable will and one whose unbridled temper had more than once gotten him into serious trouble, was governor in that province. The people had mortgaged their bean crop to the Japanese exporters, of Wun-san, and had received some \$176,000 therefor. But when the beans had been harvested and were ready for shipment the governor forbade its delivery. He wanted the Japanese to sell it back to the people, as it was a year of scarcity, but this they refused to do; and the beans rotted where they lay. The Japanese promptly took the matter up and demanded an indemnity. The Foreign Office at once recognised the validity of the claim but the king ordered Cho Pyung-sik to pay the bill himself, since he had acted throughout without orders from Seoul. The unhappy governor was obliged to part with all his patrimony and several of his relatives had to do likewise. As this was not enough to settle the bill the government paid the balance.

THE KOREA REVIEW.

MAY, 1904.

The Russo-Japanese War,

At our last writing the Russians and Japanese were facing each other across the historic Yalu. The Koreans have always called this the Amnok or "Duck Blue" River, perhaps because they thought the blue reflection of the sky in its waters resembled the brilliant blue on the wing of the duck. The word Yalu is the Chinese pronunciation of this same Amnok.

Our interest at present, however, centers about the important question as to the Russians' boast that though beaten on the sea they will be easily victorious on land. As the two forces sat facing each other across this stream a very large question was awaiting solution. It was Japan's Rubicon and the world waited eagerly and anxiously to see what the outcome would be. It was evident that the Russians intended to fight here. They had made elaborate preparations, and while it was impossible to forecast what their exact intentions were, it appeared in the course of operations that they had deliberately taken a position from which they did not intend to be driven easily.

One would have expected that they would adopt either the policy of closely watching the Japanese and strongly opposing their crossing of the river or of falling back until they met reinforcements that would strengthen them sufficiently to render the issue of a set battle reasonably sure. But they did neither. However [page 194] we will set down so far as possible the actual manoeuvres of the two belligerents and the reader can judge for himself.

Between Wiju and the opposite bank of the river lie several long narrow islands making the full width of the river about three miles. These islands stretch from a point about three miles above Wiju to some six or seven miles below that city. The Manchurian town of Antung lies nearly opposite the lower end of these islands. Directly opposite Wiju is the town of Chu-lien-ch'eng and at a point somewhat further up, about opposite the upper end of Ojuk Island lies a hill called Tiger Hill.

This elevation lies in the angle made by the junction of a small stream called the Ai-ha with the Yalu. The country all about this section is hilly or rolling, offering splendid opportunities for defensive operations, especially in the face of an enemy which is compelled to cross the river by pontoon bridges.

Active operations began on the morning of the 26th of April. The Japanese army consisting of the Second and Twelfth Division, and the Imperial Body-guards numbered approximately 30,000 men, although it is doubtful if there were more than 25,000 in the fighting line. It was decided to send the Twelfth division some distance up the river to attempt a crossing. The Imperial Guards were to cross a short distance above Wiju nearly opposite Tiger Hill while the Second division was to cross almost opposite Wiju.

The first thing to be done was to clear the islands in the river of Russians. A considerable number of them had taken up a position on Ku-ri Island or "Nine li Island" above Wiju and on the morning of the 26th a portion of the Imperial Guards covered by the guns planted by the Japanese on the Korean hills behind them dashed through the shallow water which lay between the Korean shore and the island and engaged the Russians in a sharp encounter. The Japanese say that the shells thrown over their heads among the Russians tore up the yellow sand and sent it flying in all directions and this together [page 195] with the flash of the explosion and the rolling clouds of smoke made a scene of great impressiveness. The Russians fought stubbornly but were compelled to withdraw and before night the island was cleared. All this time the Russian guns on the heights beyond, called "Tiger Hill" were talking volubly and shells from the redoubts further back near Chu-lien-ch'eng fell on the island and even on the Korean bank of the Yalu, but the casualties from this source were comparatively few.

While the work of clearing this island was going on the Japanese were busy both to the right and left. The Twelfth division had moved northeast along the river bank but out of sight of the Russians until they reached a point some ten miles up the river called Su-gu-jin by the Koreans, or Sui-ko-chin by the Japanese. The Russians were completely in the dark as to this manoeuvre and the Japanese suffered no opposition in throwing a pontoon bridge across the river at this point and effecting a crossing. These were precisely the same tactics adopted by the Japanese in the China-Japan war in 1894 and they express great surprise that the Russians did not remember it and prepare for such an event. In 1894 the crossing was made in the Autumn when the water was low, and it was a comparatively simple operation, but this time the melting snows of Spring had raised the river and made it a much more serious matter.

Meanwhile important business was being transacted far down the stream below Antung. The Japanese gunboats Uji and Maya, two torpedo-boats and two armed steamers had come up to Yongampo the day before and now on the 26th two of these craft went up the river on a reconnoitering trip. They came in touch with the

enemy on the further bank in the afternoon and for about an hour exchanged shots with the Russians who were posted on the hills near Antung.

The Japanese who had crossed to Nine Li Island or Kurido, as soon as they had cleared it of Russians began the attempt to lay a pontoon bridge to the northern bank but in this attempt they were seriously hindered by the Russian guns planted on the heights about Tiger Hill [page 196] or Kosan as the Japanese call it. It is this temporarily successful resistance which formed the basis of the report sent by the Russians to St. Petersburg that they demolished the bridge and the debris floated down the river. The Japanese themselves acknowledge that at this point they suffered a temporary reverse, but it did not prevent the ultimate passage of the river at this point by the Imperial Body-guard. It was apparently during the night of the 26th that the bridge was completed from Nine Li Island to the Manchurian side of the Yalu but it was not large enough to carry the troops and guns with sufficient speed, so the Imperial Body-guard crossed partly by the bridge and partly by boats. They accomplished this on the 27th in the face of considerable opposition but the Russians were not in sufficient force to hold them in check. At the same time the 12th Division was making its way around by the north so as to attack the Russian position at Chu-lien-ch'eng. They seem to have encountered little or no opposition and they did not move rapidly, for it had evidently been planned to concentrate the entire Japanese army upon the main Russian position only after the various divisions had all effected a crossing.

The Russians on Tiger Hill were making trouble for the Japanese who were building the bridge across the river at Wiju by which the 2nd Division was to cross and it was necessary for the Imperial Guards to drive them out. So on the 28th they moved south from the position they had won opposite Nine Li Island and attacked Tiger Hill. In this they were successful for we learn from the Russians that on the 29th an attempt was made to dislodge the Japanese who had taken Tiger Hill. This attempt was made only with artillery from the other side of the Ai-ha, the small stream that enters the Yalu at this point. The Russians reported that the Japanese retired from the position. This we can readily believe for since they had dislodged the Russians from that point and so stopped the opposition to the building of the bridge directly below, it was not essential that they occupy the exposed position in the face of severe fire.

By the morning of the 30th the bridge across the [page 197] islands and the river channels between Wiju and Chu-liench'eng was completed in spite of continued but desultory firing by the Russians. And here was one of the serious points of weakness on the Russian side. Their guns were too small to do the work required. Because of this lack there was nothing to do but oppose the Japanese crossing as best they could and meanwhile intrench themselves strongly in anticipation of the inevitable passage of the river by the enemy. One can only wonder why the Russians, when they sent their scouting parties across into Korean territory, did not mass their whole available force at the Yalu, bring up powerful batteries and make a genuine fight of it. As it was, the result was a foregone conclusion. The Russians had not enough men to follow up the river and checkmate the Japanese wherever they should attempt to cross and they did not even have the proper guns to prevent the construction of a pontoon bridge directly in front of and within easy range of their main position. We can only conclude that the Russians made one of other of two huge blunders. Either they were entirely ignorant of the numbers and equipment of the Japanese or they cherished the fatuous belief that the Japanese even with superior numbers and equipment were not good enough soldiers to carry the Russian position. It seems to us that the disaster to the Russian forces at the Yalu and the disaster to the Russian fleet at Port Arthur had one and the same cause — the Russians did not know.

On the night of the 30th of April the opposing forces were situated as follows: The Imperial Guards lay on the northern bank of the shallow Ai-ha with strong Russian intrenchments before them on the other side. The 12th Division was on the same side of this brook but further up. The 2nd Division had crossed the Yalu and lay directly before the town of Chu-lien-ch'eng. All was ready for a combined attack upon the morrow. The Russian intrenchments were in a semi-circle about Chu-lien-ch'eng and extended a distance of some three miles and behind them on the heights were their batteries. The Japanese line was necessarily longer and was [page 198] prepared, on the morrow, to spread out in a line whose entire length would be some five miles. It was evidently the Japanese plan to surround the Russian position and cut off their retreat. In order to prevent this the Russians, unless entirely successful in the front, would be compelled either to retreat or to disengage a sufficient number of their troops to head off the Japanese who were marching around to their rear. In either case their position was a practically hopeless one, knowing what we do of the Japanese fighting quality. For the advantageous position of the Russians would either have to be abandoned or so depleted of men as to be untenable. Already before the battle begun, the Japanese had completed fully one third of the circle necessary to entrap the Russians.

The first day of May dawned upon the two belligerent forces facing each other and prepared for stem work. The attack on all three sides was simultaneous. The Twelfth Division with their artillery behind them on the heights forded the shallow Ai-ha and advanced on the extreme right, but they met with less resistance and suffered less than either of the other divisions. The Imperial Guards crossed the Ai-ha near its junction with the Yalu under severe fire and at the same time the Second Division deployed and advanced in a double line upon

the enemy's intrenchment. It is said that the first line of intrenchments appeared to be deserted. Though persistently shelled by the Japanese not a sign of life appeared, but when the first line of the Japanese had approached very near, the concealed enemy poured in a withering fire which staggered the Japanese for a moment, and they had to lie down in order to hold the ground already won. The second line advanced without any hesitation and soon the two lines were dashing over the Russians' defensive works. By nine o'clock in the morning the outer works were all taken and the Russians were pushed back close under the heights from which their batteries were still doing valiant work. But it was fast becoming evident that the greater length of the Japanese lines would soon turn the ends of the Russian position [page 199] and entrap the entire force. So orders were given to retreat toward Ham-mak-tong (or Gamato). Even so the order was too late and the Russians found to their dismay that they could escape from the cul-de-sac only by deserting the guns. This they were forced to do and twenty-eight of them fell into the hands of the Japanese. All the afternoon the Japanese pressed after the retreating Russians and toward evening the latter, having reached Ham-mak-tang, were compelled to turn and fight in order to cover the retreat. At this point the Russians put up such a desperate fight that the Japanese lost a third of all the men that fell during the day. The Russians were not demoralized by the defeat. To be sure they were obliged to abandon their guns in the haste of their retreat, which shows that they were inexcusably ignorant of the real conditions under which they were fighting, but they upheld the traditions of the Russian army in not becoming demoralized when they were placed in such a critical position at Ham-mak-tang.

It is probable that the entire force of the Russians consisted of about 17,000 men which, considering the ground they occupied and the difficulties the Japanese had to work against, should have sufficed to hold the 25,000 Japanese in check. We can hardly believe that 17,000 Japanese similarly situated would have allowed 25,000 Russians to effect the crossing and secure a substantial victory in so short a time. The work that the Japanese did at the Yalu argues well for their prospects in subsequent engagements, for it is probable that as they are taking the offensive they will repeatedly be called upon to attack the Russians in defensive positions. It has been proved that they can do this and the only myth that remains to be shattered is that if the Japanese should suffer a reverse and the Russians should be in a position to take the offensive the Japanese would lose their heads and become demoralized.

Conditions in Korea

But to return now to Korea and ask what effect all this has had upon the peninsula and its people; we note first the effect produced upon the currency. Before the beginning of hostilities [page 200] the nimble nickel was quoted at something between \$2.20 and \$2.60 to the Yen, but the outbreak of hostilities and the coming of the Japanese acted in two ways to stiffen the weak-kneed Korean currency. First, Korean merchants suspended their purchases of Japanese and other foreign goods and this lowered the demand for Yen. Secondly the Japanese authorities needed Korean money for the use of their people in the country where the Yen is not current. This tended to add value to the nickel; so that at one time it took only \$1.40 of Korean money to purchase a Yen. The extreme instability of the currency added to the entire absence of freight facilities caused an almost complete cessation of import and export business, until the Japanese demonstrated beyond a doubt their complete dominance of the waterways between Korea and her neighbors to east and west. As soon as that became clear, trade relations were quickly resumed and to all appearances are in a flourishing condition. The Japanese quarter in Seoul is simply bursting with excess of new imports which is mainly due without doubt to the fact that goods previously ordered and shipped had been congesting in Japanese ports until steamship communication should be resumed.

We need hardly say that the war has poured millions of money into Korea, most of which has gone into the pockets of the poor. This cannot be called an unmixed blessing for it is in the nature of a "boom" which must eventually burst. Korean laborers who had been content with the equivalent of twenty sen a day were taken on by thousands at something like ten times that figure, and food provided. The Korean temperament, as we all know, is peculiarly susceptible to this sort of blandishment and, when away from home, excited by what must have appeared to be extravagant wages, it is all too probable that the surplus found its way with great celerity into the coffers of the wine merchants. But this is the least of the difficulties of the situation, for these men must have been more or less demoralized by the comparative Bohemianism of the new situation and they doubtless found it difficult to come back to their [page 201] twenty sen a day and live rationally again. As for the official class, things have been going from bad to worse. Their fixed salaries, in Korean currency, have steadily lost value with the rise of prices, and although the temporary enhancement of the value of Korean currency postponed the evil day, we see today that, with the fall of that currency to something like \$2.15 to the yen their troubles are commencing again.

It is difficult to gauge the sentiment of Korean Officialdom in respect of this present conflict. The general drift of feeling seems to be in favor of the Japanese, but the Korean official is much more likely to ask

your opinion as to the probabilities of the outcome of the war than to express a decided sympathy with either of the contestants. In fact, the Korean people come the nearest to observing strict neutrality, in this war, of all the peoples not directly concerned. Of course the "Powers" are all equally neutral but the "peoples" are not and, in truth, cannot be. Whether it be from financial, moral or sentimental considerations, each man who takes an intelligent interest in the conflict must inevitably side with one party or the other. There is no such thing as an equilibrium. Neutrality does not demand this, but only that people should refrain from such an expression of sympathy, whether by act or word, as will give either belligerent definite aid. We do not see how the statement recently published can be true, that it is not a break of neutrality for private parties to sell, to either belligerent, vessels to be used as transports or supply ships. It surely would be entirely opposed to the terms of the circular issued to American citizens by the President of the United States; or are we to understand that such pronouncements are merely academic in their character and intended rather to demonstrate the neutrality of the government making them than as commands literally binding on its subjects? Yes, the Koreans are very reticent about expressing a decided preference either way, but the usual form their questions take is "Will the Russians be down this way?" to which we make the interrogatory reply, "Do you want them to come?" and [page 202] to this question we never receive an unequivocal answer. Each man denies that his opinion or his individual preference is of any weight. This throws a curious light upon the effect which political life in Korea for the past four centuries has had upon the individual. The expression of political preferences has so often led to the executioner's block that it is a second nature to the Korean to refrain sedulously from committing himself to a definite policy until he sees which way things are going to turn out. This again leads to the interesting question of political leadership in Korea, but this would carry us too far afield to be relevant to the present crisis.

The Imperial Residence

When the palace was burned, as described in our last issue, the Imperial family took up its residence in the Library building and other government buildings in the immediate vicinity. The order was immediately issued that the palace should be rebuilt and the Bureau of Public Buildings forthwith began drawing up the plans for the same. But a day or two later the Japanese authorities suggested to His Majesty that it might be well to remove to some other of the palaces in Seoul, since his present quarters were so circumscribed. The reply given was that the matter would be taken into consideration. The Bureau estimated that it would take some \$9,000,000 to build the whole palace as it was before, but as this was out of the question His Majesty ordered that \$300,000 should be put down to pay for the construction of the late Queen's Tablet House and the Emperor's private apartment, and two others. The carpenters said they could finish the two most important buildings in a month and they set to work to accomplish the difficult feat. Again the Japanese authorities, seconded by other representatives, urged that His Majesty transfer his court to the Chang-dok or "Old" Palace. To this an apparent consent was given and \$70,000 were ordered paid for repairs on that palace to put it in readiness for the Imperial residence; but this is as far as the matter went. No repairs were actually carried out. Meanwhile the rebuilding of the burned [page 203] palace was pushed with all the haste possible and in addition to the buildings inside the wall, work was vigorously carried on in putting up telegraph and telephone lines in its vicinity. The people generally supposed that the plan of removing to the Chang-dok palace would be carried out but when they saw that all the actual work was being done in and about the burned palace it became evident that it was the fixed determination of His Majesty to stay where he was until such time as he could return to the palace from which he had been driven by the fire. This was rendered all the more certain when the order was given to put down Yen 40,000 to pipe water into the palace from Sam-ch'ung-dong which lies between the Kyong-bok and Chang-dok Palaces, a distance of nearly two miles across the city. This was in order to provide a sufficient water supply in case of fire. When this fact transpired the Japanese authorities immediately took pains to show that this was entirely useless and so the plan was dropped. The result of it all is that His Majesty has definitely determined to remain in Chongdong in spite of urgent advice to the contrary. Of course if certain powerful parties should put the foot down and insist upon it the removal would take place, but it is probable that such compliance would be hardly worth the loss of good-will which it would cost.

Instead, however, of wasting money on the useless scheme of the water-works for the palace, the government has decided, at the urgent advice of the Japanese, to spend \$40,000 in repairing the streets of Seoul. It is surmised that most of this money will be spent on the roads in Chongdong and vicinity and on those inside the South Gate. Of course it is a good thing to repair these roads for they have gotten into a shocking condition since they were put in good shape nine years ago, but no road can stand the wear and tear of these ox carts whose wheels, without tires, grind into the soil and plow it up in spite of everything. Nothing less than one of the old Roman roads would stand it more than two or three seasons. If the government should make a law that no ox cart should enter the city unless it had iron tires four inches broad the whole [page 204] difficulty would be solved. In fact money would be saved if the government should give to each cart owner half the cost of the

tires as a bonus, for then, instead of digging up the roads, the carts would continually pack them harder. A pair of such tires would probably not cost more than eight yen and they would add so much to the life of the wheel and save the bullocks so much hard work that they would probably pay for themselves in six months or less. A little money spent in encouraging the cart owners to adopt this innovation would bring in splendid returns, for it would quadruple the life of the road. Otherwise it will be necessary to be forever repairing the roads, and as the carts do almost all the damage it would be possible to provide a fund for road improvement by levying a small tax on every loaded cart that enters the city. A tax of five cents on each loaded cart would do much toward keeping the roads in shape. That the condition of the roads is a disgrace cannot be denied and we trust the Japanese will keep agitating the matter until something is done to remedy the difficulty.

Railroad Construction.

Until the time when the passage of the Yalu became a *fait accompli* the work on the railway north of Seoul was carried on with utmost vigor but when the Japanese advance into Manchuria was assured this work was prosecuted with more moderation. Some people said that it had stopped entirely, but this is a mistake. The work is going on steadily and it is affirmed that by August trains will be running between Seoul and Songdo except for the bridge across the Imjin River. This is twice as far as the distance between Seoul and Chemulpo and we fear this estimate is somewhat optimistic, but there is no question that the work will be pushed to completion in a comparatively short time. At the same time the work on the Seoul-Fusan railway line is progressing. Trains already run more than halfway to Kong-ju.

The Wonsan Incident.

A foreigner in Wonsan who witnessed the whole of the episode of the sinking of the *Goyo Maru* has sent the following interesting account of what happened in the town.

[page 205] "On the morning of April 28th a Japanese squadron of twenty-two ships arrived in Wonsan. The following day eighteen of them sailed away leaving the transport Kinshiu with four torpedo-boats behind. Where the eighteen went we do not know. On Monday the 25th at 7:30 A. M. the transport with 150 soldiers from here sailed for Sungjin, four torpedo boats accompanying her. At 11:30 the same morning we sighted three large warvessels and three smaller ones on the horizon. We all supposed it was the Japanese fleet returning, but about 12:15 P.M. two torpedo-boats came into the harbor flying the Russian flag. Word was at once sent around the settlement and a hurried exit of women and children was made to places of safety. The Japanese all leaped to their swords, the soldiers fell in on the double, and we on the hill shot up our British flag and "cleared for action." The *Goyo Maru* of 360 tons had just come in from Sungjin. Thirty minutes were given her crew to leave the ship. In the hurried leave-taking the small boats were almost capsized. About one o'clock the torpedo-boat drew up and gave her a torpedo about amidships. We all watched the performance.

"What a day and night we had, expecting every minute to have the place shelled. Throughout the night every pass was guarded and a sharp look-out was kept on all the hills. There was not a woman or child either in Wonsan nor in the Japanese settlement. The whole place was shrouded in darkness; no lights were allowed.

"The question then arose what became of the transport and the four torpedo-boats that had left a little over two hours before the Russian squadron hove in sight, and where was the Japanese fleet? Some thought they had gone to Vladivostock but on Tuesday the 25th we saw them all returning from the south, eighteen in all. This was about 11 a. m. About 2 p. m. we saw the four torpedo-boats returning from Sung-jin but no transport. The evening before, the weather was bad outside and the four torpedo-boats put into the harbor of Cha-ho for shelter. The people on the transport thought they could come into Wonsan all right, so in a few minutes [page 206] after leaving the torpedo-boats she ran into the arms of the Russians that had been in to see us. In brief, the Russians sunk her, and forty-five soldiers and nine of the crew were all that were saved. They landed at Sin-po off Puk-chun. A small steamer was sent for them last night (27th) and as yet she has not returned, so we have no particulars. The Japanese squadron is up north or at least sailed in that direction. We feel sure the Russian ships were coming in on Monday night. We saw lights of some ships coming in and prepared for the worst. What a time we had, getting all the women and children out of range of the guns; for the hill lies right between the Japanese settlement and the ships. Our fears were false, for it turned out to be a Japanese steamer in from the north and just how she missed the Russian boats we do not know unless it was the heavy fog and mist that saved her. One other Japanese coaster, if she has not made Fusan, is missing."

Another eyewitness of the Wonsan incident has sent the following account which gives some more interesting particulars.

“On Friday the 22nd a Japanese squadron composed of twenty fighting ships and two transports came into the harbor, remaining until noon on Saturday. Four torpedo-boats and one of the transports were left behind. These left Monday morning about six o’clock. At about ten o’clock I was at the house-site looking after some work there, and seeing a merchant vessel in the harbor went down to inquire about the mail. I also called at the office of the Commissioner of Customs. He remarked as I entered that two torpedo-boats had just come into the harbor. Both of us supposed that for some reason two of the Japanese flotilla which had left only a few hours before were returning, and we gave the matter no more thought. In a few moments, however, one of the Customs staff, who had been looking at the boats with a glass, came to the door and reported that they were flying the Russian flag. By this time the boats were near the Japanese merchant vessel, the Goyo Maru. The Commissioner began to look after getting the Customs books [page 207] to a place of safety and I went to his house to inform his wife of the situation and see that the flag was raised. My path was along the shore within a very short distance of the boats. I could hear the commands but of course could not understand what was said. It proved to be an order for all to leave the ship, as she was to be sunk in half an hour. This was really more time than was needed as the passengers and crew swung off the stem of the vessel into the life-boat, rather than go down the gang-way. They had all safely landed and I had returned to the custom-house before the torpedo was fired. The noise was not great but the steam and water thrown into the air were rather impressive. The vessel sank rapidly until her stem was under water, after which she sank rather slowly. I went out with Mr. W to get a picture of her prow which remained above water for a long time. Meanwhile, the Russian cruisers and small boats had come up behind an island just at the mouth of the harbor. We expected them to come in and bombard the town at any moment. The Japanese Consul ordered all the Japanese citizens to leave at once. This they did, as also did many of the Koreans from the native town. They swarmed to the neighboring villages where they remained till the next day, when the Japanese boats returned.

“The general impression, as the Russian boats steamed away without entering the harbor, was that they would return at night and bombard the town. I could see no reason, however, why a night attack would have any advantage over an attack by day and I believed then the incident was closed. I went to bed early and slept unusually well.”

Note on Hai-ju.

Mr. S and I recently held a class for ten days in Hai-ju and in our rambles about the old town came upon a few things which suggested these notes. Just [page 208] outside the South Gate stands a monument enclosed in a neat little —house is not the word I want, for it is too pretentious. “Shed” will not do for it is not sufficiently dignified, and although it looks more like a shrine than anything else, “shrine” would not answer as it is not a place of worship, so I will just dub it a building erected after the approved pattern, with slats in front so that the passer-by may read the inscription chiselled in Chinese characters upon the granite shaft which is about eight feet high by two in breadth. The inscription states that the city of Hai-ju was built in the third year of 공양왕 *** which was the 24th year of Emperor **of China, that is a little over 500 years ago. The city was moved to its present site in the time of Se-jo Tawang **** who reigned 437 years ago. The name of the governor who built the present city was Yi Ch’unpo. The words Yi Ch’un-po mean in the vernacular 2,000 paces and it is said that the wall was so built as to measure 2,000 paces round, but the monument states the distance is 2,600 paces. The wall is built like other city walls of the orient being about twenty feet high and broad enough on top for half a dozen persons to walk abreast. Viewed from the top of the wall one would judge that the number of the houses outside the walls is about the same as the number inside. There are supposed to be about 3,000 houses and the population is estimated at about 20,000, as many of the houses are large. The officials report only 941 houses in their tabulation which serves as a basis for taxation. Some say that 3,000 houses are taxed and that the officials eat the tax on 2,059 and send the balance to Seoul but others, better informed, report that this is not so but the tax due on the 941 houses is divided among the 3,000, making the tax very light. While on the subject of taxes it is in order to say that the Korean people certainly have no reason to complain about being burdened, as six Korean dollars will pay the taxes on the house and land of a farmer owning enough land to yield a comfortable support for an ordinary family. The city lies 10 li from the sea and the reason given for not building [page 209] on the sea shore is that although many advantages would accrue to the citizens by so doing, pirates are so numerous and their incursions so much dreaded that it is considered best to forego the delights of sea bathing and boating as well as the more substantial commercial advantages of a sea port town. A beautiful stream runs past the city and it is noticeable that whereas in America its banks would be lined with houses, only occasional huts are found near the stream, which flows over a very rocky bed. This stream suggests one of Henry Van Dyke’s little rivers as it rushes tumultuously along “singing always the same song, and that the favorite.” In America you would expect to find trout in such a stream in the pools below the numerous waterfalls but there

are only a very few small fish, a little larger than minnows. They are characterized by that "never get in a hurry air which so permeates Korea that one is not surprised to see it even in the fish. Instead of scuttling away when we threw a stone into the pool they came swimming up to see what it was and their ideas of the proper way to enjoy life suggested the slow-going oriental in his flowing robes. There are several pagodas near the city but no one was able to tell me the date of their erection. The consensus of opinion however seems to be that they were built at the time of Bhuddism's invasion of the country and it is evident that they are of many years standing, from the fact that the characters chiselled on them have been obliterated by wind and weather except those at the top which are protected by the broad eaves. We were told by several residents that the site of the present city was formerly taken up by Bhuddist temples, which were removed at the time the city was founded. Ten li from the present site is a temple said to be more than 500 years old. We only heard of this temple the evening before we came away and so were unable to visit it. Besides this there is another building said to have been erected by the Bhuddist priests in the long ago to be used as a granary. It is only a few minutes walk from the west gate and is near the stream. It is ninety feet long, fifteen feet wide and eighteen feet high.

[page 210] Viewed from a distance it resembles a huge grave as it is covered with earth and overgrown with grass. It is lined with stone and the roof is supported by twelve stone arches the stones in these arches being about three by one and a half, by one and a fourth feet, laid horizontally edge to edge. Huge slabs of stone, eight feet long by about two feet wide stretch from one arch to the other constituting the ceiling and the roof. It is the only roof I have seen supported without timbers. This building has been used for some time by the city officials as an ice house and is well adapted to such use being very cool inside. Such a building is made possible at Hai-ju by the abundance of stone found there. No one can visit the city without being impressed by its rocky character. There are stones everywhere, of all sizes and shapes. Some of the city streets are bounded by stone walls six feet high and the walls around many of the houses are simply stones piled up without mortar or even mud filling. Not far from the giant cave is a shrine called Chyung-sung-myoo or the Shrine of the Patriots. The inscription on the monument before it states that it was erected in the 60th year of the Mings or about 475 years ago by the gentry of Hai-ju in memory of two men named respectively Pak Ki and Suk Cho. These men lived about 1122 B. C. and were contemporaries of Samson. They were Chinese noblemen who refused to be comforted when Mu Wang came and took the throne from their sovereign. The story runs that they went away to a mountain called Su Yang and there after living for a time on the plant known as *고사리* or bracken, i. e. *pteris aquiline*, died of grief and starvation. Some 478 years ago the emperor of China sent an envoy to inquire if there was a mountain in Korea called Su Yang and if so whether a shrine had been erected there to the memory of these patriots. The King hearing that a negative reply would provoke the Imperial displeasure replied that there was such a mountain and that such a shrine had been erected, giving orders at the same time that it be built at once. At that time a Mr. Ko was the owner of this mountain and his ancestors had been [page 211] buried there for many generations so the King gave him another mountain in exchange, the present "Nam San" whither he removed the remains of his ancestors. The shrine of the Patriots is built on a beautiful spot on the Slope of Su Yang mountain overlooking the city. On either side is a noble tree of the variety known as "neutti" or *Sophora Japonica*, These trees are said to have been planted at the time the shrine was erected and after four centuries they have attained a girth of thirteen feet four inches. This is said to be the hardest wood found in Korea and is used for making cart wheels. A felloe seven inches thick will last two years, it is said, even when used constantly on stony roads. Inside the shrine are the tablets made just like those found in the Confucian temples and on the tablet are inscribed the names of the patriots with the posthumous titles conferred by the Emperor of China. Before these tablets sacrifices are offered twice per year, in the Spring and Fall, when raw meat, uncooked rice, fruit, nuts and liquor is offered. Looking at the matter from one view-point it seems rather disrespectful to offer food which is not edible; and the custom of offering cooked food as is common in ancestral worship would seem more sensible and more respectful, but the Koreans explain their custom by saying that it would never do to offer to the shades of those so illustrious the same food offered to ordinary mortals. Hai-ju, May 3rd,

S. F. Moore.

War Anecdotes.

Map Making A story is told of a Japanese who lived in Fusan for many years prior to the great invasion of 1592. He acquired the Korean language so perfectly that no one would suspect his nationality. Dressed as a Korean Buddhist monk he wandered all over the country. Finally he came to the [page 212] Chin-gwan monastery outside the Northwest Gate of Seoul and there took up his quarters for a time. Now in those days the monasteries had the best maps in all Korea because the monks needed them in their begging expeditions about the country. This Japanese also was an expert map maker and in his rambles about the neighborhood he came upon a place on the great Peking road between Koyang and P'aju which he saw would be a most important

strategical point in case of war. He immediately set to work to make a very complete map of the whole district but, curiously enough, he left out of it all mention or notice of this important point which was situated near the village of Pyuk-che-gwan. The monks at the monastery were astonished and delighted with the map which was the most perfect they had ever seen and they cherished it as a precious heirloom. The monk disappeared, but a few years later the invasion took place. The Japanese, at first successful, were at last forced to retreat from Pyeng-yang before the great Chinese general Yi Yu-song. They came streaming south in disorder but after crossing the Imjin river they enjoyed a little respite, because the Chinese general refused to take his army across it unless the Koreans would build a bridge. The latter, enraged at seeing the hated Japanese escape, went to work and built a suspension bridge, the first one of its size probably that was ever built, and the Chinese army of over 20,000 men crossed it and resumed the chase. The vanguard came to the vicinity of the Chin-gwan monastery and there demanded to see what maps they had. The fine map was brought out and the Chinese made a careful copy of it which they placed in the hands of Gen. Yi Yu-song. The Chinese army, relying on this map, pushed forward with confidence but at the critical point they were surprised by the Japanese who lay in ambush and were driven back with terrible loss. The brother of Gen. Yi Yu-song fell in this encounter. It was found that this important location had been left blank on the map, and Gen. Yi sent for the monks of Chin-gwan monastery. He questioned them closely about the man who had made the map and cleverly decided, [page 213] from several circumstances, that the man must have been a Japanese and that he had left the map imperfect on purpose to embarrass an enemy at some future date.

This was long centuries ago, but a story is current among the Koreans that a few years ago a Japanese in Peking conversant both with the Chinese and French languages, disguised himself as a Chinaman and cultivated the friendship of a Russian cartographer who had been sent to secure a detailed map of Manchuria. He joined the Russian in his work and acted as his secretary or helper and was so skillful with his pen that the Russian entrusted the delicate work of drawing the map to him. As a result the Japanese secured for himself a very perfect map while the copy which he prepared for the Russian was purposely filled with most perplexing inaccuracies, but so cleverly concealed as to escape any but the most critical examination. This map was published and put in the hands of the Russian officers, but since the war broke out it has been found that the most curious mistakes are made as to routes and distances. The Russian who was supposed to have made it underwent a strict examination in the course of which he confessed that he had delegated most of the work to a Chinaman in his company. At about the same time a Japanese spy was caught and on his person was found a map which was so nearly identical with the "doctored" map that the secret was out. The Russian was thrown into prison and desperate efforts were made to make a new and correct map before the necessary movement of troops but it caused a deal of serious trouble and delay. We do not at all vouch for the historicity of these stories but we do not doubt that things stranger than this have occurred.

The Russian Dash at Anju.

Early in April a force of Russian cavalry, probably ignorant as yet of the Japanese victory at the Yalu, crossed that river opposite Kang-gye and pushed south by way of Chang-jin, Yung-win and Tak-ch'un and on the 10th appeared before Anju on the opposite bank of the [page 214] river at 7.50 a. m. This company consisted of some 200 cavalry and were opposed by something over fifty Japanese who formed the garrison of Anju. A skirmish took place which lasted from one o'clock till seven in the afternoon. Four Japanese were killed and six were wounded. The Russians suffered some twenty casualties but how many were actually killed is not definitely known. That night the Russians retired. The Japanese captured one Russian small officer and from papers on his person discovered that he belonged to a body of some 500 cavalry. The Russians cut the telegraph lines before retiring. It was found out later that a considerable force of Russians numbering something over 2,500 were lying at Unsan but the Japanese made no attempt to dislodge them. The telegraphic communication was reestablished on the 11th at nine a. m.

The Russians burn the Ham-heung Bridge.

On the 19th inst. the Russian force on the eastern coast came south as far as Ham-heung and entered the wall. They had a two hours fight with the Pyengyang soldiers stationed there, during which time one Korean soldier was killed and one Russian severely wounded. The next morning the Russians went outside the West gate and fired some 300 of the people's houses, and destroyed three telegraph poles. They also set fire to the celebrated Man-se-kyo or "Ten-thousand Year Bridge." This bridge is said to be 300 kan long or nearly half a mile. Fourteen kan of the bridge were destroyed. After this the Russians retired to Chang-jin.

The Battle of Kang-gye.

On the first of May the battle at the Yalu was not the only one that was fought. Another one was taking place in the town of Kang-gye between Russian soldiers and Korean tiger-hunters. Some days before this, 400 Russians had crossed the Yalu at Chosan and had marched to Kang-gye. There they took up their quarters and began to treat the people badly. They seized their grain and horses, violated women and committed other excesses, until the people could stand it no longer.

[page 215] So the prefect, Kim Chi-ok, summoned some 200 Korean soldiers enlisted from the tiger-hunters and attacked the Russians. Six Russians were killed. The people rose in revolt and aided the 200 soldiers and the Russians found the place too hot for them; so they dropped such part of their booty as they could not easily carry and decamped.

Fifteen Years Among: the Top-knots,

Fifteen Years Among the Top-knots; by Mrs. Lillian Horton Underwood, M.D. Published by The American Tract Society, New York, U. S. A. \$1.50 net.

We have had the pleasure of examining this new book on Korea and we found it all that was to have been expected from the long residence of the author in Korea, her intimate and sympathetic acquaintance with Koreans of the highest and lowest classes as well as those of the middle class, and her well known literary taste. It is a book not only *about* the Koreans but *for* them, in the sense that from an inside standpoint the author has successfully attempted to reveal the genuine Korean in a way to make us think of him as a fellow-being rather than as an oriental curiosity. We congratulate the author upon having adopted the style of personal narrative, for by so doing she has given us not a book of generalities about the Korean but a carefully arranged series of particular incidents which came under her own observation. This gives the book the same weight and authority which attaches to the evidence of a witness in court who has sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

It is with great satisfaction that we see a steady though slow growth of a literature on Korea written by people who have lived here long enough to have renounced the desire to say something startling about a nation whose characteristics and attainments are not [page 216] on the dramatic order. This book is a notable addition to the list and we recommend it without reserve to anyone who wants to know the facts about Korea.

News Calendar.

With the resignation of Yi Keun-ho, brother of Yi Kun-tak, from the Governorship of Kyung-geui Province the last semblance of the Yi Keun-tak regime disappeared.

There seems to be some difficulty still about the government of the coolies in Mokpo. There are three sources of authority each of which claims the right to control the coolies, namely the Superintendent of Trade, the Customs, and the Ti-sang Company which is a sort of guild whose president is one Chin Su-yun. At present the Customs have charge of the coolies but the Ti-sang Company has been appealing to the Foreign Office to secure control of the matter. It would seem by far the best policy to let the Customs have charge of the whole business as it would then be carried on in a judicial manner.

The introduction of the opium habit into Korea threatens to become a grave matter. The hold that it is getting upon the Koreans is very strong and stringent measures ought to be adopted for its suppression. On April 25th some policemen raided an opium den in the center of Seoul in order to arrest some Koreans who were known to be breaking the law, but the Chinese forcibly opposed them and a fight ensued in which the police were successful, arresting several offenders and lodging them in jail. The policemen were highly complimented and rewarded by their Chief. Notice was sent to the Chinese Legation requesting that the Chinese authorities take steps to abate the nuisance and stating that sharp and decisive measures would be adopted by the police in dealing with the matter. The native papers comment facetiously upon the sorry plight of the peddler's guild and suggest that their clubs be cut up into fireword.

About April 28th the police department issued an important order, namely that the *demimonde* of Seoul reside in a separate district in the town and not be scattered all over the city. In other words it ordered the establishment

of something corresponding to the Japanese Yoshiwara. The vicinity designated is Si-dong.

A Korean living outside the South Gate offered to sell to a Japanese 800 blank nickels. The offer was apparently accepted but someone else who was in the secret divulged it to the police and the Korean was arrested.

The difficulties that have arisen between the Seoul Electric Company and the His Majesty the Emperor relative to the mortgage on the electric road have been settled by a new arrangement whereby the His Majesty is to pay Yen 750,000 and the two parties assume equal joint partnership in the business.

[page 217] Kang Sok-ho, who has been for many years the head eunuch in the palace and who has exercised far greater power than many people suppose, has been sent to the country in disgrace because of his strong affinity for Russia and Russian interests in Korea.

The Korean Government gave consent to the Japanese proposition of cutting timber along the road to Pyongyang to furnish poles for a supplementary telegraph line.

A few days ago a lamp in the Central Prison, Seoul, smoked and the chimney was blackened, but strangely enough the lamp-black formed the exact picture of a man, down to the finest details, so the story runs. The jailer was deeply impressed with this inexplicable phenomenon and averred that it foretold some form of good luck to the prisoners. There is a small shrine in connection with the jail and offerings were instantly made before it.

The estimated revenue for 1904 is \$14,214,537, and the expenditure \$14,214,298, leaving a surplus of \$275. The Imperial household will receive from this amount \$1,013,359; the War Department will receive \$4,675,251 of which \$451,605 will go to the Navy. The revenue this year is estimated to be \$3,448,458 in excess of that of last year.

The Tonghak element in the north has taken full advantage of the state of unrest to commit excesses in many places. The people have been as much disturbed by them as by the operations of the war. In many districts houses have been deserted in great numbers and frightful suffering has been endured because of these conscienceless brutes.

Yi To-ja resigned the Ministry of Home Affairs on May 3rd and was succeeded by Yi Yong-t'a.

A Korean named Kim Yun-jung went to America several years ago with his son and set to work to obtain an education. He had no money to start with but his tireless energy found a way and at last he graduated from college. The attention of the Korean government was called to this man by the American authorities and as a result he has been appointed Secretary of the Korean Legation in Washington.

When the news of the Japanese victory at the Yalu was received in Seoul, Yun Ung-yul the Minister of War went to the Japanese Legation and congratulated the Japanese Minister upon this important event.

The Police Department has interfered to keep down the price of shoes in Seoul. The price for a good pair had gone up to the phenomenal figure of 10,000 cash or \$4.00; the Department ordered that ordinary shoes be sold for \$1.60 and the best ones for \$2.40. The wet-weather shoes were allowed twenty cents more. As the shoe business is no longer a monopoly in Seoul we do not see how the government can regulate the price.

The Japanese people in Korea have urged that the following places be thrown open for foreign residence. In Ham-gyung Province, Ham-heung, Kyong-song; in Kang-won Province, Won-ju, Kim-sung; in Kyong-sang Province, Taiku, Chin-ju, Mi-ryang, Ye-ch'un; in Chulla, Province Chun-ju, Na-ju, Nam-p'yung, Kwang-ju; in Ch'ung [page 218] ch'ung Province, Kong-ju, Pu-yo, Chung-ju; in Kyung-geui Province, Su-wun, Song-do; in Whang-ha Province, Ha-ju, Whang-ju; in P'yungang Province, An-ju.

On May 6th the Japanese held a great festival in honor of the Wi-ju victories. The main scene of the festivities was the grounds of the Chang-dok Palace. The streets were alive that night with waving lanterns and crowds in high spirits. All the Korean Ministers of State participated in the festivities at the "Old Palace" grounds.

On May 4th forty more Koreans started for Hawaii to engage in work on the sugar plantations.

The Government has remitted the taxes on the fields which Koreans have surrendered to the Seoul Fusan R. R.

Co. outside the South Gate.

On the 10th inst forty-one men and four boys started for Honolulu to engage in work.

Yi Kang-ho has submitted to the Privy Council a scheme for a system of common schools for Korea. It proposes one primary school for each 200 or 300 houses in Seoul; the transformation of all the present common schools into intermediate schools; compulsory attendance from the eighth year; a revision of the curriculum; the appointment of school trustees from each ward to manage the affairs of the school in their respective districts; the listing of the residents of each district into five grades according to financial standing of each, for the purpose of proportional school taxation; the limiting of the monthly expenses of each school to \$50; books to be provided by the Educational Department; the collection of ten times the maximum tax from any man who employs private tutors for his children; the collection of double tax from those who keep their sons out of school to work; the setting aside of special school lands in the country for the support of country schools; the change of the present country schools into intermediate schools; a biennial inspection of all country schools by the Provincial Governors,

On the 19th of April a Russian force appeared at Chosan on the Yalu about 60 li above Wiju and took possession of all arms stored there by the Korean Government for use by the Border Guard, and then they retired into Manchuria.

On May 10th the Emperor put forth an edict calling attention to the unsatisfactory condition of the government and using the following language :

We have often urged the officials to greater diligence in the performance of their duties but to no avail and so the government business has been postponed and obstructed and the laws of the land are in abeyance. We recognize the limitations of our own virtue and yet on what grounds can you venture to disregard the plain demands of duty? Our express commands are treated [page 219] merely as literary productions, to be read indeed but not to be acted upon and thus a condition of things has arisen which calls for stern censure. What is now needed is that you should awake from your lethargy and take our words to heart, not overcome with shame at our rebuke but stimulated to renewed activity thereby.

When the officials received this expression of Imperial displeasure an instant and universal murmur of contrition went up from them and memorial after memorial was presented expressing inability to perform the functions of office with acceptability and craving leave to resign. The emperor consented to this only in the case of the Home Minister whose vacated place was filled by Yi Yong-t'a a favorite of Lady Om. And so everything went on as before.

The Chinese Minister asks the removal of the prefect of Kan-do, an island in the Tuman River, on the ground that he does not treat the Chinese residents of that island properly. It was long in dispute whether the island belonged to China or Korea and so Chinese continued to live on it even after the Ussuri district was ceded to Russia

The Korean Minister to Peking urges that Korean consuls be placed in Tientsin, Taku and Peking.

The government has at last put down the money to pay the returning expenses of the Korean Minister to Russia and he will shortly start from that post.

Two of the buildings erected by the Russian Timber Company at Vongampo have been "accidentally" destroyed by fire.

It is said that a Japanese Language School established by a wealthy Korean in Chung-ju, Ch'ung-ch'ung Province is in a flourishing condition. A Japanese teacher is employed and the students number forty.

Rev. Mr. Honda the well-known Methodist college president in Tokyo has recently come to Seoul to look into the matter of Christian work among the Japanese in this city. He is accompanied by Rev. H. Kihara of the Methodist Church who will renew to carry on the work.

The Congregational Church in Japan may also send a man to carry on a similar work. They will be heartily welcomed by those who realize what a broad and promising field of Christian work there is among the Japanese

of Seoul and Chemulpo.

On May 25th Mr. and Mrs. Mimashi gave a garden party at the Japanese Consulate. The day was a delightful one and the company came prepared to enjoy a most pleasant hour on the fine lawn behind the Consulate building. A cozy pavilion had been erected beneath which the table was spread.

On May 19th the German Minister Herr von Saldem gave a large lawn party at the legation. A numerous and brilliant company were present including many officers from the German war-vessel at Chemulpo. The guests were entertained with music by the band from the ship. A very successful photograph was secured which will be a lasting memento of a very pleasant afternoon.

[page 220] About the 5th inst the Japanese Minister communicated with the Foreign Office regarding the need of repairing the streets and the drainage system of Soeul. The different points were as follows:

- (1) The drains should all be cleared of obstructions so that water can flow freely through them.
- (2) All garbage and refuse should be removed without the wall
- (3) All barracks for Korean or Japanese soldiers should be cleaned and all drains within a distance of sixty *kan* (450 feet) should be carefully repaired.
- (4) Public latrines should be constructed at many points in the city for the use of the people.
- (5) The removal of night-soil from the city should be regulated and carried out under the surveillance of the police.
- (6) Every house should be compelled to use lime to disinfect the cesspools.

In all but the last of these points the Japanese and Korean authorities will share the expense, at least this is the proposition of the Japanese authorities. . It is urged that the Home Office or the Police Bureau should take the work in hand aided by the Japanese Consul and the gendarmes. It has been decided to spend \$40,000 on this work and it was begun on the 27th inst.

On May 4th when the Japanese Minister had audience with His Majesty the latter asked all about the Japanese victories in the north and expressed satisfaction at the result.

Yi Chi-yong, the envoy to Japan, left Tokyo on the 5th and arrived in Seoul on the 16th.

On May 5-6 the third son of the German Emperor, Prince Adalbert, made a visit to Seoul *incognito*. He is nineteen years old and an officer in the German Navy. He was accompanied by some officers from the German war-vessel Geier. We understand that His Majesty was disappointed at not meeting the Prince but under the circumstances the German authorities did not deem it advisable to arrange an audience.

On the 19th inst. quite an exodus of foreigners from Korea took place. Seventeen residents of Seoul, Pyengyang, Sun-ch'on, Chunju etc., including several children, sailed for America by the Dairei Maru an excellent little boat of the Osaka Shosen line. The party consisted of Mrs. Ross and two children, Mr. and Mrs. Donhaun and child, Miss Dr. Ingold, Miss Best, Rev. and Mrs. Noble and three children, Lera and Lawrence Avison and Helen Hulbert. Most of them are intending to catch the "Korea" sailing from Yokohama on June 1st. Mrs. Campbell also left Seoul on the 24th inst. for Shanghai, and from there she will go to America via Europe.

We are given definitely to understand that Rev. and Mrs. Bunker and Dr. and Mrs. Scranton, Mrs. Scranton Sr. and Miss Augusta are to come to Korea either this Summer or early in the Autumn. Miss Augusta Scranton has been engaged to teach the Foreign Childrens' School in Seoul.

The Japanese Minister has extended thanks to the Korean authorities [page 221] for the courtesy shown by the prefect of Quelpart to some Japanese who were wrecked on that island recently.

In Tak-som, on the river, a child was seen forcing his way through the wattle fence about a house. He was seized but some of the residents of the town pitied the child and argued that he was probably only trying to get into his

own home, since no one would open the gate for him. When the child was examined, however, it was discovered that he was the tool of a powerful gang of robbers. Through information supplied by the boy a number of important arrests were made.

The Russian Minister in Peking cautioned the Korean Minister there that all Korean vessels should be careful to fly the Korean flag for otherwise they might be taken for Japanese boats and suffer damage at the hands of the Russians.

The Emperor sent a gift of Yen 100 to each of the foreign Legations whose guards assisted at the time of the Palace fire. The Italian Minister presented the money to Dr. Avison to be used towards founding a Pasteur Institute.

Min Ta-sik, the son of Min Yong-jun, was arrested for gambling in a disreputable dive in An-dong and \$2,000 were seized. He was detained for two days in durance vile.

In pursuance of the order that no soldier should pawn his uniform or accoutrements, a soldier was sentenced to one year in the chain-gang for hypothecating his clothes for sixty cents and investing the same in the contents of the flowing bowl.

For the past few years it has been customary for prefects to pay their own traveling expenses in going down to their posts but because of the trouble in the north and the need of quick despatch the Government has decided to cover these expenses.

The people of Kyong-sung near the Tuman River have been having a hard time at the hands of the Russians if the statements of the native press are to be credited. It is stated the people have been forced to furnish food for man and horse without receiving any equivalent and that the people have been beaten and driven out so that a majority of the houses within the wall are empty.

The town of Mn-san on the upper Tuman has suffered severely at the hands of Chinese raiders and Russian Cossacks. Three hundred of the houses have been burned and robbery has been the order of the day.

The notes of the Dai Ichi Ginko are a success as appears from the fact that up to the end of March the amount put in circulation was Yen 1,233,535.

The examination for graduation from the Imperial Middle School began on the 12th inst. There are twenty candidates for graduation.

Heretofore each of the schools has been accustomed to compose a national song for its own use but as these seldom agreed with the proper canons of literature as held by poetical experts in Korea, the Educational Department has provided a national song which is to be substituted for these various songs. It runs as follows "May the Supreme Ruler help the Emperor; and may his blessed life be peaceful. May blessings [page 222] be ocean wide and mountain high. May his dignity and pcewr be renowned throughout the world and may his felicity not wane for a thousand— nay, ten-thousand years. May the Supreme Ruler help the Emperor.*"

On Saturday evening the 28th inst. the men of the British Legation Guard gave an entertainment at the barracks. It was largely attended and proved a distinct success. It was given to celebrate the third anniversary of the commissioning of the Cressy. The concert was made up of musical and other selections both by the marines and by residents of Seoul. Specially noteworthy was the exhibition of a marvelous invention, called, a "spoutophone," by "Professor" Deluhry, which brought down the house. The men are to be congratulated on the possession of so much musical and histrionic talent within their own ranks.

A Korean has just arrived in Seoul from Wiju where he together with a crowd of other Koreans, witnessed the battle from an elevation behind that town. He brings many interesting particulars of the fight, but as he comes at the moment of our going to press we are obliged to leave this matter over until our next issue.

Yun Eung-yul resigned the position of Imperial Treasurer and Pak Che-hong took his place.

The Japanese have seized and taken Yi Kyung-jik, the prefect of Yong-chun, to Antung and are calling him to account for alleged aid which he gave to the Russians.

The Seoul Fusan R. R Co. have consented to make a detour around the prefectural town of Yong-dong instead of going through it.

The Korean government has about decided to grant the Japanese request for fishing rights along the whole western coast of Korea.

Twelve Koreans have been recently graduated from the private Japanese school called the Kyung-sung Hak-kyo.

The Emperor has commanded that the record of attendance of officials at their various posts be sent in for his inspection every day.

Min Yong-whan has resigned the portfolio of education and Yi Chi-geuk has been appointed in his place.

A tennis tournament has been arranged among the gentlemen players of Seoul, with sixteen entries. There will be both single and double contests. Tennis racquets will form the prize.

The Minister of Education announced that all Koreans who had studied abroad should come to the department on a certain day and those who had not received diplomas abroad would be examined and would receive certificates according to their attainments.

The Chief of Police has warned all country-men who have not important business in Seoul to leave for their homes. The planting season has come and the farm is the place when they are needed most. He warns them that if they remain in idleness here they will be arrested.

The Japanese authorities have asked the use of the glass manufactory at Yong-san. We are glad to see the building put to some use. A glass-factory is about as useful a thing in Korea as an air-ship factory [page 223] would be, unless the sapient originators of the glass scheme expect to melt quartz crystals to make glass.

Since the war now has crossed into Manchurian territory, forty-one Japanese who acted as Korean interpreters have been relieved of active duty.

A telegram has been received by the government stating that four leaders of Tong-haks have been arrested in Chun-ju.

Upon the return of Yi Chi-yong he gave to His Majesty a detailed account of his conversations with various Japanese statesmen and gave a careful exposition of their ideas as to the Japanese-Korean relations in view of the present conflict.

Mr. Makashima the teacher of the Imperial Japanese language school in Seoul has resigned and Mr. Kawayama has been employed by the government in his place.

Because of the cordiality with which he treated the Japanese, Chin Heui-song the chief of police at Hiju has, at the suggestion of the Japanese Minister, been made prefect of Cha-ryung.

The people in the north along the Tuman and head waters of the Yalu are having a very hard time at the hands of the Cossacks. Hundreds of people have fled from Kapsan, Samsu, Musan, Chongsung and other border towns to the mountains for safety. This has given opportunity for Korean robbers in addition to the exactions of the Cossacks. The half grown barley crops have been cut down in many places to feed the Russian horses.

The people of Pakchung, Kilju, Sungjin and Tanchun are not in love with the telegraph. They thought it was because of the telegraph that the Russians invaded their towns : so they tore down the wires and assert that they will not allow them to be erected again under any circumstances

The Korean Government has sent to Japan for a supply of fire engines and other apparatus for use in the palace.

In order to complete the extra telegraph line between Seoul and Pyang-yang the Japanese ask the Koreans to furnish 130 telegraph poles which are still lacking.

The Korean people in the north and west assert that if the actions of the Russians in northern Korean are a fair sample of the Russian army discipline, the Russians will sooner or later come to grief.

A large number of extraordinary taxes have been remitted on the island of Quelpart.

The department of Agriculture, Commerce and Public Works has announced that the constitution and regulation of the various guilds of the city must be revised and the business put on a more definite footing.

Two Russian spies in the garb of Korean beggars were captured in Pyeng Yang and were brought to Seoul. We do not know what disposition the Japanese will make of them.

[page 224] Ha Sang-geui the Chemulpo superintendent of trade has been severely reprimanded for not having greeted Yi Chi-Yong at the port upon his return from Japan.

The law department had asked the foreign office to demand of the Japanese authorities the punishment of a Japanese subject who recently killed a Korean in the town Ch'ung-ju.

Mr. Min Yung-so has been appointed Chief of the Privy Council.

Han Kyu-sul has resigned all office because of the death of his aged mother.

On the 28th instant the Foreign Office announced to the various Foreign Representatives that it had formally broken off treaty relations with Russia because of irregularities and oppressive acts on the part of the Russian government toward Korea. At the same time all private or semi-private contracts and concessions of whatever kind or nature are declared null and void. The reason assigned for the latter is that the concessions were obtained in an illegal manner and by indirection.

The Korean government has sent word to its Legation in Berlin ordering that the body of the late Secretary Hong Hyun-sik be buried there and not transported here.

Because of financial difficulties the *Whang-sung Sin-mun* suspended publication on the 18th inst. But His Majesty presented them with a building near the center of Seoul free of rent and the paper resumed publication on the 27th.

[page 225] KOREAN HISTORY.

This year saw the first embassy to Europe appointed in the person of Cho Sin-heui but owing to his illness his place was filled by Pak Che-sun who started on his mission but never got further than Hong-kong. It is probable that it was through Chinese influence that he got no further. The fourth month of the year saw the death of the aged Dowager Queen Cho, through whose influence the present king came to the throne. She was buried with royal honors and the people assumed mourning for one year. Serious difficulties arose in regard to the fisheries in the south. The Japanese had been accorded the right to fish in Korean waters, but on the island of Quelpart a curious custom prevails. The women do the fishing. They enter the water entirely nude and gather shell-fish. All males are prohibited by law from coming within sight of the fishinggrounds. The Japanese fishing-boats, however, did not hesitate to pass into these prohibited waters and as a result the Koreans were deprived of the means of livelihood.

The year 1891 beheld the elevation to power of Min Yong-jun a man who championed the most conservative principles of the retrogressive party in power. The king's son by the concubine Lady Kang was made Prince Eui-wha. Corruption in official circles was accentuated by the lessening of the term of office of country prefects thereby entailing fresh burdens on the people, for they had to provide each prefect with money to liquidate the debt he had incurred in purchasing the position. There was an instant and loud outcry from all sides. The powers that be saw that the limit of the peoples endurance had been passed and they hastened to revoke the law. This same year a consulate was founded at Tientsin and Yi Myung-sang became the first incumbent.

Another sign of retrogression was the execution of six men charged with being accessory to the insurrection of 1882 although eleven years had passed since that event.

The year 1892 passed without witnessing many events of [page 226] special importance, excepting that the state of things kept getting worse and worse. It was a time during which the country was ripening for the

great disturbances of the following year. History shows that when the Korean people are treated with anything like a fair degree of justice they are loyal and peaceful. So long as the Korean is called upon to pay not more than three or four times the legal rate of tax he will endure it quietly and there will be no talk of seditious sects arising; but the people are well aware that they themselves form the court of final appeal and when all other means fail they are not slow to adopt any means of righting their wrongs.

In 1893 Korea began to reap what she had sown in 1891 and 1892. Having sown the wind she began to reap the whirlwind. The whole province of P'yung-an was in a ferment. Insurrections occurred in Kang-gye, Song-ch'un, Hamjong and in other parts of the province. But the difficulty was not confined to the North. The sect called the Tong-hak which had arisen in 1864 began to show its head in the south again. Rumors began to multiply in Seoul that they were coming to the capital in great numbers to drive out the Japanese and other foreigners. The government despatched O Yun jung, a civilian, to pacify them and for a time quiet was preserved, but in March threatening placards were fastened to foreigners' gates in Seoul inveighing against the Christian religion and warning foreigners to leave the country at once. It was the general feeling that although serious trouble was not likely to occur in Seoul it would be well to be in a state of preparedness in case the Tong-hak saw fit to put their words to the test of action.

At this time the Queen was extremely well-disposed toward that class of female spiritual mediums called *mudang* and one of them was elevated to the rank of Princess. A Korean, An Hyo-je, who memorialized the king against such practices, was overwhelmed with obloquy and was banished to the island of Quelpart. Min Yong-jun had taken advantage of his high position to add private profit to public usefulness and loud complaints were heard on all sides against him and against others of the same name. Insurrections of greater or less degree occurred in different parts of the country [page 227] and it seemed as if Korea were on the verge of anarchy. It can hardly be gainsaid that this state of affairs was the legitimate outcome of pro-Chinese agitation and was directly in line with immemorial custom in China. Nothing could be truer than that Korea needed reforming. The government found it necessary to deal with great severity in some cases. Four prefects were taken to the center of the city and publicly beaten and then banished. Even Min Yong-jun had to go through the form of punishment in this public way, for the people of the capital were so incensed against him that an insurrection seemed imminent unless they were appeased. The Songdo people revolted against the extortion that was practiced against them but they were overcome and their ginseng was taken away from them by Kim Se-geui, the right hand man of Min Yong-jun.

Late in the year the Tong-hak made a startling proclamation which they secretly nailed to the gate of the governor's yamen in Chun-ju. It called upon all right-minded men to join in the march on the capital and the extirpation of the foreigners. This seemed more tangible than the former rumors and foreign men-of-war began to congregate at Chemulpo for the protection of their nationals in Seoul. Hundreds of Japanese left the city and hurried to Chemulpo for safety. A force of Korean infantry marched southward to head off the revolutionists but they were easily defeated and their arms and accoutrements fell into the hands of the enemy.

It was quite evident that the Korean government was without the means or the men to cope with such determined opposition. This deplorable state of things was looked upon by Japan with some uneasiness. Korea seemed to be coming more and more under Chinese influence and in the same proportion her internal management became more corrupt. Japan regarded Korea as an independent power and was determined to see that independence upheld. This feeling on the part of Japan was sharply accentuated when in the spring of 1894 a Korean detective, Hong Chong-u, succeeded in gaining the confidence of Kim Ok-kyun who was living at Tokyo as a political refugee. He was induced to accompany his betrayer to Shanghai where, in a hotel, his betrayer shot him down in cold blood. The Chinese government condoned the dastardly [page 228] deed and sent the assassin, together with the body of his victim, to Korea in a Chinese gunboat. The body of Kim Okkyun was dismembered on April fourteenth in a most brutal manner and the different portions of his body were sent about the country as a warning to traitors. This lapse into the worst excesses of the old regime opened the eyes of Japan to the actual situation and gave her just the impetus she needed to take the strong position which she did later. Soon after this the Tong-hak took the town of Chun-ju and defeated all the government troops sent against them. The governor of the province, Kim Mun-hyun, made his escape from the place.

The government had at last become convinced of its inability to cope with its enemies single-handed and it determined to have recourse to the dangerous policy of asking China to throw troops into the peninsula to aid in putting down the Tong-hak uprising. China immediately complied and on June sixth 1,500 Chinese troops were embarked at Tientsin and were sent to Chemulpo under the escort of three gunboats.

It must be remembered that according to the third article of the Tientsin Convention China and Japan each agreed not to send troops into Korea without first notifying the other. In this case the Chinese failed to notify the Japanese until after the departure of the troops and there can be no doubt that at this point lies the strength of Japan's contention. When, later, the Chinese agreed to leave Korea simultaneously with the Japanese the latter naturally refused. The Chinese broke the convention first; they must leave first. But there were other important points involved. Korea was rapidly losing all semblance of independence and Japan was being

jeopardized. The Chinese abrogation of the treaty gave Japan just the excuse she wanted for throwing troops into Korea and compelling those reforms which she believed could be effected in no other way. No sooner was she informed of China's action than the Japanese Minister Otori, then on leave of absence, was recalled, and sent immediately to Seoul with 400 marines, arriving June ninth.

The Chinese force did not approach the capital but landed at Asan some eighty miles south of Seoul. This force was soon augmented till it amounted to 2,000 men. But Japan was not idle. By the twelfth of June she had approximately [page 229] 8,000 troops in Korea. Matters stood thus when the news came that the Tong-hak, either frightened by the rumor of the approach of a Chinese army or being pressed by the government troops, had suddenly retired and the south was at peace. This tended to hasten a crisis between the Chinese and Japanese. There was no longer any cause why foreign troops should remain in the peninsula. The Chinese had come to put down the Tong-hak and the Japanese had come ostensibly to protect their nationals. Now that the Tonghaks had retired it did not take long to discover the real reasons underlying the actions of the Japanese. On June 16th she landed 3,000 more troops at Chemulpo and matters began to look so serious in Seoul that all the Chinese residents hastened away from the city and sought safety by embarking for China. About a thousand people thus made a hasty exit from the country.

On June 25th the Russian, British, French and American representatives in Seoul, in the interests of peace, jointly requested the Chinese and Japanese to simultaneously withdraw. But the Chinese refused to go until the Japanese did and the Japanese refused to go until reforms had been introduced which would clear the political atmosphere and give some semblance of truth to the fiction of Korean independence. The Korean government was thrown into consternation when on June 28th the Japanese Minister demanded a formal statement from Korea as to whether she were an independent state or not. She replied that she was an independent power.

Early in July the Japanese Minister handed the government a list of the reforms which it deemed necessary. As they were all incorporated in the reforms inaugurated a little later it is unnecessary to enumerate them here. Fifteen thousand Japanese troops had by this time landed on Korean soil and the capital was thoroughly invested. The prospects of peace seemed to be growing smaller each day. The people of Seoul fled in large numbers leaving their houses and all their effects except such as could be carried on their backs. Such was the terror that the very name of the Japanese inspired.

On July 20th the Japanese Minister sent an ultimatum to [page 230] the king complaining of the introduction of Chinese troops whose coming was undeniably to protect a dependent state. He gave the king three days to accept Japanese reforms. If within that time he did not accede to them they would be enforced. On the night of the 22nd the king returned an evasive answer and this decided the immediate policy of the Japanese. On the following morning two battalions of Japanese troops, feigning to start out for Asan, turned suddenly and marched on the palace. They met with a certain weak show of resistance at the gates but easily forced their way in and soon had the king in their care. Every member of the Min faction was forthwith driven out and the Prince Tai-wun was called in to assume a leading part in the management of the government.

By this time China and Japan were hurrying troops into the peninsula, the former by way of Asan and the latter by Fusan and Chemulpo. On July 21st eleven steamers left Taku for Asan and the mouth of the Yalu with 8,000 troops. Those that came to Asan were ostensibly for the purpose of aiding the government in the putting down of the Tong-hak. The Japanese government was immediately apprised of the departure of the transports from the Peiho and on July 25th the Akitsushima, Yoshino and Naniwa, among the best of the Japanese navy, were ordered from Sasebo to Asan. Two days later at six-thirty they encountered the Chinese men-of-war Tsi-yuen and Kwang-ki in the vicinity of P'ung Island off Asan.

The Japanese were not aware of the sudden turn which affairs had taken in Seoul but the Chinese were, and they expected the Japanese to take the offensive. The Japanese became aware of the situation only when they found the Chinese did not salute and that they were cleared for action. The Japanese speedily put themselves in fighting trim. As the channel narrowed and the vessels came within range the Chinese opened fire and were answered with terrible effect by the Japanese. The Kwang-yi was speedily disabled and beached. The Tsi-yuen, her bow-gun being disabled, withdrew toward Wei-hai-wei. It is disputed as to which side began firing first but it is quite immaterial. The fact that the Chinese knew what had occurred at Seoul, that they were cleared for action and that they failed to salute would seem to throw the burden of proof upon them.

[page 231] While the Yoshino was pursuing the Tsi yuen, two more ships appeared on the horizon. They proved to be the Chinese dispatch boat Tsao-kiang and the British steamer .Kowshing carrying about 1,500 Chinese troops. The Akitsushima took the former in charge and the Naniwa took the latter. The Naniwa signalled the transport to follow her, but the Chinese on board of her would not let the English Captain obey. Two parleys were held but the Chinese officers were obdurate and would not listen to reason. When it became apparent that the Chinese were bent upon self-destruction the Naniwa turned her battery upon her and blew her up. More than a thousand of the Chinese troops were drowned. A large number were picked up and held as prisoners of war. The sinking of the Kowshing has been judged as hasty but the situation was a peculiar one. The

Chinese would neither surrender nor follow. They were plentifully supplied with small arms and could keep a boarding party at bay effectually. The better judgment of second thought proves that the Japanese were fully justified in their action.

The results of the P'ung incident became apparent at once. It made neutrals more careful, it proved that the sea was dangerous ground for the Chinese, it kept over a thousand men from landing at Asan and it proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Japan was fully in earnest and would fight to the bitter end. Moreover it changed the whole plan of campaign for China. The Tong-hak were forgotten and the co-operation of the force at the Yalu and that at Asan and a joint attack upon the Japanese was the plan determined upon by the Chinese.

The Japanese forces in and about Seoul were now ready for a land campaign. It was wisely determined to eliminate from the problem all the Chinese forces south of Seoul before advancing against those in the north along the Ta-dong River. The army in the north was being watched by mounted spies. For the time being there was no danger to be apprehended from these troops in the north but the two thousand at Asan» if reinforced, might advance on the capital and make trouble unless they were dispersed once and for all. Accordingly on the twenty-fifth of July Gen. Oshima started for Asan with the greater part of the troops in Seoul. The march was rapid.

[page 232] On the way the news of the P'ung incident was received and applauded. The vicinity of Asan was reached in three days. As the Japanese approached, the Chinese retreated a short distance to a point which they could easily fortify. On the twenty-eighth the Japanese army arrived within five miles of this position. A night attack was determined upon by Gen. Oshima. It was not explained to the army until midnight when it was aroused and informed of the intended movement. The advance was made in two divisions. The right wing, four companies of infantry and one of engineers under Lieutenant-colonel Tadeka, sought the enemy's left. The left wing under Gen. Oshima, and comprising nine companies of infantry, one battalion of artillery and one company of cavalry, swept forward in the dark to attack the flank and rear of the enemy's right.

It would have been a difficult undertaking even by daylight but in the dark it was fourfold more trying. The Chinese outposts in the neighboring village gave the signal, and, posted among the houses, offered a stubborn resistance. The assaulting column was repulsed and was compelled to lie down to hold the ground already taken. At last however the Chinese had to withdraw. They crowded slowly out into the neighboring rice fields.

This preliminary struggle was followed by a brief breathing space. It had lasted less than an hour but had proved a stiff encounter. At five the Japanese attached the redoubts. The left wing now came into action and under the smoke of the artillery the troops stormed the forts at either extremity. In half an hour the Chinese were dislodged and the rising sun looked down upon its flaming image on Japanese banners flying victoriously from the Chinese ramparts.

The escape of the Chinese general, Yeh Chi-chao has given ground for the alleged Chinese victory at A-san. It often happened during the Japan China war that, unless the Chinese force was almost utterly annihilated, they claimed a victory. It is still a puzzle to many, however, that in the Asan skirmish as well as in the battle of the Yalu the victorious Japanese permitted even a remnant of the enemy to escape. Although thoroughly defeated Gen. Yeh brought a remnant of his force around the city of Seoul and arrived [page 233] safely at P'yong-yang, undoubtedly a difficult and brilliant movement.

This first battle won by Japan in a foreign land, for a period of three centuries, illustrated two points. Not only had the Japanese soldiers learned their lesson from instructors but the officers proved themselves worthy of the steadfastness of the men under them. One man out of every twelve killed was an officer. Nor, when elated by the victory, did the Japanese forget the ends for which they were working. They did not undertake any further subjugation of the south, not even attempting to exterminate the Tong-haks. It was the Chinese in the peninsula with whom they were measuring swords. The forces at A-san being destroyed or dispersed and danger from that quarter was consequently removed, and the banners of rising sun turned northward.

The northern division of the Chinese army, which had been landed on Korean soil near the mouth of the Yalu River and had advanced southward from that point, had now held the city of P'yung-yang for upwards of a month. In anticipation of a Japanese advance they had fortified it as best they knew how, but as is usual with Chinese they had forgotten to guard their rear. On three occasions in this war they were attacked in their unprotected rear and utterly routed.

During the second week of August the commander of the Japanese fleet, Admiral Ito, with twenty men-of-war took a cruise into the mouth of the Gulf of Pechili. The feat had its desired effect, though wholly misunderstood by the world at large. It attracted the attention of the Chinese and transport after transport made its way safely across from Japan to Korea with its complement of troops.

On August tenth Major Ichinohe with the vanguard started northward from Seoul. It was the first step toward Peking. Songdo was reached the following day. The next few days were spent in reconnoitering the Ta-dong River, but this part retired eventually to Song-do and there awaited reinforcements.

On the nineteenth Lieutenant-general Nodzu arrived from Japan with the reinforcements for which Gen. Oshima had been growing impatient. The latter immediately forwarded a detachment by another route toward P'yung-yang. [page 234] This was ordered to occupy an important position known as Sak Pass and was reinforced on September eighth by a battalion of infantry and a company of artillery. This became known as the Sak Division.

On the twenty-third Gen. Oshima set out from Seoul for the north with a Mixed Brigade. This was the name given to the Japanese army which participated in all the operations in the peninsula, so called because it was made up of various portions of the grand army. On the twenty-fifth Oshima joined the forces at Song-do. A few days before this Gen. Tadzumi had landed at Chemulpo and had been put in command of the Sak Division. On the twenty-sixth another division under Gen. Sato landed at Wun-san on the east coast nearly opposite P'yung-yang, and was immediately put under the command of Gen. Nodzu. This is best known as the Wun-san (Gensan) Division.

These three bodies of troops slowly converged upon P'yung yang by three routes, and made as if they were about to surround the entire city. But the commanders knew the weak point in Chinese tactics too well to begin trying new methods.

P'yung-yang was fortified beyond the expectations of the Japanese and it should have held out indefinitely. The Tadong River flows before its walls giving it defense on the south. On the north stands a high eminence called Peony Mountain. To the west there are no special natural defenses. The plan of attack was to take advantage of the proverbial Chinese Weakness, make a feint in the front but send the main body of troops around the city and attack in the rear. The capture of P'yung-yang was very much like that of Quebec. The plan of attack was the same in each case. The Japanese made a feint in front of the town as Wolfe did from the shores of Levis, and sent the real attacking party around behind the town. The capture of Peony Mountain like the capture of the Heights of Abraham determined the struggle.

On the morning of the fifteenth the Japanese army was in position. The Sak and Gensan divisions lay before Peony and the other five heights to the north of the city. The Mixed Brigade lay beyond the river along the Seoul road which led by six fortified redoubts to the bridge of boats before the [page 235] River Gate of the town. The main body had crossed the river at Iron Island below the city and under cover of the cannonading of the Mixed Brigade had crept nearer and nearer the enemy from the west — the rear.

At half past four on the morning of the fifteenth a terrific cannonading was begun. Under cover of this the Sak Division took the fort nearest the river, on the northeast of the city. At the same time the Gensan Division took by assault the fort at the other end, on the north. From its vantage ground the Gensan Division planted its guns and poured a destructive fire on Peony Mountain. The Chinese commander being killed, the defenders became discouraged and demoralized and this strategic position was carried by the Sak Division by a single assault. The guns of the enemy, being turned upon the city from the summit of this hill, determined the contest. The main body trained its guns on the fifteen redoubts which guarded the western approach and thus cut off all hope of retreat from the city.

While the Japanese were having it all their own way on the north and west the Mixed Brigade across the river was suffering severely. Five Chinese forts guarded this main approach to P'yung-yang. The Japanese troops, though ordered to make merely a feint, were carried away by the inspiration of the hour and rashly attempted to capture these forts by assault, but they were greatly outnumbered and were compelled at last to retire having lost heavily. But the fall of Peony Mountains settled the day, and that night the Chinese soldiers, following in the wake of their despicable commanders sought safety in flight toward the Yalu by such avenues as the Japanese left open for them. It is generally believed that the Japanese purposely left open a loophole of escape, not caring to have so many prisoners on their hands.

The feint made by Admiral Ito during the first week in August has been mentioned. During the P'yung-yang campaign the Japanese fleet had been patrolling the Yellow Sea about the Korean archipelago. Finally the last company of Japanese troops were landed on Korean soil and the order was given, "On to Peking." Never was an invasion undertaken with such relish since the days when, three centuries before, the hordes of Hideyoshi had landed on the coast of [page 236] Korea and raised this same cry. The outcome now was destined to be far different from that of the former invasion. Marshall Yamagata arriving in Korea on Sept. 12th with 10,000 reinforcements began the new campaign as Commander-in-chief.

During the P'yung-yang engagement the Japanese fleet had been stationed at the mouth of the Tadong River, forty miles from the scene of the battle, ready to be used in any emergency. On the sixteenth, the campaign in Korea being settled by the flight of the Chinese army toward the Yalu, the main and first flying squadrons weighed anchor and departed for the supposed scene of Chinese activity at the mouth of the Yalu, where it was believed that Chinese troops were being landed. Two days previous 4,000 Chinese troops had left Taku to reinforce the new army, being gathered on the banks of the Yalu for an invasion of Korea. The transports which contained this detachment were protected by six cruisers and four torpedo boats and were reinforced at Talien Bay by the Peiyang squadron. On the sixteenth the transports landed their burden and on the following

day departed again for Taku, attended, as on the trip over, by six cruisers and the Peiho squadron.

On the same morning the Japanese fleet crossed the path of the returning transports. At nine o'clock the smoke of the Chinese fleet was first discovered and about twelve the fleet came into full view. The battle opened with the main and flying squadrons leading in a single line across the track of the Chinese fleet, which was advancing at half the pace set by the enemy. This formation, the ironclads in the center and the weakest ships on either wing, had been assumed as soon as it appeared that the Japanese line was coming head on as if to pierce the Chinese fleet. At a range of 5,200 meters the battle was opened by the starboard barrette of the ironclad Ting-yeun. The whole fleet soon joined in the fight but the Japanese did not answer for some minutes. As the Yoshino came on, the course was changed and the enemy was passed from left to right. The comparatively helpless ships of the right flank received the severest fire. The two old cruisers on the extreme right, which were of wood and very inflammable, at once took fire and were thenceforth useless. [page 237] The Yang-wei took fire at the outset and retired. The Chao-yung was not more fortunate and sank about half past two, the battle having begun at one p.m. Japanese time.

Two of the twelve Chinese ships were thus disposed of at once. Two more, the Tsi-yuen and Kwang-chia, deserted the battle immediately on various excuses and departed for Port Arthur.

When the Japanese line had passed the Chinese fleet the flying squadron had begun to port, when the two Chinese ships, which until then had remained in the mouth of the Yalu, were seen making their way toward the remainder of the fleet. Instantly the flying squadron began to starboard and the oncoming vessels prudently retired. These two ships, the Kwan-ping and Ping yuen, not having come into action, and two, the Yangwei and Chao-yung, having retired from the battle in flames, and two, the Tsi-yuen and Kwan-chia, having deserted, we find six ships of 23,000 tons bearing the brunt of the battle.

When the flying squadron began to starboard, the main squadron, which was following in fine order, kept to port. The feint against the Kwan-ping and Ping-yuen proving successful, the flying squadron kept to starboard and followed the main squadron. Soon, however, it was seen that the slower vessels of the main squadron were being left exposed and Admiral Ito signalled for the flying squadron to starboard again and intervene between the distressed vessels and the enemy. Thus the main and flying squadrons moved about the Chinese fleet in opposite directions, the former on the inner track.

This second round proved a severe one for the Chinese fleet. The contest now assumed a desperate phase. During the opening of the struggle attention on either side had been paid to the enemy's weaker ships. The two slow and defenseless ships of the Japanese fleet, the Akagi and Saikio, caused the Admiral much trouble, if indeed they did not alter entirely his plan of attack. That he brought them out of the battle at all is a great credit to his ability to manoeuvre at short notice and under fire. It is, however, inexplicable that such ships were allowed to follow the main squadron into the engagement.

[page 230] By two o'clock the ranks of the two struggling fleets were considerably thinned out and the battle became simplified though more desperate than ever, as the main squadron began to close in on the powerful iron-clads and as the flying squadron separated the remainder of the Chinese fleet from their only hope of safety and scattered them broadcast over the sea. The Akagi was now out of the fight and, under the protection of the flying squadron, was making for the Ta-dong River. The Hiyei, also disabled and protected by the main squadron, was making for the same destination. The Saikio having come as it were from the very jaws of death, when attempting to attack the burning Yang-wei, lay between the object of her deadly mission and the fleets, watching how the battle fared.

On the Chinese side there was far more destruction, because of the larger number of slow and inflammable ships. Of the total, two, the Tsi-yuen and Kwan-chia, had long since deserted as we have already said. The Yang-wei and Chaoyung were both desperately burning. The Chih-yuen, having passed from the Admiral's wing to the right wing, had attempted the most ridiculous feat of attacking the flying squadron as the latter came to relieve the Akagi and Saikio. Being severely hit in her foolhardy course, her commander, evidently as revenge for going under, attempted to ram. The guns of the fleet were instantly brought to bear upon the illstarred ship and, riddled with the fire of the heavy and machine guns alike, she went under, flinging her crew into the air as she listed the last time. A similar fate overtook the Ping-yuen upon whom the flying squadron bore. A terrible fire from the Yoshino riddled her burning hulk and she too, went down like a monstrous bonfire into the tawny waters of Yellow Sea.

Meanwhile the struggle between the two iron-clads and the Japanese main squadron had been raging until both the contestants were nearly exhausted. The former, knowing well that in them rested China's only hope on the sea, and equally desperate because of the cowardliness and incompetency displayed throughout the battle by their own comrades as well as by the determined wrath of their ancient foe, fought to their last charge save three with undaunted heroism. Nothing in the conflict which raged so many hours could [page 239] have equalled the sight of the crews of the two battered ironclads, their ammunition far spent, meeting the last onslaught of the main squadron as it bore down upon them for the last time on that memorable afternoon, with perfect calm and a purpose to go down with the ships when the ammunition gave out.

The last onslaught was made and met, but before another could be made night had begun to fall and the Japanese, themselves not far from exhaustion, deemed it wise to withdraw. This battle has been called a Japanese victory and probably with reason, though according to the dictum of modern naval warfare a decided Japanese victory could have been achieved only by capturing or disabling the two Chinese ironclads which were the soul of the Chinese fleet. Technically the failure to do this made it a drawn battle, each side retiring unconquered. But there is every reason to believe that this battle, in reality, decided the Japanese supremacy over the Yellow Sea.

The land battle at P'yung-yang and the naval battle off the mouth of the Yalu opened the eyes of the world to the fact that Japan was a power to be reckoned with. The incident at P'ung Island and the battle of Ansan had proved nothing except the fact that Japan was fully prepared to go to extremities and that the war was actually begun. It is probable that a majority of intelligent people thought the Japanese would fall an easy victim to the Chinese forces. On the sea China had several war-vessels that far out-matched anything which Japan possessed and on land she had unlimited population from which to recruit her armies. She had enjoyed the assistance of many foreign military and naval men in getting her army and navy into shape, and in addition to this she had the sympathy of Great Britain in the struggle. It was freely predicted that the superior quickness of the Japanese might bring her certain small victories at first but that as time went on and China really awoke to the seriousness of the situation a Chinese army would be put in the field which would eventually drive the Japanese off the mainland. The Japanese invasion of 1592 was cited to show that though momentarily successful, the Japanese would be ultimately defeated.

[page 240] The battles of P'yung-yang and Yalia changed all this. In the first place it was discovered that the Chinese, with equal or superior numbers, could not hold a strongly defensive position against their assailants. The Chinese had everything in their favor so far as natural surroundings went. They lacked the one essential and it was the demonstration of this lack at P'yung-yang that made the world begin to doubt whether the Chinese would really do what was expected of them.

The battle of the Yalu, while technically a drawn battle, proved that the Japanese could stand up against superior ships and hold them down to a tie game. The Chinese ammunition was exhausted and if darkness had not come on the Japanese would have discovered this and the big Chinese vessels would have been captured. From that day the progress of the Japanese was an unbroken series of victories. The myth of China's strength was shattered and the whole history of the Far East, if not of the world, entered upon a new and unexpected phase.

We have already mentioned that 4,000 Chinese troops had been landed at the mouth of the Yalu to reinforce the army that had been gathered there for the invasion of Korea. That invasion was destined not to be carried out, for the routed Chinese army from P'yung-yang came streaming north in headlong flight and the Japanese followed them up just fast enough to worry them but without making it necessary to encumber themselves with prisoners. It shows how perfectly the Japanese had gauged the calibre of the Chinese that they should have driven them on in this contemptuous manner. When the Japanese arrived at the Yalu they found that the Chinese had occupied an advantageous position on the further side and would attempt to block the advance but it was too late to stem the tide of Japanese enthusiasm. The passage was made with ease, the Chinese quickly put to flight and the war left Korean territory, not to return.

The subsequent operations of war are of surpassing interest to the general historian but they cannot be called a part of Korean history, so we shall be compelled to leave them and go back to the peninsula, where the results of Japan's victories were to be keenly felt.

THE KOREA REVIEW.

June, 1904.

The Russo-Japanese War,

With the battle at the Yalu the active operations of the present war moved across to Manchurian territory whither it is not the province of this magazine to follow them, but the last month has seen some few movements of scattered bodies of Russian cavalry in Korea. We do not profess to understand why the Russians wish to have small bodies of Cossacks racing about northern Korea where they cannot possibly do any harm to the Japanese but succeed only in making more bitter and intense the hatred with which the Korean people look upon Russia. At the present moment the great mass of the Korean people compare the Japanese with the Russians much as they used to compare the people of the Ming dynasty of China with the Manchu hordes. We can scarcely believe that the leading Russian officials would permit the lawless actions of their troops if they were present, but these bands of Cossacks are sent out largely on their own responsibility, it would seem, and they are a law unto themselves in the matter of the treatment of non-combatants.

We have already in a former issue spoken of the actions of the Russians at Ham-heung where they burned 300 houses and destroyed part of the celebrated bridge. On the thirteenth of June a communication arrived from the governor of South Ham-gyung Province, whose seat is at Ham-heung, in which he first [page 242] describes the subsequent movements of the Russians who attacked Anju. This news came by way of Ham-heung because couriers from Kang-gye reached Ham-heung before they did Anju and so got their message on the wires first. And besides this the road to Ham-heung was clear of Russians. He says that after the Russians retired from Anju they lacked ammunition and so fell back toward Kang-gye by the same road that they had gone south. The prefect of Kang-gye detailed a considerable number of Korean civilians to take their positions on elevated points and keep watch of the movements of the Russians. On the 24th of May 516 Russian infantry and 520 cavalry with 123 carriers started from Kang-gye across country toward Ham-heung. On the way they stole and pillaged on every side and lived almost entirely off the country paying nothing for cattle, pigs, poultry, rice or fodder. They insulted women both old and young and acted generally like common brigands. They killed four Korean civilians on the way across and forced upwards of a hundred natives into their service. Before starting from Kang-gye they destroyed four kan of barracks, one kan of powder magazine and sixteen kan of other houses together with books, deeds and other important documents.

On the 28th of May nineteen Russian cavalry with one Chinese interpreter arrived from Yi-wun at Pukch'ung and entered the postal and telegraph office and asked many questions, demanded various things and called upon the people of the town to provide them food. They said they had come from Kirin. They then cut the telegraph wires running south. That night twenty-two more Russians arrived at Puk-ch'ung and joined them.

On the 30th of May the Governor at Ham-heung sent a telegram to Seoul saying that twenty of the Russian cavalry that had retired northward, after the trouble on the 19th, had returned to within twenty *li* of Ham-heung again and were demanding food. The people were in a state of great excitement and all the young women and many of the other citizens were running away from the town to escape from contact with the marauders.

[page 243] On the third of June a telegram was received in Seoul from the Superintendent of Trade at Wonsan saying that twenty-five Russian cavalry had arrived at Ko-wun about thirty miles north of Wonsan and the people had run away to the hills. And on the same day he sent another message saying that he had received a letter from the Governor at Ham-heung to the effect that the Russians had entered I-wun near Sung-jin and had wrecked the telegraph. These Russians declared that 290 more were about to arrive. Later, on the same day, a third message from Wonsan announced that the Russians had entered Mun-ch'un only twenty miles from Wonsan and had there come in touch with the Japanese and that a skirmish had occurred in which six Russians had been killed and the rest had retired a short distance from the town. The Japanese pursued them for a few minutes at an interval of only thirty meters and in the chase one Russian was killed and one was shot from his horse but managed to run away. The Japanese heard that a large force of Russians were coming and knew that with their small force they could not hope to stop them effectually; so they retired to Wul-gyo-ri a short distance south of Munch'un. A small body of Russian troops arriving at a hill near Mun-ch'un, called Ong-nyu-bong, dismounted there and prepared to attack the Japanese but as the latter were badly outnumbered they retired, whereupon the Russians mounted and came on in pursuit until they had arrived at a point 800 meters from the Japanese. Then the Japanese turned and offered fight. Three Russians fell and the remainder retired to Ong-nyu-bong. From here they retired later to the villages of Yul-p'o and Kunch'ul-yi where they set fire to several houses. A few of the Japanese hastened back to Wonsan and reported these events. The foreigners in Wonsan were somewhat exercised over the proximity of the Russians and not knowing their numbers with certainty

deemed it advisable to place the women and children in a safe place; so almost all of them were sent to the Suk-wang Monastery about forty miles to the south, near the Seoul road.

On the 30th of May toward evening sixty-two [page 244] Russians entered Ham-heung and on the next day 160 more arrived, and went into camp outside the west gate. That day they burned the telegraph office and ordered the governor to arrest the telegraph operators, but as these had fled, only the servants of the office were seized. These were put on the witness stand and were ordered to tell where the telegraph operators had hidden the telegraph instruments and other implements.

The Japanese had their skirmish with the Russians near Mun-ch'un on the third of June. The Russians retiring burned eight houses in the village of Pam-ga-si in Mun-ch'un prefecture and in passing through the prefecture of Ko-wun north of Mun-ch'un they burned fiftytwo houses. They caught the prefect of Ko-wun and charged him with having withheld information about the movements of the Japanese and in their rage they stabbed him in the breast. He managed to get away and sought a place of safety about a mile away from the town. He lay there, at last reports, in a very critical condition, but later advices will show, it is hoped, that his wound is not serious. Shortly after this the Russians all retired across country in the direction of the Yalu by way of Yung-wun. On their way they buried two of their number besides one interpreter. At last advices they had gone into camp in the triangle between the three prefectures of Yung-wun, Chang-jin and Yong-heung.

A later advice from the injured prefect of Ko-wun states that he was badly beaten by the Russians and that he is about to be carried to Wonsan to be treated by a Japanese physician.

The Russians along the Tuman River are, for some reason or other, very much afraid of Japanese spies. Every Korean traveller or itinerant that enters Kyongsung is subjected to a rigid examination. His foot is carefully examined to see whether there is a wide space between the great toe and the other toes, for the Japanese, unlike the Koreans, hold the shoe to the foot by a heavy cord passing between the great toe and over the top of the foot. It takes but a moment to find out whether the man is a Korean or a Japanese. The hair is [page 245] also carefully examined. It is believed that constant cutting makes the individual hairs much larger and so, even though the hair has been allowed to grow long, it gives an indication as to whether the man has ever been accustomed to cut the hair. The man is stripped and his body subjected to a close scrutiny. If he be short in stature he is examined more carefully than if he be of ordinary height. His intonation, and speech generally, is also noted and any deviation from the correct Korean standard is suspicious. The contents of his pack, the style of the money he carries and every scrap of writing about him is examined with care. Some time ago the Russians seized a large amount of powder, fuses and weapons that the Korean Government had stored at Kyung-sung and threw them all into the sea. The telegraph machines were taken and connection established with Vladivostock to be used by the Russians alone.

Korean rumor, which is about as unreliable as any rumors made, says that the Russians took steps to establish a sort of secondary headquarters at Kyongsung with 20,000 Russian soldiers.

In order to counteract the Russian freelances in the north the War Office at Seoul is contemplating the placing of garrisons of Korean soldiers at various points as follows; 50 at Ko-wun, 100 at Chong-pyung, 50 at I-wun, 150 at Tan-ch'un, 100 at Myungch'un, 50 at Puryung and various numbers at other important places making a total of 3,100 soldiers. Of this number, 2,600 will be the tiger-hunters and the troops already in the north. The governors will be the commanding officers and the prefects will be secondary officers.

An amusing story comes from Mun-chun to the effect that a Russian soldier entered a house to insult the women but was attacked by them, his clothes were torn nearly off, his weapons taken away and he was seized and held by the Amazons until the other Russians had all left the place and the Japanese entered the town, when they turned the said gentleman over to the servants of the Mikado.

It is not easy to indicate the general trend of feeling [page 246] among the people of Seoul in regard to these Russian depredations in the northeast. They seem to realize that the Russians can accomplish little or nothing in the line of war by these incursions and they see quite well how the Japanese might practically ignore these movements so far as any danger of serious consequences is concerned, but they feel that the Japanese should put enough troops in that section to save the Korean people from rapine and plunder. Korea has cast in her lot with Japan and she would be justified in attacking these Russians herself since they are acting not according to the laws of modern but of medieval warfare and wantonly abuse the people; at the same time Korea does not want to take up arms against Russia. The war is between Japan and Russia and while Korea has been induced to favor the Japanese cause it is well known that this attitude is not wholly spontaneous, but that there are divergent opinions even in the highest quarters. We do not understand what the Russians are trying to do in the northeast. They cannot hope to effect anything of value to the main cause, and they are sending so few troops that they are not able to divert any appreciable number of Japanese from the main line of attack. If the Russians should throw ten or fifteen thousand men across the Tuman and march southward there would be some semblance of reason in it but at present all they are doing is to heap up against themselves the intense hatred of the Korean people. Hamheung is nothing to the Japanese, but to the Korean it is one of the most noted, and even sacred, places in the land, being the place where the founder of the present dynasty was born and reared. It bears

the same relation to the present Korean dynasty that Mukden bears to the Chinese Imperial family. The Russians could do nothing that would more certainly alienate whatever goodwill the Koreans ever felt toward them. Some may try to explain the Russian movements there on the ground that they intend to occupy the northeast until the great battle in Manchuria shall decide the fate of the war; and if it result in a Russian victory the northeast will give a clear road for the Russians on or beyond the [page 247] Tuman to sweep southward and attack the retreating Japanese on the flank. But it should be noticed that from the Tuman River to Seoul is more than 600 *li* further than from Mukden to Seoul and the roads are immensely more difficult. The Russian policy is to mass all their force in or about Harbin. If so the northeast route will be of no value whatever to the Russians in case of a Japanese retreat. The only reason for the Japanese to bother about the east side is consideration for the feelings of the Koreans, but the Japanese have heavy work to do elsewhere and mere accommodation can play no part in their policy at present. As soon as the Russian videttes came in touch with the Japanese near Mun-ch'un they retired and it is probable that they will not again move on Wonsan.

When the Russians seized the telegraph office at Kyong-sung on the 28th of May they took possession of all the account books and government records. The next day the Korean telegraph superintendent told the Russians that these documents were quite useless to them and asked that they be handed back to him. This they refused to do and their attitude was so suggestively offensive that the superintendent immediately put to sea in a fishing vessel and made his way to Wonsan where he arrived on the 15th of June.

Authentic reports from the northwest indicate that the people are rapidly recovering from the panic into which they were thrown by the presence of the Russians in force and while the Cossacks create more or less disturbance in the more remote districts along the upper waters of the Yalu it is considered practically sure that there will be no more trouble in the more populous portions of the province unless the Russians should turn the tables on the Japanese and the latter should be compelled to beat a retreat. It has even been considered safe for foreign ladies to return to their homes in Sun-ch'un and in Unsan.

We see from the papers that a large amount of silver yen are needed by the Japanese army in their operations in Manchuria and the Japanese government is withdrawing [page 248] the silver yen from Formosa for that purpose. While the Japanese were operating in Korea very large amounts of this coin came into the country but now that the army has passed on into Manchuria there is a silver yen famine here. The foreign mining companies use silver yen very largely in paying their native help and it has become quite a serious question where these are to be procured. Really this currency question is a curious factor in the problem. In the various territories now occupied by Japanese troops we find the following kinds of exchange medium:

- (1) Japanese paper yen. (2) Dai Ichi-Ginko notes. (3) Korean cash. (4) Korean nickles. (5) Japanese silver yen.
- (6) Chinese cash. (7) Sycee. (8) Mexican dollars. (9) Russian paper roubles.

There may be others as well but there are these at least and in almost every locality only one of these is preferred.

A foreigner passing through An-ju a few weeks ago gives the following account of the skirmish there between the Japanese and the Russians, to which we referred in our last issue. He says :

“The battle here two weeks ago must have been very interesting. There were only forty Japanese here then. The army went over into China long ago and left a few men in each county-seat to hold the main road. Four hundred Cossacks made a dash behind the lines to cut the main road and tried to capture An-ju. The forty Japanese were more than ready They engaged a lot of Koreans to sit down behind a wall in a safe place and fire guns that the Japanese furnished them and a lot more were hired to yell whenever the Japanese yelled. They then locked the city gates, took their places on the wall and picked off the Russians whenever they came in sight. Every time the Japanese fired, the men detailed for that [page 249] purpose would tell the Koreans to shoot like blazes and every time the Japanese yelled the Koreans followed suit, so that although the Russians knew to a dead certainty that there were only forty Japanese there, they began to doubt whether there were not 4,000. They hung around all the morning afraid to walk in and eat up the Japanese. At one o'clock sixty Japanese from the next county came hurrying up the road and took the Russians on the flank, and the Japanese in the town rushed out at the same time; so the Russians came to the conclusion that there were something less than a million Japanese in the vicinity and skipped out — that is, all but twenty-two that were dead. If forty Japanese can stand off 400 Russians and 100 can make 400 run for the tall timber it would be interesting to know how many it would take to whip the whole population of Russia.

“The Russians killed and burned and did a lot of other bad work in Ka-ch'un because they said the people of that place had lied to them about the size of the Japanese garrison at An-ju.”

The Ajun.

In the February issue of the *Review* we began a discussion of the Korean *ajun* but in succeeding issues it was crowded out by press of other matter. We return to it now however as being a very important phase of Korean life and one which has always differentiated it from the Chinese social system.

The main business of the *ajun* is the collecting of the taxes. They form the physical arm by which the government enforces its laws and edicts. At the present day the country is provided with some sort of a police system separate from the *ajuns* but during the long centuries preceding 1894 they attended to all such matters. The reason why their main business is the collection of taxes is because this is the main interest the central government has in the people. As in all despotic countries, the people are merely the bank on which the [page 250] government draws perennially but without making any deposits. The idea of mutual benefits, while inculcated by Confucian teaching, is purely an academic idea and forms no part of the Korean government's working plan. Nature germinates the seed, the people gather in the harvest and the government in one form or another relieves the farmer of any considerable surplus there may be over and above his actual needs. This gathering of taxes is not only the *ajun's* main business but, unfortunately, it is one of the government's main concerns as well. If we inquire what the government gives in exchange for the money that the people pay in taxes we find the list a rather negative one. It does not guarantee them immunity from oppression, it does not afford them adequate police protection, it does not provide educational facilities. It simply grants them the privilege to live and to grub away year after year without hope of betterment. One would suppose that there would be constant and serious disaffection on the part of the people. Well, there would be if it were not for the *ajuns* whose business it is to know the people well and to keep their hand on the popular pulse, and give warning of impending danger.

The *ajuns* are the only students of political economy and they learn it not from books but in the practical school of experience. They do not bother their heads about Utopian principles nor try experiments in sociology but they study the actual conditions of their various localities, have all the practical factors of the problem at their fingers' ends and know exactly how to handle any social condition that is likely to arise. They are in such close touch with the people and their daily life that they can foresee probable contingencies and, having at hand all the possible means for meeting these contingencies, they are never at fault.

Suppose, for instance, that the *ajuns* became aware that the government was contemplating the building of a palace or the carrying out of some other public work that would require a heavy outlay of money. They would know instinctively that this money must eventually come out of the common people, the producing class, [page 251] which, in Korea, means the farmers. Long before the blow falls the *ajuns* will have worked out the problem as to how they will apportion and raise the extra taxation without exasperating the people. They fit the means to the end with such nicety that they generally succeed in tiding over the crisis without any serious disturbance. Of course there are times when there is no possibility of withstanding popular clamor, where the rapacity of a central government passes all possible bounds. Then the *ajuns* simply spread out deprecating hands and deny all responsibility. The people rise in revolt, drive out the prefect and defy the government. The *ajuns* remain quiescent and the people do not molest them, knowing that they are not to blame. In time the government sends down another prefect who walks softly at first, takes counsel with his *ajuns*, acquaints himself with the causes of the late trouble and attempts to reorganize on some workable basis.

The *ajuns* are not only the prefectural financiers but they are the lawyers as well. In enlightened countries any citizen can secure legal counsel and sue another citizen at law, but in Korea there are no lawyers in our sense. The *ajuns* monopolize that office so far as there is such an office. As a result, they are generally well up in the law; not as we reckon legal knowledge with its fine distinctions and its mass of precedents, but a sort of rough-and-ready, common-sense law which not infrequently serves the ends of justice as well as the intricate codes of western lands. But the subject of legal procedure in Korea deserves and will receive separate notice.

The salary of the *ajun* is about fifteen thousand cash a month, or six Korean dollars, but it varies somewhat. Some *ajuns* receive as much as eight dollars a month. It is safe to say that no *ajun* pretends to live on his salary, nor that any Korean or Chinese official of any grade whatsoever lives on his salary alone. The government does not pretend to pay him a living salary. There can be no doubt whatever that most offices in the gift of the government could be readily filled even if there were no salary attached.

[page 252] What, then, constitute the supplementary sources of the *ajun's* income? In the first place there is always a heavy charge against the government for transportation of the revenue money. In every government budget we find that out of a total expenditure of \$10,000,000 a full million is spent on transportation. This is because of the lack of good transport facilities. The transport of cash by pony-back is a ruinous transaction but inevitable, if the government desires to receive its revenue. But though the government pays this enormous percentage for transportation, it is not all used for that purpose. The *ajuns* carry on an exchange business whereby much of this money requires no costly transportation, and so the amount the government pays on this item goes largely to the pockets of the *ajuns* and the prefects. In other words the *ajuns*

do a banking business on their own account. But besides this, and more frequently still, the *ajuns* invest the government revenue money in merchandise and send it up to Seoul where it realizes a handsome profit. The amount paid by the government has paid for the bringing of the goods to Seoul and so the profit on the transaction may be as high as forty or fifty per cent. There are some forms of merchandise that are worth twice as much in Seoul as in the country and it is unlikely that the *ajun* would invest in the less paying kinds. A very common way is for a Seoul merchant to carry money to the Finance Department and received an order for an equivalent amount on some prefect, and when this is paid to him in the country the *ajuns* and prefect pocket the amount representing the transportation charges. This is not a swindle but is one of the several perquisites of the country official. The government pays a fixed sum for transportation and so long as the money is transported the government cares not what becomes of the price paid. There can be no doubt that a national bank, begun in a modest way and carried on with skill, economy and rectitude would prove a very paying proposition but in Korean hands there is grave doubt about its success.

Another source of income for the *ajuns* is that which [page 253] is called the *eun-gyul* or "hidden measure." Taxes are always levied on the *yul* which corresponds to a certain amount of unthreshed rice. The "hidden measure" refers to rice or other grain that is grown on new fields that have not as yet been legally recognized and for which deeds have not as yet been issued. Each year sees a certain number of new fields made, the "margin of cultivation" always being on the rise. Now, the central government will take no cognizance of these fields until such time as it sees fit to order a general remeasurement of land throughout the country. Then they are all included; but this may be any-where from two to ten years after they are made, and during that interval the local prefect and his *ajuns* absorb all the taxes paid on such property and we may be sure that no field escapes their attention.

Then again the house tax affords a means for personal aggrandizement. The official report of the number of houses in any prefecture never, we may safely say, corresponds with the actual number, any more than the listed value of a man's house in America corresponds with its actual market value. This is the reason why the population of Korea can never be accurately determined. Judging from the number of houses on the grand list one would infer that there cannot be more than 5,000,000 people in Korea, whereas there are doubtless more than twice that number. The difference between the listed, and the actual number is the measure of the local official's squeeze. This too is more in the nature of a perquisite since it is perfectly well understood by the central government and is a recognized "institution" in prefectural administration.

Such are some of the more legal and reputable sources of the *ajuns*' income but it must be confessed that in actual practice there are many other and far less reputable avenues of income. As we have already said, it is a position which presents exceptional temptations to cupidity and it is but natural to expect that many will succumb to these temptations. It may be laid down as a general rule that *ajuns* take their cue from their [page 254] superiors and when there is a good central government the *ajuns* will walk circumspectly and when the central government is corrupt the *ajuns* throw off their restraints and work the people to the last point of endurance and occasionally beyond it.

The *ajun* being such an exceedingly important factor in Korean life we are not surprised to find that he plays a leading role in the folk-lore of the land. The stories in which he figures are simply numberless. Sometimes he is represented as a good man but more often as a bad one and you will not read far in a Korean novel without running across him either as villain or hero or at least in the back-ground of the tale.

From the earliest times these *ajuns* were the prefectural clerks and were skillful in handling the brush pen. Just as in Europe in the middle ages the nobleman could not read or write but depended upon his clerk for these offices, so at first and for some time the same was true in Korea. The *ajuns* write with a peculiar clerkly hand and any educated Korean can tell at a glance whether a document has been written by an *ajun* or not. It was for the use of these clerks that Sul-ch'ong made the diacritical system called the *i-tu*. This was a system of marks used in a Chinese text to mark the verbal endings and make it easier for the Korean to read. The very name *i-tu* shows the original position of the *ajuns*, for it means "*ajuns*' style," the characters being **. This shows that it was originally intended for use by the clerkly class.

Up to the year 1894 there were *ajuns* in Seoul also but here they were called *suri* **, or "writing *ajun*." Since that date the place of the *ajun* in Seoul has been filled by the *chusa*. Some of the old-time *suri* became *chusas* in the new regime.

The *ajuns* being hereditary office holders are more permanent in their various localities than any other people and they acquire local characteristics and hereditary traits which make it possible to compare them in different localities more perfectly than almost any other class. The *ajuns* of Chulla Province are called the best [page 255] because they are of somewhat higher social grade and their word carries more weight, and withal they have more pride and feel more fully the necessity of upholding the dignity of their name. They are in a sense the tribunes of the people as well as the servants of the prefect. The people of Chulla Province, unlike those of Ch'ung-ch'ung and Kyung-sang Provinces, are not so much interested in studying Chinese and in getting official positions and the *ajuns* there pay special attention to the industrial lines and are more helpful to

the people than elsewhere in the country. The most celebrated *ajuns* have come from that province. In fact well-informed Koreans say that Chulla Province is made up of their families and that there are fewer of the low class and fewer of the high class there than in any other part of the country.

The *ajuns* of the north do not have a very good reputation, for they are not so well educated and they do not work so much in the interests of the people.

The better class of *ajun* is an illustration of what the Korean of the "higher middle class" would be if there were any such class. He is educated, bright, energetic, a good student of human nature and without the measureless vanity of the gentleman. If any one thinks that even under proper conditions the Koreans could not become a strong and successful people, a study of the better portion of this *ajun* class would soon convince him of his mistake.

Foreigners in Seoul hear only the bad things about this most necessary of all the government agents and unfortunately the stories are too often true, but we should remember that there are thousands upon thousands upon whom devolve the most arduous and important duties and who perform these duties, as a rule, with great success.

The Oldest Relic in Korea.

We recently had the pleasure of a visit to Chun-deung Monastery on the island of Kang-wha and the celebrated [page 250] Mari Mountain in the vicinity of that monastery. This monastery is the only one that has figured prominently in the recent history of Korea and it is for that reason, as well as because of the exceptional beauty of its surroundings, well worth a visit. The monastery lies in a sort of mountain crater one side of which has been broken down. It is near the southern end of the island of Kangwha and may be reached by sampan from Chemulpo in about three hours under favorable conditions of wind and tide. With a little extra effort the round trip may be made from Chemulpo in a single day with four hours' stop at the monastery. It is an easy hour's walk from tide water to the gate of the fortress, for this monastery is one of the few which is both monastery and fortress. The whole heavily wooded nest among the high mountains where the monastery lies can be plainly seen from the water as one approaches Kang-wha from Chemulpo. You land at a point called Ch'o-ji about two miles below the little fort which the Americans stormed in 1871, and find a good road running right over the low hills westward to the monastery. It cannot be called a really good bicycle road but a bicycle could be used to advantage if one wished. Three miles of easy walking bring you to the foot of the steep hill leading up to the gate of the fortress. You ascend the smooth treeless slope by a path that reminds you of the old-time bridle road over the pass between Seoul and Chemulpo, except that it is not so high. On either side of you are two sharp spurs along which run the battlemented walls to right and left of the gate so that you are immediately inclosed by these two arms of wall high above you on either side. It was at this point that the French suffered a disastrous defeat in 1866 when the expedition under Admiral Roze made a descent upon the island in retaliation for the execution of nine Roman Catholic priests in that year by the order of the late Regent, the Ta-wun-kun.

It is not to be wondered at that the French authorities should send an expedition to Korea under the circumstances but it was unfortunate that the matter was not pushed to a finish, for the way in which the incident [page 257] closed left the Korean Government convinced of its ability to defy all foreign powers. The same was the case five years later when the Americans took the little fort near the same place but then retired without bringing the Government to terms.

In 1866 the French landed on the northern part of the island and took the town of Kang-wha. Hearing that there was a force of Koreans at the monastery twelve miles away, a force of some 160 men marched toward it on a hot October day. They were probably unaware of the number and the quality of the troops they were to meet and the strength of the position they held. As a matter of fact there were some 5000 Korean troops composed largely of the hardy frontiersmen of the north and they occupied a position that even with their poor training and equipment they could have held against an equal number of foreign troops. The French marched up the steep hill toward the gate but before they reached it there burst upon them from the heights on either side a cross fire of both musketry and cannon and within five minutes they were hopelessly crippled. At that time there were some few scattered trees and other shelter below the gate and the brave Frenchmen, not willing to give up the fight so soon even against overwhelming odds, sought shelter behind these natural defenses; but it soon became evident that the purpose of the expedition could not be effected. So a retreat was ordered. The dead and wounded were carried down the hill under a terrible fire from the enemy and the almost desperate march toward the main force was begun. The Koreans swarmed out of the fortress in pursuit and had it not been for a strong body of French who came out to meet them the entire 160 men would probably have been sacrificed.

The Koreans had prepared a large number of stone cannon-balls to use in case their iron balls should be exhausted. We secured a couple of these curious missiles at the monastery. They measure about four inches in

diameter and are made of granite, roughly cut in the shape of a sphere.

[page 258] Back of the monastery, across a valley, rises the forbidding granite crag of Mari Mountain. The characters for Mari are ** which were evidently used merely to transliterate the ancient Korean name of the mountain. It is the highest peak on the island and on its very top rises the rough stone pile which has been known through the centuries at the Tangun Tan or "Altar of Tangun." A stiff climb of an hour brought us to this most ancient relic. We entered a sort of opening in a wall and found ourselves in a little inclosure twenty feet square. On the western side of this and forming part of the wall of the enclosure rose a flight of stone steps made of slabs of stone put together without mortar and rising some eight feet. Ascending these steps we reached the top of the altar proper which is eight feet high above the floor of the enclosure but some twelve feet above the foundations on the other three sides. It is almost exactly twenty feet square on top. The surface of the top of the altar is rough and shows the results of much vandalism. We were told that boys had thrown down many of the stones so that the altar is not so high as it once was. The structure as it now stands is probably not more than a century old, for we read in the annals of Korea frequent statements that the government gave money to repair it. Some parts of it, especially the more solid foundations, are evidently of extreme age and look as if they had been there as long as the mountain itself. The Tangun is believed by the Koreans to have ruled in Korea from 2300 B. C. until the time of Kija, 1122 B. C, but works that claim some degree of historicity say that he reigned from 1193 B. C. until 1122 B. C. It is probable that if there is anything real about this word Tangun it refers to a dynasty of native chiefs who antedated Kija. The grave of Tangun is shown today at Kangdong east of P'yeng-yang and is 410 feet in circumference. It was in 2265 B. C. that, according to tradition, he first sacrificed on Kang-wha. The fortress in which the Chondeung Monastery is situated is called Sam-nang ** or "Three Sons" and according to tradition it was built by the three sons of Tangun.

[page 259] The entire absence of any kind of inscription in connection with the altar is partial evidence of its extreme age, for if it had been made subsequent to the coming of Kija we should doubtless find some sort of inscription, either in its original shape or in the form of a restoration. One has but to visit the spot to be impressed by the evidences of extreme age, especially in certain parts of the structure.

Odds and Ends.

A Straight Official.

Hu Mok was one of the leading officials in the days of King Hyo-jong 1650-1660, and he was one of the many good officials who died simply because of party strife. The following anecdote is told of him which exhibits a striking contrast with present day officialdom.

While still a young man and before he had come into political prominence he went to a great monastery in Kyung-sang Province to study. In those days a man could live thus at a monastery free of expense, the expectation being that by the literary skill acquired he would obtain an official position and at a later date recoup the monastery for all expenses incurred and give a handsome bonus besides.

Hu Mok studied diligently and seemed in a fair way to accomplish his object, but money for repairs upon the monastery was urgently needed. It was in danger of falling about the ears of the monks. So they asked him to write a "begging letter" for them. This meant a fine literary production overflowing with praise of the monastery and begging all good men to subscribe toward the repairs. Hu Mok agreed to help them and told them to come the next morning and the letter would be ready for them. When morning came he told them that he had a better scheme and asked how much ready money they had. It was only 20,000 cash, a mere bagatelle. He told them to take it all and buy hemp and bring it to him. They obeyed, though with some hesitation. With the great pile of hemp he told them to make [page 260] an enormous rope or cable as large as a man's thigh. They did so. He then led them up a mountain till they came to a great isolated boulder that stood poised on the edge of a precipice. He put the rope around this and told the 400 monks to pull with all their might. Slowly the great stone came up on end and was securely propped. Hu Mok was either crazy or inspired, surely. But when he pointed to the bed where the rock had lain and discovered to them an enormous hidden treasure of silver they concluded that it was inspiration rather than dementia and forthwith carried the silver home. It was treasure concealed long centuries before by the inmates of a monastery that had stood over the spot where the stone lay. They never asked him how he knew but they took the silver and put their monastery into fine shape. Their benefactor refused to take a single ounce of the silver and finally left for Seoul with only enough money to pay his way. He rose to the highest eminence and the Koreans believe the tale that is told, that all the emoluments of office which he received amounted in the end to the exact sum which he had given the monastery which is supposed to illustrate the justice of heaven. All the same Hu Mok died in prison at the hands of his great rival Song Si-ryul

Editorial Comment.

The month of June is filled with events of importance which demand more than a passing comment but with our limited space we cannot hope to deal with them adequately. We have given the year's budget in detail. You can judge of a man's life by the entries in his cash account. The same is true of a country. In examining this budget one is astonished at the proportion of the money that is eaten up in salaries. Take the Mining Bureau for instance. Out of \$10,453 not one cent is expended for any useful end unless it be hidden under the paltry item [page 261] of \$744 which is denominated, and probably with truth, miscellaneous. The Bureau of Decorations spent \$11,000 out of \$19,000 on salaries. The Ceremonial Bureau used up \$19,000 on salaries and office expenses out of a total of \$21,508.

The matter of concessions to Japanese has assumed large proportions. It is too complicated and important a phase of the present situation to discuss in a few words. We shall take it up later and attempt a dispassionate review of the whole situation. Meanwhile we remember that Japan has guaranteed the independence and safety of the Korean people. We have no doubt that ultimately this large consideration will dominate the situation and that an adumbration of it because of the redundant energy and thrift of individual Japanese will be done away. We note with satisfaction that members of the Japanese Diet, who have nothing personally at stake, applaud the attitude of the Foreign Minister in his opposition to sweeping concessions.

[Complete national budget covering 10 pages]

NEWS REPORT

Kim To-il who was formerly a Russian interpreter in Seoul has been in hiding, so the Japanese press asserts, in the home of a foreigner in the city, but because of a quarrel with his host he was turned out and has been arrested by the order of the Mayor.

[page 272] The Japanese paper states that the Foreign Office has asked that the interests of Korean subjects in Tientsin and other Chinese ports be put in the hands of the Japanese Consuls, just as Chinese interests in Seoul were put in the hands of the English at the time of the China Japan War of 1894.

Because of petty thieving of railroad ties on the part of Koreans near the river, the Mayor of Seoul, at the request of the Japanese Consul-general has posted a notice stating that anyone detected in such a felony will be severely handled.

The money specially issued for use by the Japanese army passes current among the Chinese at An-tong but suffers a discount of ten percent.

A Japanese ship-building company at Fusan has asked for a piece of land on the foreshore about two miles up the bay from the settlement in order to carry out its project.

Three Koreans charged with having supplied information of Japanese movements to the Russians were seized in the north and sent to Seoul. Investigation showed that their offense was not of a very serious nature and they were let off with a gentle reminder in the shape of eighty blows on the back with the whechari.

The monks of the Won-heung Monastery outside the East Gate were so rash as to state that the burning of the palace was due to the anger of Buddha. They evidently thought that they could work upon the fears of those in high station and thus secure to themselves substantial results, but they reckoned without their host for the result is that the whole monastery has been ordered to remove far from the city, which will deprive it of what few advantages it has heretofore enjoyed.

Two Japanese counterfeiters of the new Dai Ichi-Ginko notes have been arrested. Some Yen 1,494 of their spurious notes have been discovered.

There is prospect of great suffering in the north from three causes combined (1) The poorness of the last years crops, (2) the depredations of soldiers and the interference with agricultural pursuits. (3) the serious lack of rain.

The budget for the current year has at last been published and reads as follows :

Total Revenue 14,214,573.00 Expenditure 14,214,298.00 Surplus 275.00

The Home Minister, Yi Yong-t'a, sent in a list of names of candidates for prefectural positions but Cho Pyung-sik the Vice Prime Minister whose duty it was to examine and pass the names refused to recommend them to His Majesty on the ground that many of the candidates were practically unknown men and there was strong suspicion that they had paid for the office. Therefore Yi Yong-t'a, Hyon Yongun and others secured the forced resignation of Cho Pyung-sik. Sim Sang-hun was put in the place vacated but he took the same ground that Cho Pyung-sik had taken and refused to pass the names. An [page 272a.] attempt was made to overcome his scruples by putting the name of his brother-in-law in the list but this had the opposite effect and only fourteen names out of thirty-two were passed. Nothing is more necessary at the present than the choice of thoroughly straight and competent men as country prefects.

On June 4th a telegram from Wonsan said that Russians at Hamhung demanded 3,700 bundles of straw and that the road north of that town be repaired. Twenty Russian cavalry entered the town on the morning of May 30 and forty more arrived the same afternoon. On June 3rd this number was increased by 16 more. Some of them went toward Pyeng-yang and some camped outside the west gate. They demanded of the governor where the manager of the telegraph office was but as no one knew, they seized two post couriers and beat them to make them tell. They did not know. The Russians then burned the telegraph office after looting it.

The authorities intended to dump the garbage of the city just outside the East Gate in some fields, but the Superintendent of the Imperial Treasury objected on the ground that from these and the adjoining fields came vegetables for the palace and at the same time the Electric Company put in a protest on the ground that it would be a nuisance.

The Secretary of the Korean Legation at Paris started on his return to Korea on June 2nd on account of illness.

The Home Department has received notice that three Japanese entered the town of Ch'ang-sang in Pyeng-an Province and killed a Korean named Kim, and one of the latter's relatives and wounded another so that his life is despaired of.

The prefect of No-song, in the south, is in serious trouble. He forcibly stopped a wedding procession, caused the groom to be thrown from his horse, the bride's chair to be broken and the bride herself arrested. It was the result of a feud. This, in Korea, is a very serious offence.

The prefect of Yon-gi, beyond Su-won, arrested several of the lawless Koreans working on the Seoul-Fusan Railway and locked them up. A hundred or more of their fellows came and broke open the jail and freed them, smashed the house of the prefect and beat the ajuns. The prefect went in person to the governor at Kong-ju and asked for military support against the ruffians.

A man named Kim stole a nine year old girl in Kyo-dong and sold her to a Chinaman in Ku-ri-ga for 80,000 cash, \$32. The girl's parents sought for her everywhere and at last her mother caught sight of her. The girl ran crying to her mother but the Chinaman came and caught her and said he had bought her. Policemen were called but the Chinaman refused to let her go. At last the Chief of Police came in person and after paying the amount that the Chinaman had given secured the child and returned her to her parents. The man Kim was arrested and will be given an opportunity to make it right with the law by walking in the chain-gang a few years.

[page 272b] Yun Tuk-yung has been appointed Judge of the Supreme Court.

Pak Seung-bong has been appointed Chief of the new Industrial and Commercial School.

Yi Heui-min the prefect of Yung-wun was convicted of extreme extortion and cashiered.

The Japanese press in Seoul states that among the spectators of the battle at the Yalu there were three Englishmen, two Americans, two Frenchmen, one Italian, two Germans, two Austrians and one Swiss.

It is stated that about the end of May the indemnity demanded by the French from the Korean Government because of trouble between the Roman Catholic and the non-Catholic residents of Quelpart in 1901 has just been paid out of the revenues of that island. It amounted to Yen 6315.21.

About the end of May the government at last acceded to the request of Japan that fishing privileges along the entire coast of Korea be granted to Japanese for a term of twenty-five years.

Kwak Chong-sok, the famous scholar who visited Seoul a year or two ago, has sent in a very strong memorial against Yi Chi-yong, charging him with unfaithfulness to the interests of the country in several serious particulars.

It is said that the end of May saw the town of Ham-heung almost deserted. All valuables had been carried away or buried or otherwise carefully secreted, the women had all gone except those of the slave class, and all the ordinary activities of the town were suspended. The ordinary population of the place is about 13,000.

Sim Sang-hun was appointed vice Prime Minister in place of Cho Pyung-sik, resigned.

The government has agreed to pay the sum of Yen 18,624, as indemnity for the Japanese shop partially wrecked by Koreans at the electric road accident last Autumn. The total actual loss could not have exceeded yen 2,000.

Because of great and increasing dilatoriness on the part of Korean officials in putting in their appearance at their respective offices at ten o'clock in the morning, and the consequent congestion of public business, the rule has been promulgated that each time an official is more than fifteen minutes late, without good excuse, he shall pay a fine of ten cents and if he is absent a whole day, he shall lose a month's salary. That clause about "good excuse" will cover a multitude of sins.

The people of Sun-ch'on, near Wiju, have secured a good reputation among the Japanese. They have shown themselves so ready to be of service that the Japanese authorities have sent Yen 300 to the prefect to be distributed among the people.

It is stated that the expense of burying Mr. Hong, the Secretary of the Korean Legation in Berlin, who committed suicide, is greater than the cost of bringing the body back to Korea for interment. It has therefore been shipped from Hamburg and will arrive soon.

[page 272c] The Japanese are working up a company for the encouragement of cotton culture in Korea for the purpose of supplying raw material to the mills at Osaka.

In spite of the repeated orders of the Government, Yi Pom-jin the Minister to St. Petersburg declines to come back to Korea. His strong pro-Russian tendencies are said to have caused him to feel some hesitation about returning to Seoul at the present time. No steps have been taken against him by the government because of his apparent ignoring of its demands. There are some who shrewdly suspect that his return has never been seriously desired by the powers that be.

The terms of the recent Fisheries Convention between Korea and Japan are briefly as follows;

(1) Japanese fishermen shall be allowed to fish anywhere off the coast of Pyong-an, Whang-ha and Ch'ung-ch'ong Provinces, and Korean fishermen shall have the right to fish off the Japanese coast in certain localities (specified).

(2) This agreement shall be in force for twenty years beginning June 1st 1904.

(3) The particulars shall be the same as those found in former fisheries conventions between the two contracting parties .

On June 10th Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese Minister in Seoul, left for Japan. It is generally understood that he went to consult with the authorities about the policy' to be adopted in the peninsula and it is rumored that upon his return a definite and positive plan will be put in operation.

The houses of Seoul are to be divided into districts of 100 and a cart is to be provided for each district to attend to the matter of carrying garbage and refuse.

A month ago an order was promulgated forbidding people to ride in sumptuous silk upholstered chairs. A few days ago a woman's chair was stopped by police on the street, the woman was compelled to get into a common

chair and the gaudy one she rode in was smashed to pieces.

Mr. Hong Il-gwan, for many years connected with the Educational Department, has been appointed head of the new Industrial School for which the government has made such a liberal appropriation. If properly carried on, this school ought to prove of great benefit to the Korean people.

The Governor of South Pyung-an Province telegraphed on the 12th inst that 200 Russian cavalry had entered Yung-wun from the east. This was part of the force that has been creating excitement about the vicinity of Ham-heung.

A Korean in Tokyo had planned to start a bank in Korea with Korean and Japanese capital, to encourage the more complete development of agricultural and other industries in Korea. Money will be lent to worthy individuals to engage in such pursuits. It is said that the Korean government will grant a charter and encourage the enterprise.

On the 28th inst the Foreign Minister Yi Ha-yung published in the [page 272d] *Che-kuk Sin-mun* his views upon the requests of the Japanese for industrial privileges in the interior of Korea. He praises the Japanese for their action in opposing Russian aggression and says that Korea has given them every facility for prosecuting the war, but when it comes to making wholesale concessions involving a large fraction of the resources of the country it is going a little too far. He declares that as Foreign Minister he must decline to entertain any suggestions as to Japanese concessions in Korea. This attitude was applauded by many of the visiting gentlemen, members of the diet. Many memorials have been presented urging the government to take a firm stand in this matter.

His Majesty has promulgated an edict of great importance and of sound statesmanship. He says that as men from Seoul are timid about accepting prefectural positions in the north, thus increasing the hardships of the people there, good men living in those remote districts shall be appointed as prefects without the necessity of coming up to Seoul. This would be a grand thing for the people and we wish it might become a general rule for the whole country. A measure of local autonomy would be of immense benefit, for the incumbent having large local interests would be debarred from many forms of indirection to which the ordinary prefect is prone.

Yi Kyong-jik, the prefect of Yong-ch'un, whom the Japanese seized and held because of his alleged assistance of the Russians, has been released at the urgent request of the Foreign Minister, who is so positive of the man's innocence that he offers to shoulder all the responsibility if it should be proved that there is any truth in the allegations.

A bureau has been formed in connection with the Household Department to take charge of the timber concession formerly held by the Russians along the Yalu River.

News from Yongampo shows that there is a large amount of magnificent timber lying at that port, having been cut and floated down the river by the Russians. Out of 150,000 logs, 30,000 belonged to the Russians and the remainder to Chinese. The 30,000 will be used by the Japanese. Some of them have been brought to Chemulpo already. We have not learned yet what the Japanese propose to do by way of payment to the Korean government, in view of the fact that Japan considered that the Russians had secured the property by indirection. If the goods were practically stolen, the original owner would seem to have some claim upon them.

The prefect of Tuk-ch'un, about sixty miles northeast of An-ju, reports that on the third of June Russians, guided by a Korean interpreter named Kim In-su, came to that district and looted a government sacrificial house carrying away 643 bags of rice, \$12,040 in money, sixty seven bulls, fifteen hordes and donkeys and 140 bolts of linen and cotton. They carried away 178 men as forced carriers. Japanese came and chased the Russians away and caught the interpreter and shot him.

On the seventeenth of June the Japanese authorities made a very important and even startling suggestion to the Foreign Office, namely that all uncultivated land in Korea be opened for Japanese cultivation. [page 272e] As such land probably comprises one third of the arable land of the peninsula the wide scope of this suggestion will at once be apparent. The question will at once arise as to how the hundreds of thousands of Japanese, thus accommodated, will be governed and controlled. They will evidently not consent to be governed by the Korean authorities, as foreigners are in Japan; and the thousands of Japanese civil officials that would be necessary for the government would form a curious imperium in imperio which we confess we do not consider feasible under present conditions.

Up to the time of going to press the championship tennis tournament between Seoul and Chemulpo has not been concluded. Each has won two contests. Chemulpo has lost two good men in the persons of Messrs. Wallace and Fox, and Seoul has to forego the help of Messrs. Chalmers and Gillett. So the contest bids fair to be a very even one.

The prefect of Wiju says that in all the border towns the Tonghak have arisen and number in each district from 3,000 to 10,000 men.

Over 200 houses in Pyeng-yang are being pulled down to make room for the station of the Seoul-Wiju Railway.

A Japanese drank copiously at a Korean wine shop but declined to settle the bill. The old woman who kept the shop followed him to a side street outside the South Gate where he turned on her and gave her an ugly wound with a knife. The Korean police arrested the man and carried him to the Japanese Consulate.

The Privy Council and the Cabinet have been flooded with petitions from influential citizens urging that consent be not given to the requests for exclusive and sweeping concessions to the Japanese.

The steamship Manchuria arrived at Chemulpo on the 23rd inst. with a number of members of the Japanese Diet and a dozen or more war correspondents. We would not dare guess at their destination but if they are "in" at the fall of Port Arthur they will be candidates for sincere congratulations. Hope deferred makes the heart sick but a little of that sort of medicine would soon put the war correspondents on their feet again.

We are highly gratified to learn that a daily newspaper is to be published in Seoul, and under British editorship. We understand the first issue will appear about July 1st. We wish this venture every possible success. We would urge every foreigner in Korea to remember that such a paper needs and should receive unanimous support.

On the 28th inst. a small boy was killed on the electric tramway in Seoul. Two boys were carelessly playing beside the track and as the car passed one of them fell in front of it and was instantly killed. A crowd soon gathered and began stoning the car. Fortunately one of the American employees was near by and the American Marines were soon on the spot and order restored. No blame whatever can be attached to the Electric Company or its employees.

It is with great pleasure we record the fact that J. N. Jordan, the British Minister to Korea, has been presented with the order of Knighthood [page 272f] by King Edward VII and he is now a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

At the request of the Police Bureau the Home Department has drawn upon the national treasury for \$40,000 for the repair of the streets and sewers of the capital.

The Japanese police have arrested several Koreans on suspicion of having engaged in counterfeiting Dai Ichi Ginko notes because they had some such notes in their possession. As it was not proved that they were guilty they were released but were again arrested by the Korean police on the ground that they were knowingly circulating counterfeit money.

The Japanese Minister has informed the Foreign Office that four of the eight Koreans who have been studying military tactics in Japan have been attached to the Japanese forces and sent to Manchuria to learn on the field how troops are handled in actual battle. We shall watch with interest to learn how these Koreans deport themselves in the face of the enemy. We have always held the opinion that Koreans, when properly led, will prove as brave and as efficient as any other peoples.

A Japanese, in Kum-san Ch'ung-ch'ong Province, shot and killed a Korean. We have not learned the particulars.

The Japanese authorities have suggested that the Korean Government sell to Japan the large reserves of rice held in military granaries throughout Korea but the Imperial Treasury Bureau which controls it has replied that this rice has already been sold. This is believed by some to be a mere excuse.

The predominance of Japan in Korea is reflected in the fact that every Japanese language school in Seoul is crowded with students eager to learn that language. There is no doubt that it will prove of greater general utility

than any other foreign language.

We have received from the Chemulpo Branch of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank a revised statement of its financial position as follows :—

Paid up Capital \$10,000,000 Gold Reserve Fund at 2/ 10,000,000 Silver Reserve Fund 6,500,000 Reserve Liability of Proprietors 10,000,000 136,500,000

[page 273] KOREAN HISTORY.

Chapter XVIII.

A great Crisis. . . condition of affairs in Seoul . . . flight of Chinese . . . Ta-won-kun summoned to palace . . . new Cabinet tribulations of Min Yong-jun . . . Commission on Reforms appointed . . . names of Government offices changed . . . list of proposed reforms . . . the currency . . . new coinage revenue reforms. . . a national bank. . . standardization of weights and measures . . . past abuses rectified . . . foreign advisers.

The year 1894 marked the greatest crisis in Korean history since the seventh century, when the kingdom of Silla gained control of the whole peninsula. Considering the fact that so many of the old abuses survived after the year 1894, the above statement may seem extreme but the facts of the case warrant it. From the early years of the Christian era Korea had been moulded by Chinese ideas and had been dominated by her influence. There was no time from the very first when Korea did not consider China her suzerain. In a sense this was natural and right. Korea had received from China an immense number of the products of civilization. Literature, art, science, government, religion— they had all been practically borrowed from China.

Never once during all those centuries did Korea attempt or desire to throw off the garment of her vassalage. And even in this crisis of 1894 it was not thrown off through any wish of the Korean government or people but only through hard necessity. There had been no radical change in the mental attitude of the great mass of Koreans which demanded the severing of the tie which bound them to China and even at this year of grace 1904, there is every reason to believe that a great majority of Koreans would elect to go back under the mild and almost nominal control of China. The change is not one of attitude on the part of the Korean but it is the fact that the war proved to the world the supineness of China [page 274] and made it forever impossible to revive her claim to suzerainty over Korea or even, it is to be feared, to hold together her own unwieldy bulk. The outward influence of China upon Korea has ceased and other influences have been at work which are slowly drawing her away from her servile obedience to Chinese ideals. This was the first necessary step to the final emancipation of Korea and her national regeneration. It should be carefully noted that from the earliest centuries the Chinese implanted in the Korean no genuine seed of civilization and progress but simply unloaded upon her some finished products of her civilization. These the Koreans swallowed whole without question, unmindful of the fact that by far the greater part of them were wholly unsuited to the Korean temperament. The result was that as time went on these Chinese impositions were overlaid with a pure Korean product just as the little leaden Buddhas that are thrust into the shell of the pearl oyster become coated over with mothero' pearl. Buddhism came from China but Korea has so mingled with it her native fetichism and animism that it is something radically different from the original stock.

Now this intrinsic freedom of the Korean from Chinese ideals argued strongly in favor of the belief that from the year 1894 Korea would gradually cast off even the mental vassalage and would begin to work along individual lines. This could happen only in case the individualism of the Korean had outlasted the deadening effects of Chinese predominance. There are many evidences that this individualism has survived but it must be confessed that it is in a crippled condition and all but unable to walk alone. It is to the process and method of this great transformation in Korean conditions that we must now turn.

Up to the time when the Japanese began active operations in Seoul by the seizure of the palace, Korea considered herself safe under the aegis of China. Had she not secured the murder of Kim Ok-kyun and the return of his body on a Chinese vessel for the purpose of wreaking upon it the old time vengeance? Had she not invited Chinese troops into the country in direct contravention of the agreement between China and Japan? In every way and by every means Korea had expressed her contempt of Japanese power and of [page 275] Japanese interests. Under the hideously corrupt regime of such men as Min Yong-jun the country had been going from bad to worse until the people found it utterly impossible to endure the oppression any longer. The provinces were in a state of anarchy and Yuan Shih-kei, the unscrupulous Chinese "Resident" in Seoul, stood smilingly by and watched the tragedy without suggesting any remedy for the disease that was destroying the country, but ready to increase the prestige of China in the peninsula by offering troops with which to crush the starving malcontents in the provinces. The condition of things was about as bad as it could be and it was at this

psychological moment that Japan lifted her hand and at a single blow tumbled the Chinese house of cards about their heads.

By the twenty-first of July the situation in Seoul had become unbearable for the Chinese, There was a small Chinese force at Asan but Seoul was occupied by a strong Japanese force and every day the outbreak of hostilities had become more imminent. On the early morning of the 20th Yuan Shih-kei, in a mean little sedan chair, and entirely without escort, made his escape from the city and hastened to Chemulpo, leaving all his nationals to shift for themselves. His flight became known almost immediately and there was a general scramble on the part of the Chinese merchants and other Chinese to escape from the town. When the Chinese Minister left Seoul their interests were put in the hands of the British representative.

On the morning of the 25th the palace was taken and the city walls manned by the Japanese. Min Yong-jun, who was largely responsible for the parlous condition of the government, fled that night to the country, and found refuge in the town of Ch'un-ch'on about sixty miles east of Seoul.

As soon as the Japanese had secured the palace Minister Otori sought the presence of the king and assured him of his personal safety and that of the Royal family. At the desire of His Majesty the ex-Regent, the Ta-won-kun was invited to the palace to participate in the discussion of plans for the future, and to allay by his presence the natural fear of the king. It was understood by common consent [page 276] that the former officials had all resigned and it was necessary to form a new government. Kim Hong-jip was summoned to act as Prime Minister, He was a man of strong personality and of progressive tendencies, altogether a valuable man for the emergency since he had the entire confidence of the Japanese and was a man of the highest standing in Korea. Other leading men of progressive tendencies were called in and a government was formed for temporary purposes until matters could be put on a firmer footing. Min Yong-jun, Min Eung-sik, Min Hyung sik, Min Ch'i hon, and Kim Segeui were declared banished to distant points. No attempt was made to send and arrest Min Yong-jun but the members of the "Righteous Army" in the country seized him and charged him with being the main author of the disturbances, and beat him nearly to death. An enormous amount of money that he had carried off with him was divided up and made away with by his followers. He barely escaped with his life and fled to China where he gave the Chinese advice as to the method of reasserting their authority in the peninsula.

At this same time the government recalled Yi To-ja, Sin Keui-son, Yun Ung-yul and others who had been in banishment for ten years because of their espousal of the liberal cause in 1884. The prison doors were opened and innocent and guilty alike received amnesty.

The government was not yet ready to publish its full list of reforms, based upon the demands already made by the Japanese Minister, but the king immediately declared that as it was necessary to secure good men to administer the Government in Seoul and in the provinces, the demarcation between the upper and lower classes was a thing of the past and all men of all grades were eligible to office, and at the same time he declared the abolition of the great political parties and forbade the apportionment of government offices along party lines. The different leading offices under the government were put in the hands of the best men that were available and it is probable that these men formed the best government that Korea was capable of at the time. Some of the names were as follows: Kim Hong-jip, Pak Chong-yang, Kim Yun' sik, Kim Chong-han, Cho Heui yiin, Yi Yun-yong, Kim Ka-jin, [page 277] An Kyung-su, Chong Kyong-wun, Pak Chun-yang, Yi Wun-gong, Kim Ha-gu, Kwun Yung-jin, Yu Kil-jun, Kim Ha-yung, Yi Eung-ik, So Sang-jip. Among these names many will be recognized as among the best that Korea has produced in recent times.

On the very next day after the Japanese took the palace and gave a new direction to governmental affairs a special High Commission was called together by the king to consider the matter of reconstructing the government along the new lines. It was composed partly of the members of the Cabinet and partly of other distinguished men. It was well understood that these men were to carry out the ideas of the Japanese authorities. Their deliberations continued for a period of forty-one days during which time they completed a scheme for a new government, along the following lines.

Before this time there had been seven great governmental departments, namely the *Eui-jung-bu* or State Department, *Yi-jo* or Home Department, *Ho-jo* or Finance Department, *Yi-jo* or Ceremonial Department, *Pyung-jo* or War Department, *Hyung-jo* or Law Department, *Kong-jo* or Department of Public Works. Besides these there were the two *Poch'ung* or Police offices, the *Eui-gom-bu* or Supreme Court and other lesser offices. In the new regime the seven Departments above named were all retained excepting the Ceremonial Department and in place of this they founded for the first time in Korean history a genuine Educational Department coordinate in dignity with any other of the great Department.s. Besides this the Department of Public Works was broadened to include Agriculture and Commerce. A Police Bureau was formed to take the place of the former two *Poch'ungs*. They also prepared a list of needed reforms in the government.

(1) From this time all Korean documents shall be dated from the year of the present Dynasty. (This was the 503rd year, as the Dynasty was founded in 1392).

- (2) Korean treaties with China shall be revised and ministers shall be sent to the various treaty powers.
- (3) Class distinctions in Korea shall be wiped out and men shall be judged solely on their merits in the matter of government office.
- [page 278] (4) The distinction between civil and military rank, in favor of the former, shall be done away and they shall stand on an equality.
- (5) The family and relatives of a criminal shall not be liable to arrest or punishment for his crime.
- (6) The son by a concubine shall be eligible for the succession.
- (7) Men shall attain the age of twenty and women the age of sixteen before marriage.
- (8) Widows shall be allowed to remarry without loss of social standing.
- (9) All slaves are declared free and the sale or purchase of human beings is abolished.
- (10) The privilege of memorial is extended to the general public. Anyone shall be at liberty to address the throne through a memorial.
- (11) The long sleeves on coats, whether court dress or common are abolished. But officials shall be authorized to wear the sleeveless coat over the ordinary one. Soldiers' uniforms shall continue as at present for a time but may be changed gradually to the foreign style.
- (12) The people shall be given one month in which to prepare for these changes.
- (13) The Police Bureau shall be an adjunct of the Home Department.
- (14) Officials shall not ride on the streets in the high one-wheeled chair nor shall they be accompanied by a large retinue, nor shall the attendants call out for people to clear the way.
- (15) No one shall be obliged to dismount when passing an official nor to show any other sign of servility.
- (16) The Prime Minister shall have only four attendants, the Vice Prime Minister and all the other ministers of state shall have three, the vice-ministers shall have two and the secretaries one.
- (17) Even eunuchs, if they are men of ability, shall be eligible for office.
- (18) The law that relatives may not sue each other at law shall be abrogated except for very near relatives, and feuds between families shall be given up.
- [page 279] (19) All debts of long standing shall be cancelled (such as debts contracted by a father who is now dead or by relatives).
- (20) There shall be but eleven official grades (in place of the eighteen which there had been formerly).
- (21) There shall be no longer any outcast class in Korea but butchers, contortionists, acrobats, dancing girls, sorceresses and exorcists shall all be considered equal to others before the law.
- (22) Even after holding high office a man may engage in business or other occupation, at his pleasure.
- (23) The matter of the national examination shall be reserved for fuller discussion.

It is not necessary to go into an analysis of these proposed reforms. They speak for themselves; some of them were necessary and others were the reverse. But they form a striking commentary on the condition of affairs in Korea at the time. Whatever may have been the defects of this plan it was an honest and strenuous attempt on the part of the best statesmen Korea could produce and it promised much. If its terms could have been carried out it would have proved an inestimable blessing to the people of the peninsula, but one can easily see that some

of the proposals struck at the very fabric of Korean society. For instance the attempt to make acrobats, dancing-girls and mudang the social equals of reputable people was of course absurd. The submerged classes cannot be enfranchised by a stroke of the pen. What Korea needed then and needs still is education. This alone will make fundamental reforms possible.

Early in August the currency of the country received serious attention. Foreign money was in use in the open ports but the general currency of the country consisted of two kinds of perforated "cash" one called *yup*, each piece of which was called one cash, and the other called *tang-o* or the "five fitter." These represented five cash each. The *yup* was the old, genuine and universally recognized money of the country. It was only in Seoul, the open ports and on the great thoroughfares near Seoul that the *tang-o* circulated. This *tang-o* was a debased coin made in 1883 and several succeeding years. At first each of [page 280] the *tang-o* exchanged for five of the *yup* but within a few months the *tang-o* fell to an inevitable discount which increased year by year from 1883 until 1894, when it was found that they were practically the same. Successive issues of the *yup* had deteriorated the quality and size of the coin until it was worth only a fifth of its face value. For this reason the Government declared in August that the *yup* and the *tang-o* were on a par and that no distinction should be made between them. The fair thing would have been for the Government to redeem the debased *tang-o* at its face value but of course no one could expect this under the circumstances. It had proved an indirect tax upon the people equal to four fifths its face value.

At the same time the national financiers determined to place in the hands of the people a foreign style coinage, and soon a one cent copper piece, a nickel five cent piece and silver coins of twenty cent and one dollar denominations, which had been in process of manufacture since 1901, were issued. A few of them had been issued a year or two before but had not been well received. Now they passed current and were used, but it was soon found that the silver coins were being bought up and hoarded by wealthy people who placed no faith in banks, and soon not a single native silver piece could be found anywhere.

It was the intention of the Commission to withdraw from circulation all the old cash and replace it with the foreign style money. How absurd this was will be seen at a glance. There is nothing else that people are so timid about as their money and the bare idea of making such a sweeping change was preposterous, but the Japanese were behind all these reforms and, while their intentions were of the best, they made the serious mistake in this as in other attempted reforms of hurrying things too fast.

Another important problem attacked by the Reform Commission was that of the revenue. It had always been customary to pay taxes in rice, linen, beans, cotton and a hundred other commodities, but it was decided now to change all this and have the revenue turned into cash in the country and sent up to the capital. In order to do this it was necessary to have banking facilities in the provinces and it was planned [page 281] to establish a great national bank with branches all over the country.

An attempt was also made to effect an inspection and standardization of all the weights and measures in the country.

It was ordered that every house in the land should have its owner's name and occupation and the number of his family posted in a conspicuous place on his front gate. This was to facilitate the work of postal, police and census officials and agents.

One of the reforms that was carried out was the sending of students abroad to acquire an education.

It was decreed that all land or houses that had been illegally seized by unscrupulous people in power during the past ten years should be restored to their rightful owners. Many officials in Seoul, well known in foreign circles, lost large fractions of their wealth because of this decree.

The policy, was adopted of engaging foreign advisers for the various great Departments of State and as a result of this a number of foreigners were employed. Some of them had already been some time in the service of the government.

Chapter XIX.

The Ex-Regent ...The new Cabinet ...the Tonghak pacified... The Ta-wun-kun retires . . . Japan declares war . . . Korea abrogates all treaties with China . . . Pak Yong-hyo returns. . . his memorial . . . he is pardoned ...'Chinese excesses in the north . . . new KoreanJapanese treaty . . . Marquis Saionji visits Seoul . . . Tong-hak in arms again . . . Prince Eui-wha goes to Japan . . . Count Inouye comes . . . amnesty to offenders of 1884 . . . Dr. Jaisohn comes . . . Army reform . . . the privy Council . . . the King's Oath.

The Ta-wun-kun, the former Regent, was now a prominent factor in the government and the well known strength of his personality did much to give stability to the new regime. The Queen necessarily retired from active participation in politics for the time being and there was apparent promise of better days to come. The new cabinet chosen at this time [page 282] was a curious mixture of progressive and conservative men. It was composed of Kim Hong-jip, Kim Yun-sik, O Yunjung, Pak Chong-yang and An Kyong-su representing the

progressive wing and Min Yong-dal, Su Chung-sun, Yi Kyu-wun, Yun Yong-gu and Um Se-yung representing the conservative wing. Among the secondary officials some were progressive and some conservative. This apparent blending of the various factions was a hopeful sign outwardly but it had no real significance. All were appointed by permission of the Japanese and they worked together only because it was useless to oppose. But the same intrinsic hostility remained and only needed opportunity to manifest itself. It was the calm of repression rather than of genuine reconciliation, and it helped to prove that there is no hope for good government in Korea by Koreans until the country has secured the benefit of genuine education.

These reforms that were proposed had the apparent sanction of His Majesty, as is proved by the fact that after their proposal he called all the high officials to the palace and made them a speech in which he referred to this as a splendid opportunity to make a radical and beneficent change in the government, and laid it as a sacred duty upon the officials to carry out the reforms, and he declared that he, too, would become a new king and do his part in bringing about the desired renovation of the land.

In spite of the previous declaration that the tong-hak uprising was at an end there was much unrest especially in the south and the tonghak were really as ready as ever to take the offensive. For this reason the king sent a high official to Kyung sang Province to make an attempt at pacification and told the people that the trouble was because of his own lack of virtue and begged them to be patient a little longer until the reforms could be carried out. The people were pleased, especially with the promise that slavery should be discontinued and that the barriers between the classes should be broken down. The fact that this effort on the part of the king was entirely successful shows that the donghak were not anarchists or banditti but were merely desperate citizens who required some assurance that certain changes would be made so that life would be bearable.

[page 283] A word is necessary as to the attitude of the Ta-wunkun toward these reforms. He had been called to the palace and put in a responsible advisory position by the Japanese but he was not the sort of man to hold an empty honor or to pose as a mere figure-head. Several of the proposed reforms were distasteful to him but when he found that his objections carried no weight he retired to his private house in disgust. It took him only a few weeks to discover that his elevation had been merely a formality.

The month of August was an anxious one in Korea. The battle of Asan had been fought on the 28th and 29th of July and it was known that there would be a decisive battle fought at P'yung Yang in the near future. Foreign opinion was divided as to the probabilities, some people believing that the Japanese would sweep every thing before them and others being equally sure that the Chinese would win.

But in spite of the state of anxiety and unrest the month of August saw some important results accomplished in civil matters. The Commission on Reforms were at work on their scheme until about the tenth of the month. It was on August 1st that Japan formally declared war on China and a few days later troops began to pour in by way of Chemulpo and join those already here.

It was on August 16 that there occurred the formal act of casting off Chinese suzerainty. On that day the Korean government declared all treaties hitherto signed between itself and China to be abrogated and all political connection between the two countries to be at an end. The Japanese Minister had already on June 28th demanded from the government an expression of its attitude toward China and had received the answer that Korea considered herself an independent power. This was now followed up by a definite diplomatic rupture between the two and, probably forever, the question of Chinese political predominance in the peninsula was disposed of.

It was about the 20th of August that Pak Yong-hyo, the refugee in Japan since his participation in the attempted coup of 1884, was brought to Seoul incognito by the Japanese. He had long since been declared an arch-traitor by the Korean government, his house had been razed to the ground and his [page 284] family, dispersed. For almost ten years he had enjoyed asylum in Japan and had been treated with great consideration by the Japanese who rightly saw in him a man of strong personality, settled convictions and a genuine loyalty to the best interests of his native land. His worst enemies would probably grant that he falls below none in his desire to see Korea prosperous and enlightened. It was the methods adopted that made all the trouble and drove him into exile.

At first he remained in hiding in the Japanese quarter but from that point of vantage he sent a long memorial to the King relating the fact of his high ancestry and the fact that it was purely in the interests of Korea that he participated in the émeute of 1884. He had been however, unsuccessful and was branded as a traitor, compelled to fly the country and see his house broken up. Now that the country had fallen upon such critical times and the King had determined to effect a radical change in affairs it was a cause of utmost rejoicing to him and he could not help coming back even though it cost his life. He begged to see the King's face once more, to be allowed to collect and bury the bones of his relatives and be given back his life which had been forfeited. If then the King should wish to use him again he would be at the service of His Majesty.

To this plea the King listened, whether from preference or out of consideration for the Japanese, and replied that the petitioner was forgiven and might resume his former status as a Korean citizen. A number of memorials immediately poured into the palace urging that Pak Yong-hyo be executed as a traitor, but as the

decree of pardon had already gone forth these memorials were ignored.

The fall of P'yung-yang before the victorious Japanese on September 15-17 and the flight of the Chinese inflicted great sufferings upon the Koreans in the north. The Chinese followed their usual medieval tactics and pillaged right and left. The local magistrates and governors fled to places of safety and the people survived the best they could. The government hastened to send a high official to the north to calm the excitement and counteract the disintegrating effects of the Chinese flight. At the same time the perfect orderliness of the Japanese army began to be understood by the [page 285] people, and between these two agencies the northern province speedily settled down to its former status. The city of P'yungyang had been almost deserted by its 60,000 or more of people and it was many months before the town resumed its normal status.

As August drew to an end the Japanese deemed the time ripe for completing the purposed union with Korea and on the 26th there appeared a provisional treaty between the two countries, which was not an offensive and defensive alliance but one in which Japan guaranteed the independence of Korea and Korea engaged to look to Japan for advice and to aid her in every possible way. The nature of this agreement was practically the same as that made between the same countries at the opening of the Japan-Russia War in 1904. In it Japan once more emphasized the independence of Korea which she had consistently championed ever since the Japanese-Korean treaty was signed in 1876.

The month of September opened with the arrival of Marquis Saionji with presents and a friendly message from the Emperor of Japan. The visit was merely a complimentary one and seems to have been devoid of great political significance.

It was evident that Japanese influence was overwhelmingly predominant in Seoul and as the government had committed itself to the policy of selecting advisers for its various departments there was reason to believe that most of these places would be filled by Japanese and that they would so predominate numerically as to seriously impair the autonomy of the government. As foreign powers had concluded treaties with Korea on the basis of equality, this possibility became a matter of concern to them and through their representatives here they protested against the employment of an undue number of assistants from any one nationality. Whether there ever was any such danger as was anticipated we cannot say, but this preventive measure was successful at any rate and the apparent independence of the government was never shaken.

The month of October saw the Chinese driven across the Yalu and order restored in a measure on Korean soil, but it also saw the resurgence of the tonghak in the south. [page 286] These malcontents had been temporarily cowed by the coming of Chinese and Japanese troops but now they seem to have discovered that the Chinese and Japanese were too busy with each other to attend to the civil troubles in the interior of Korea. So they broke out much worse than ever and the principal anxiety of the month in Seoul was the putting down of the serious insurrection. Sin Chung-heui, the highest Korean general, was sent south to Kong-ju with three thousand Korean troops to meet a strong body of Tong-hak who were reported to be marching on Seoul. A few days later there was a series of fights at various points throughout the province, notably at Kong-ju, Ung-jin, U-gum Hill, Yi-in village, Hyo Harbor, So-san and Hong-ju. About two hundred Japanese troops aided the government forces and at every point the government troops were successful. Some of the fights were very severe. It is probable that there were some 20,000 tong-hak in all, but they were a mere rabble compared with the well armed and at least partially drilled government troops. A large number of the tong-hak leaders were captured and brought to Seoul. Many were also executed in the country, for the generals were given the power of life and death for the time being.

Having been thus dispersed the tong-hak moved southward and took their stand at various places in Chulla and southern Ch'ung-ch'ong Provinces. Their main point was the town of No-sung where for eleven days they continued to revile the government and put up placards defying the government troops. The Korean troops moved on them and soon had them on the retreat again. Other encounters took place at various points but by this time the leading spirits in the tong-hak movement had been captured. Among these were Chun Nok-tu and Kim Ku-nam. They were brought to Seoul and the latter was executed and the former is said to have been taken to Japan, but there is some doubt as to his fate. Two tong-hak leaders named Kim Chong-hyun and An Seungwan were beheaded at Su-wun and their heads were raised high on poles and the people told to take warning from them. This put an end to the tong-hak except for some small sporadic movements which amounted to nothing. But the tong-hak, like the poor, we have ever with us, — in posse.

[page 287] Prince Eui-wha was sent to Tokyo to return the visit of Marquis Saionji and present the compliments of the King to the Emperor of Japan.

The Japanese government evidently realized the necessity of having an exceptionally strong representation in Seoul, for Count Inouye arrived on the 20th of October and assumed the duties of minister. He had more than once helped to straighten out matters in Korea and he had the confidence of the king and of the people as well. No better appointment could have been made under the circumstances.

The end of October was signalized by the murder of Kim Hak-u, the vice-Minister of Law, who was

one of the strongest and best men that the reform movement had brought to the front. He was stabbed at night in his house.

The month of November witnessed some progress in the reconstruction of the government. The pardon of Pak Yong-hyo had been the sign for a general amnesty to all those who had forfeited their rights in 1884. Su Cha-p'il, known better as Dr. Philip Jaisohn, who had been many years in America and had become a naturalized citizen of that country, had come back to Korea quietly and was awaiting an opportunity to make himself useful. Su Kwang-bom had also come back from exile in Japan and others who had been kept sedulously in the background because of their liberal tendencies all came forward and received recognition by the king and were put again in line of political preferment. So rapid was the progress of this movement that by the middle of December the king found himself moved to form a new cabinet composed almost entirely of men who had been foremost in the attempt of 1884, as the following list will show. The Ministers were Kim Hong-jip, Yu Kil-jun, Pak Yonghyo, Su Kwang-bom, Cho Heui-yon. Sin Keui-siin, Um Seyung, O Yun-jung. Kim Yun-sik, Pak Chong-yang and Yi Cha-myun. At the same time Dr. Jaisohn was employed as adviser to the Privy Council for a term of ten years.

This era of change also affected the Korean Army. The various regiments in Seoul, numbering five, had heretofore been under wholly independent and separate commands but now they were all placed in the hands of the War Department, their names were changed and many men were dropped [page 288] because of age and younger men were appointed in their places. The tactics that had been taught were given up and the Japanese tactics were introduced instead. .

We have referred to the Privy Council. This was an advisory board or council composed of some forty men whose business it was to take up and discuss all important government matters, and it was supposed to have a sort of veto power. It exercised this power for about three years but lost it when the Independence Club was overthrown. The entire personnel of this Council was progressive and pro-Japanese. There can be no question that the machinery was now all complete whereby Korea could be governed properly. There was no great obstacle in the way. All that was needed was that no serious blunders should be made and that the Japanese should act firmly but wisely. At the same time there was a strong pressure being exerted behind the scenes in the opposite direction and, as we shall see, not without effect. And so the year 1894 came to a close and the new year opened with great promise of better things to come. On the fifth of the new year the king went to the Ancestral Temple and in the most solemn manner took an oath to carry out the reforms already determined upon and partly inaugurated. It is unnecessary to give this oath in full but only to enumerate the principal points. After a long preamble in which the king declares his intention to uphold the government as an independent one he guarantees specifically that —

- (1) All thought of dependence on China shall be put away.
- (2) The line of succession and rank in the Royal Family shall be clearly marked.
- (3) The King shall attend to public business in person and in consultation with his ministers, and the Queen shall not interfere in government matters.
- (4) The affairs of the Royal Household shall be kept quite distinct from the general government.
- (5) The duties of Ministers and other officials shall be clearly defined.
- (6) Taxes shall be regulated by law and additions to them are forbidden.

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Japanese Industrial Projects in Korea.

The request which the Japanese have made for agricultural and other industrial privileges in the interior of Korea opens up a very large and very important question, important both for Japan and for Korea. It will be difficult to find precedents for it in the pages of international law, and recourse can be had only to general principles. It may be said in a general way that every land owes to the world the development of its resources. This is especially true of agricultural resources, for whereas a country might be justified under certain circumstances in delaying the development of its mineral resources on the ground that they are definitely limited and therefore exhaustible such argument cannot be urged in excuse for allowing arable land to lie permanently fallow, for if properly cultivated it forms an inexhaustible resource. By withholding it from use, the country deprives the world of a source of food supply without in any way benefitting herself thereby.

For many centuries Korea has been in the enviable position of having a food supply far larger per capita than any other Oriental country. But on this point a few facts must be given. It is perhaps not generally known that the amount of land under cultivation today in Korea is very much less than fifteen years ago; and this in spite of a constant increase in population. The cause of this is manifold. In the first place the constant increase [page 290] in population has called for a larger and larger supply of building material and fuel. This has accelerated the deforestation of the country and this in turn has caused an enormous waste in the water supply. The rain flows off the hillsides rapidly, causing floods which overwhelm the rice lands with sand and rubble and at the same time denude the slopes of all vegetation, rendering the work of reforestation next to impossible.

In the second place it is estimated by fairly competent Koreans that as a result of tonghak depredations during the past decade 30,000 kyui of land have been abandoned. This represents several million bags of rice deducted from the annual yield. The province of Chul-la has suffered the most from this cause and has come near to surrendering its proud title of "Garden of Korea."

In the third place there has been a gradual deterioration in the thrift and diligence of the people. Whether this has been caused by official indirection does not affect our argument; suffice it to say that the average Korean of today appears to have less incentive to strenuous exertion than formerly. We believe that the causes of this deplorable fact lie largely outside the individual Korean and are easily susceptible of rectification, but of that later.

Now from all these causes combined, of which the first is doubtless the most important, we see that the margin of cultivation in Korea, so far from being on the rise is constantly on the decrease; instead of steadily creeping up the valleys and adding new land to the cultivated area the Koreans are coming back down the valley's and abandoning the less productive areas to mother nature.

Now let us glance at another phase of the question and ask how the Koreans have responded to the live demand for agricultural produce made by Japan, to what extent she has accepted the invitation to exert her latent energies in the supplying of raw material to Japanese manufacturers. The answer is a lamentable one. The Koreans have never grasped the significance of passing events. They have been absolutely blind to their opportunities and so far from leaping to the opportunity they [page 291] have had to be coaxed and wheedled into accepting even the cream of that opportunity. Had the Koreans been possessed of even a fair degree of enterprise we should long since have seen their capitalists joining hands and formulating a hundred reasonable plans for taking this tide of opportunity at the flood. The establishment of cotton manufactories in Japan would have been the signal for putting in ten thousand acres in cotton in the peninsula, and careful and exhaustive experiments with seeds brought from Egypt, America and other successful cotton growing countries. But instead of all this we see the Koreans universally howling because the export of rice and beans has raised the price of food stuffs at home. They sigh for the good old days and hanker for the fleshpots of Egypt.

And yet is there nothing to be said for him? He knows nothing about the interrelationship of supply and demand. He sees no connection between Japanese industrial enterprise and Korean agricultural produce. He sees and knows nothing beyond the hills that bound his vision. He has no faith in any man. He distrusts any medium of exchange that does not represent in itself intrinsic value. Within the limited range of his observation he is ready and quick to take advantage of enlarged opportunity and he is a keen judge of relative values. His whole training goes to prove that combinations of capital are as a rule but traps to catch his money and finally leave him in the lurch. The investment of capital is so precarious that there is no inducement in it unless, as in a lottery, a man has a chance to double his money in a year's time. The trouble lies not in lack of energy nor in innate laziness but in crass ignorance and in suspicion bred of long centuries of indirection. If he could be educated up to his privileges and his mind could be broadened so as to grasp something more than his

immediate environment he would equal the Japanese in every line excepting, perhaps, that of art.

It is necessary to take this brief survey of the status of affairs in Korea in order to understand the drift of these new currents. If the Koreans were wide awake [page 292] and anxious to improve their opportunities, and if the margin of cultivation were steadily, even if slowly, on the rise things would look less dark for the Koreans; but with everything going to the bad, agriculture languishing, the people wholly apathetic and hundreds of thousands of acres of land withdrawn from cultivation, it looks seriously as if Korea were not fulfilling her duty to society in general, and there is some cause for Japan's complaint. If Korea will not cultivate her land herself someone else is sure to do it; but if she refuses she cannot complain if someone else does it for her. Shall we call it The International Law of Eminent Domain? It follows the primal law of the survival of the fittest, whose moral side is expressed in the words—To him who hath (energy to develop resource) shall more (resource) be given, but from him who hath not (such energy) shall be taken even that (resource) which he hath.

On the Japanese side, as well, there are some facts to be noted. Korea is recognized as an independent government by the treaty powers, who have established legations at Seoul. The Japanese government has guaranteed the continuance of that independence. The mere preponderance of Japanese influence in Seoul does not necessarily impair the independence of the Korean government. But the very pertinent question arises whether the attainment by the Japanese of their object in opening the uncultivated areas of Korea to Japanese enterprise will not necessarily put an end even to the nominal independence of the country. There are those who say, and with some reason, that this act on the part of the Japanese is the finger-writing on the wall "Thou hast been weighed in the balance and found wanting," and that it will necessarily be followed by the declaration of a protectorate. There are others who believe that if properly carried out it need not mean the obliteration of Korea as a co-ordinate treaty power. There is very little use in taking any sentimental ground in this matter. The fact that Korea has had an autonomous government for three thousand years, that she supplies Japan with many of her most cherished ideals, that here we have one of the most ancient [page 293] of extant civilizations — none of these things weigh in the balance. Might not the same or similar things be said of India, of Egypt, of Poland, in greater or less degree? And yet all these, for one cause or other forfeited their moral right to autonomous existence. To those who have known Korea intimately and who have identified themselves with her life and growth it seems a pity, and yet their view is circumscribed by personal considerations. They must take the larger broader view and recognize that these sentimental considerations must give way before larger interests. Who knows but that under the changed conditions the lot of the Korean people as individuals might be much better than it is now?

Now let us inquire what things are included in this new policy of colonization in Korea. To bring their margin of cultivation up to the point that it has reached in Japan or in China would require the labor of at least a half million of laborers. It is more than likely that from the very first the Japanese would employ Korean labor to a considerable extent in carrying out the work, especially during the time that will be required in "breaking" the virgin soil and in making the embankments for rice fields. There can be no reasonable doubt that all this will give a great impetus to Korean labor. And, moreover, the improved methods which the Japanese will introduce will be object lessons to the Koreans and we may confidently expect to see a new impetus given to the native agriculture and a consequent increase of production. But this considerable influx of Japanese population will also create a lively demand for numberless other commodities which the Koreans produce, such as paper, hemp, oils, beef, and other non-agricultural products. The stimulus will be felt in every direction and there is reason to believe that a healthful emulation will be aroused which will do much to counteract the slovenly habits of the Koreans.

In spite of many objections which may be urged we are able to imagine a state of things which would do Korea an immense amount of good. It must be remembered that a settled farming class of Japanese would be far different from the coolies who engaged in work upon the [page 294] railroads here. The latter have nothing in common with the Koreans among whom they work, and exasperate them to the last degree by their harshness, and the Koreans have no place to appeal against the rough treatment which they receive; but in an agricultural community all this would be changed and as a rule the Japanese and Korean farmers would live at peace with each other. This depends, of course, upon the method by which the Japanese colonists will be governed. And here we come to the crux of the situation.

It cannot be expected that the Japanese will submit to native Korean government. Under present administrative conditions this would be impossible. There would have to be some sort of consular jurisdiction which would work in conjunction, and in harmony, with the country prefectural governments, and the Japanese should give the Koreans clearly to understand that they had a perfect right to cite any Japanese subject before a joint prefectural court to right any grievance which they may have, and the Japanese settlers should be clearly instructed that before the law the Korean has precisely the same rights that the Japanese has. If this were done and the Koreans were shown that this colonization did not mean an opportunity for Japanese to maltreat the natives with impunity, all would go well.

One of the greatest sources of difficulty will be the regulation of the water supply. The growth of rice

depends entirely upon this supply and as the fallow lands lie, as a rule, further up the valleys than the cultivated lands there will be many nice questions to be decided as to water rights. It would be a monstrous wrong if the colonists should divert the present water supply away from the fields already under cultivation by Koreans and yet this will be the constant temptation, especially in times of drought. But there need be no trouble on this score if the Japanese are made to find or make supplementary sources of water supply which will make it unnecessary to encroach upon the Koreans. This is the most discouraging point in the whole discussion but of its absolute necessity there can be no doubt, or at least [page 295] there will be no doubt as soon as the Koreans see their water supply diverted to the fields of Japanese. They will fight to the death before they will submit to such injustice. It is very customary for the foreigner to judge of the Korean by what he sees of him in Seoul but it must be remembered that the supineness of the average yangban and the plasticity of the average official give no indication of the temper of the common man, the hard working farmer. He is capable of becoming distinctly dangerous, and while he would in time be put down by force of arms he could keep the colonizing work of the Japanese in continual chaos for the next fifty years. If he is grievously wronged this will be the result; if he is treated fairly all may go well. With a fair-minded Japanese agent working in conjunction with each prefect in whose district there are Japanese colonists, and a guarantee of equality of rights before the law, it is probable that in most places all would move along quietly. The question is whether the Japanese government has at its disposal the requisite number of men of the necessary judicial quality to carry on this delicate work. Unfortunately the class of Japanese with whom the Koreans have come in contact in the interior have led the natives to the conclusion that their rights will receive scant recognition. This at the very start is a heavy handicap to the Japanese, must be overcome before the Japanese and Koreans will be able to live side by side in peace.

Whether the Koreans could offer serious opposition to the success of this colonization project will be seen from the following considerations. In most manufacturing industries the plant is all in one place and susceptible of careful guardianship, but the farmers' fields stretch out over a large area, the population is relatively sparse and a determined enemy outnumbering the Japanese ten to one could commit nightly acts of depredation that would ruin his prospects and drive him from the soil. It would take an army of police in every prefecture to make the colonist safe. Who does not know that a standing crop is the most easily ruined of any form of wealth? His very field of grain will be the Japanese [page 296] colonist's hostage and guarantee of good behavior.

We believe that if this project is put in operation it will have to be done very gradually indeed. If it is hurried the natural and violent prejudices of the Koreans will drive them to instant reprisals and violent methods will have to be adopted. This in the nature of things will intensify the prejudice and will veto any lasting results. But, on the other hand, if the Japanese should select a dozen prefectures or so, place a thoroughly honest and judicious agent in each who will assure the Koreans of protection against wrong, let him have the power to veto illegal taxation of the Koreans themselves and be a check upon the prefectural ajuns, and in a few years we would find the people of every prefecture in the country begging that such an agent be placed in their districts as well. It would prove an object-lesson in government as well as in agriculture. The people would get a taste of fair government, they would feel the incentive that comes from added self-respect and from the feeling of security in the possession of their hard-earned wealth; and the day would not be far distant when the Japanese government would find itself able to hand back the keys of government to the Koreans, confident of their ability to profit by the lessons that they had learned. This might take ten years or twenty. We doubt if it would take more.

Since writing the above we see, from the daily paper in Seoul, that the Japanese authorities who made the request for the use of the fallow lands intend that by far the greater part of the labor is to be done by Koreans, but under the direction of Japanese, and it is distinctly denied that this is a scheme for colonization. This we consider to be a very happy augury though whether this proviso is caused by the commotion which was raised by the original proposition or whether such was the original intention it is hard to say. There can be only one voice in regard to the proposal to open up the untilled land of the peninsula. It must prove a great benefit to the country. If the work is done at Japanese expense of course the Japanese will claim the usufruct of the land and of course [page 297] the difficulties in regard to water supply will be the same as if the Japanese settlers came in force; but the absence of any large Japanese farming class will make the solution of all other difficulties comparatively easy. There is one matter that should receive careful attention. The Korean government obtains almost all its revenue from the land tax, and the Japanese should be made to understand that this new land will properly be subject to precisely the same taxation as other land. This is all the more reasonable when we note that the use of the land will be free to the Japanese so far as rent or lease is concerned. There is no reason however why it should be tax-free as well as rent-free. If the land does not pay taxes the Japanese will simply be taking the land without giving any thing at all as exchange. This is the least the Korean government ought to expect in compensation for this valuable concession. There are those who will claim that this concession is much like that of the Russians on the Yalu, but to our mind there is a distinct difference. That meant simply the

cutting off of the valuable timber which has a large and immediate market value highly in excess of the labor required to market it and which cannot be replaced when once cut, while the other is an attempt to work up a new and permanent source of wealth which will afford a perennial income. One adds to the assets of the country. The other subtracts from them. But, as we have said, there are grave difficulties to be overcome and obstacles to be surmounted before the scheme can be carried to a conclusion. There should be a campaign of education not only among the Koreans of the common class but among the Japanese of the same class as well. If the Koreans must be taught that peaceful enterprise of the Japanese in Korea cannot hurt them, the Japanese must also be taught that the Koreans have exactly as good a right to personal protection and immunity from petty assault as the Japanese themselves, and there are some who think the lower ranks of the Japanese will take a lot of teaching along this line. We can clearly foresee that if they are not so taught, there will be trouble.

[page 298] Meum et Tuum.

Two gentlemen sat in a room in Seoul discussing a rather delicate matter. One was Mr. Yo, or, by interpretation, Mr. Law, and the other was Mr. Yu which means, of course, Mr. Willow. Their relationship was not an unusual one. Mr. Law was a blue-blooded yangban, the blueness of his blood being increased, it may be, by the fact that in spite of his fine house he had so little money that he could not buy enough food to supply red corpuscles to his vital fluid. For this reason he had been driven to taking in boarders, that is he had let a corner of his house to Mr. Willow for a consideration. This Mr. Willow seemed always supplied with money but he was silent as to the source from whence he obtained it.

They were now seated in the tenant's *sarang* and Mr. Willow was urging his landlord to strike for the position of prefect in the country. Mr. Law agreed to the suggestion in the abstract but objected that he had not a single cash wherewith to urge his claims upon the Home Minister who had charge of these administrative plums.

"But don't let a little thing like that stand in your way. How much will it take to give piquancy to your claim?"

"I suppose a hundred thousand would move his heart, but this sum is nowhere in sight."

Mr. Willow unlocked his ponderous *pandaje* and counted out the necessary sum.

"Take this and secure an appointment. I cannot see such talent as yours wasted in merely playing chess with me as you do every day."

Who ever heard of a Korean yangban accepting a loan! But Mr. Willow insisted and Mr. Law succumbed to the tempter. The next day he had his commission in hand but [page 299] "I can't go without a secretary, and I know no one to ask to accompany to me." Mr. Willow smiled.

"Perhaps I would do."

"You!" exclaimed the prefect-elect in an embarrassed tone. "I have known you only a few weeks, and it would be — well, anything but conventional."

"But there are considerations that sometimes compensate for such irregularities," said Mr. Willow glancing significantly toward the chest from which the money had been provided. Mr. Law saw the force of the argument and with a show of cordiality offered his tenant the position.

A week later the prefect in his two-man chair and his secretary on a donkey rode up in state to the prefectural buildings in the little fourth class district to which they had been accredited, and Mr. Law took over the keys of office.

For a time all went well, but Mr. Law thought more of chess and his pipe than he did of administering the government of his district and gradually he fell in arrears in his accounts with the central government. The revenue due to be paid in Seoul had a way of finding its way into his private purse and thence by various avenues into the hands of the shop-keepers, wine-merchants and other purveyors to his magisterial comfort. The official communications from Seoul began to take on a critical tone and one fine day Mr. Law was dismayed to learn that another prefect had been appointed in his place and ten days of grace was all that lay between himself and open disgrace.

During the year that had elapsed one of the ajuns or prefectural clerks had been taking advantage of his manifest opportunities and had extorted enormous sums from the people and filled his store-house with valuable goods. At this painful juncture Mr. Willow, his confidential secretary, stood in the breach and by a plan, all his own, extricated his patron from his painful position. It was late one night when Mr. Willow pushed back the chess pieces and said :

"There is only one way out of the woods, Mr. Law, [page 300] and I fear you will have to take that way however much it may shock your ideas of propriety. Come with me. I have something to show you." The bewildered prefect followed his guide and soon they brought up in the rear of the afore-mentioned ajun's well-filled store-house. To the prefect's horror Mr. Willow proceeded to make a hole in the wall, and he worked with such evident experience and to such good purpose that Mr. Law soon saw the explanation of Willow's ready

money. The hole was now large enough to admit the body of a man, and Mr. Willow, brushing the dust from his hands, bade the prefect enter, which he did on all fours, thinking perhaps that he would simply feast his eyes upon the ajun's wealth and then retire.

The first thing their eyes rested on was a generous jar of wine, which Mr. Willow proceeded to sample. It was of prime quality, and before long the prefect had forgotten everything and between bowls was humming to himself a ditty whose free interpretation would have been "We won't go home till morning." Nor did he, as the sequel shows. About two o'clock Mr. Willow left him in a drunken stupor on the floor and climbing to the roof lay down and began making curious noises which soon brought the occupants of the house to their feet. They investigated and found the doughty prefect in sweet slumber beside the half empty jar of wine. There was no hesitation as to the method of his disposal. A great leather bag was brought, the unconscious prefect was tumbled in, and ten minutes later the bag and its queer contents were tied to a huge tree that grew in the prefect's yard. The morrow would show what it would show.

Soon all was still again, the graceful Willow glided off the roof and showed by his actions that the night's work was not completed. He glided around the ajun's house till he came to the room where the bed-ridden and speechless grandmother of the latter reposed. By arts known to the brotherhood he soon had the door open and in almost as little time as it takes to tell he had the aged person on his back and was speeding toward the big tree.

[page 301] The transfer took but a moment and after the prefect had been taken to the well and treated to a few buckets of cold water, externally, night reigned once more undisturbed.

The early morning beheld an unusual stir in the town. The ajun was busy calling the people out to witness the sight of a life-time. In his excitement his *mangun* was loosened and his hair flew about his face. Followed by an excited crowd he came into the courtyard of the prefect's house. Big and little, old and young, came crowding after him with mouth agape.

"There," cried the ajun, striking a tragic attitude and pointing toward the bag, "I have caught the thief and I will have him paddled to a pulp, even if he is the *prefect*."

What? could it be that the prefect was in that bag? The crowd stood transfixed. With trembling hands the ajun tore open the mouth of the bag and, spurning it with his foot, rolled it over and over. Out came the venerable form of his grandmother, while at the same moment the prefect, dressed in his most imposing uniform, and showing no signs of the night's entertainment except a certain suffusion of the eye, stepped out and inquired what the disturbance was all about.

The crowd stood open-mouthed and the horrified ajun was transfixed with amazement at the sight of his honored grandmother whereas he had expected to unmask the prefect.

The latter loudly ordered the yard cleared and then calling in the ajun smoothly informed him that justice could be compounded for by the payment of five million cash or \$2,000. What was there to do? The whole village were witnesses of his undoing and the ajun meekly paid the fine and made his way homeward with his grandmother on his back. The prefect and his secretary packed up and left forthwith. All of this goes to prove that knavery may prove the antidote to knavery, for the ajun had amassed his fortune by means as questionable as those by which he was relieved of it.

[page 302] The Russo-Japanese War.

The past month has seen little of importance in Russian operations in Korea. It is still as difficult as ever to guess what possible use this worrying of the Koreans can be to the Russian cause in general. It is not done on a large enough scale to detach any of the Japanese forces from direct operations in Manchuria but it is difficult to believe that there is no definite plan behind it. We shall have to wait developments before we can see what they are really up to.

The only incident of any particular importance has been the wanton bombardment of the treaty port of Wonsan and this was important only because of the inconvenience it caused the people living there. It had no influence whatever on the war itself but it illustrated, as perhaps no other incident has done so clearly, the Russian disregard for the courtesies of civilized warfare. We give an account of the affair from the standpoint of a foreign eye-witness.

About five o'clock on the morning of June 30th seven Russian torpedo-boats entered the harbor of Wonsan. Five of them stopped some distance out but two came near the customs schooner, a boat was lowered and some Russian officers boarded her. Mr. Thorson of the customs customarily sleeps or board the schooner, and he was closely questioned by the Russians. They insisted on being shown the location of the Japanese consulate, barracks and telegraph office, but Mr. Thorson was not there for the purpose of supplying the Russians with information and all they learned was the rather unsatisfactory information that these buildings were not in sight. He willingly pointed out, however, the foreigners' residences and the Chinese quarter. The

Russians apparently intended to spare these portions of the town if they found it convenient.

Of course the Japanese residents were immediately aware of the situation although the Russians took no [page 303] pains to inform them or warn them of danger, and hasty preparations were made throughout the Japanese settlement for immediate removal, but the people had no idea that the ball would open without giving non-combatants time to remove to a place of safety. When, therefore, the Russians began to shell the place an hour after their arrival it took the people unawares, and naturally a panic ensued. Women and children cannot be expected to stand quietly and be shot at. The streets were immediately filled with a struggling, panting, screaming crowd of men women and children some trying to carry a bundle of their valuables and others throwing everything aside in the mad rush to get out of range of those terrible missiles. Our informant lived on the hill facing the bund and coming out on his verandah he saw the pitiful sight in the streets below. He heard the shell whizzing through the air and one of them fell just outside his gate. It failed to explode and he went out and secured it, finding it be a four pound shell. He then hurried away to the houses of some other foreigners to learn if any damage had been done, for the Russians were firing wildly and without any regard to the position of foreigners' houses. In about half an hour there was a cessation of the firing, but the respite was only a short one. The Russians opened up again but this time at a large Japanese schooner that was entering the harbor with a full cargo. They set fire to her and she burned all that day and the following night. A newspaper man who was in the town told him that he had counted 276 shots in all.

Some of the shells went over the town and struck in the valley two or three miles back. Several struck near the house of Pastor Fenwick and at other points in the environs of Wonsan. It seemed as if the Russians were trying to find the Japanese barracks but did not know where to aim. Strange to say, with all this firing no one was killed or even wounded. Besides the schooner which was burned a small Japanese steam launch was sunk. Many shots were fired into the warehouses along the shore but very little damage was done. The foreigners in [page 304] their exposed position on the hill had no time to get away and so remained perforce and watched the novel scene. They all felt very much outraged that a Russian fleet should come in and bombard an unfortified port without giving the least notice of their intentions.

From their outlook on the hill they watched the torpedo-boats go out and join the Russia, Gramoim, Rurik and a collier which came up from behind an island. All sailed off southward at about eleven o'clock. The people in Won-san think that they have a right to expect a periodical visit from this fleet until such time as it falls in with the Japanese squadron, after which they fear no more trouble.

It is unnecessary to comment on this wanton violation of international usage. To scare women and children out of their wits and send them in a wild and breathless chase out of a peaceful settlement does not appeal to our ideas of chivalrous warfare. It can do nothing to cripple the enemy's fighting force, and can only invite reprisals. We doubt very much, however, whether even this wanton cruelty would so exasperate the Japanese as to make them forget the ordinary decencies of modern warfare. It is no credit to the Russians that scores of these innocent women and children were not killed. It merely emphasises the bad marksmanship of the Russians. We shall be surprised if a strong protest is not made by those foreign Powers whose subjects were imperilled by this wanton exhibition of brutality.

The life of a Korean official in northeastern Korea must be anything but pleasant. He has to sit and see his people plundered without being able to lift a hand in opposition. He even has to act as an instrument of the Russians in collecting plunder for them. He cannot help him, and yet he knows all the time that every ounce of aid he gives the Russians will add pounds to the punishment that will be meted out to him at Seoul. The Russians built a bridge across the Tuman and occupied Korean territory in the vicinity with some thousands of their troops, according to Korean reports which may exaggerate anywhere from three to ten fold. The rains [page 305] swelled the river and washed away the bridge, we hear, which must have been of the frailest kind. It is said that the Russians were short of clothing and so appropriated Korean men's and women's garments but they soon got so filthy that even the Koreans were disgusted at them.

Odds and Ends.

The Ten Thousand Year Bridge

The great bridge at Ham-heung which the playful Russians partly destroyed a few weeks ago is considered quite a wonder by the Koreans. It is their "Tay Bridge" or "Brooklyn Bridge." It is about half a mile long and crosses the wide sandy bed of a stream that fills its banks only during the rainy season. It is built on wooden pillars and during most of the year it has, like the old time London Bridge, many houses or shops built upon it. These are all taken away however upon the approach of the rainy season. In the hot summer nights many people go out and sleep on the bridge and more than once sudden storms among the mountains have swollen the stream so suddenly that it has been partly swept away before the sleepers were aware of their danger. Its curious name

came from the following incident : A gentleman of Ham-heung had an only son who was the pride of his heart. The lad's name was Man-se ** or "Thousand year," or "generation." The boy was standing on the bridge one day looking down into the water, when he lost his balance fell in and was drowned —the father was inconsolable and the fatality made such an impression on the people that they always spoke of the bridge as the place where Man-se was drowned. So it came to be called the Man-se-kyo or "Ten Thousand Year Bridge." The pillars that uphold the bridge are natural forked timbers sunk in the sand and in the crotches of these lie the cross pieces. The floor of the bridge is made of squared timbers seven inches thick laid [page 306] side by side and tied together with the tough Korean vine called *chik*. The bridge is so little elevated above the ordinary surface of the water that portions of it are washed away almost every year. As its repair devolves upon the Government and the contract nets a handsome profit to the builders the annual fall of this bridge is looked upon as one of the good things of the season by many a thrifty carpenter, and a slight rainy season is looked upon as something of a misfortune.

Editorial Comment.

It has been many years since Seoul has enjoyed so startling a sensation as that which followed upon the Japanese request that the uncultivated lands of Korea be turned over to Japan for exploitation. We do not propose to discuss the ethics of the proposition. The foreign public and the Koreans have so fully made up their minds on that point that it requires no mention, but we may be permitted to examine into some of the causes for the panic which seems to have seized all Korean officialdom in view of the request of the Japanese.

We have before intimated in the *Review* that the Koreans are very interested and very keen observers of the actions of the Japanese and of the Russians in view of the contest now being carried on. They do not have much to say by way of definite opinion but their interests are too greatly at stake for them to be at all apathetic as to the result. As a rule the Korean is glad that Japan is proving victorious in the fight. He is passionately desirous that neither Russian nor Japanese shall have more than advisory power in the peninsula and his leaning toward Japan has been simply because he had weighed the chances so far as he could and had come to the conclusion that the Japanese would be less likely to encroach upon Korean sovereignty than the Russians would be. Ever since 1876 Japan has stood up for the independence of Korea and in spite of minor mistakes [page 307] has given the Korean reason to believe that that independence will be upheld. The treaty of Shimonoseki embodied the idea; the Japanese agreement with Russia clearly stated it; the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance reiterated it; the protocol of last winter between Korea and Japan guaranteed it. It has always been and we believe is now a fixture in Japan's policy anent Korea, The Koreans as a rule believed this and gave the Japanese their tacit sympathy in their fight against Russia. But all the time they have been keenly on the watch to see to what extent Japan would swerve from this policy under stress of circumstances. They did not object to the Japanese armies landing here and traversing the country in pursuit of the Russians. They did not object to the granting of the fisheries concession on the northwest coast, for the Japanese pointed out that this was necessary in order to help feed the armies at work in Manchuria,

But now that the war has passed on across the border the Japanese authorities, without any mention of military necessity, ask the Korean Government to turn over to them the fallow lands of the entire kingdom. The Korean stands aghast at the magnitude of the demand and asks what Japan has done for Korea or what she proposes to do as an equivalent for this concession. He can see nothing that will begin to compensate Korea for the loss of what he believes to be one half the area of his country. The natural suspiciousness of his nature leads him to the instant conclusion that this is a wanton aggression. Now we have pointed out elsewhere that Korea owes it to the Japanese and to the world at large to develop these resources, to put this potential wealth into circulation. The miser is a foe to society in that he keeps money out of circulation. The same is measurably true of any land which persistently allows arable soil to lie fallow. The Japanese have done much for Korea and it is only fair that Korea should do this much for Japan especially since in the doing of it she will benefit herself even more than Japan. So far Japan is well within her rights, but the Korean is [page 308] not educated up to the point where he can recognize that he owes anything to the world at large. Moral obligation weighs very lightly on his conscience. He sees in this move nothing but wanton aggression. Hence the panic.

But the question arises whether it is true that all that Japan wants is that this land be put under cultivation so that Japan may have an enlarged food and raw material supply. If so she would be as well satisfied if the Koreans themselves should develop it as if she should do it herself. The product in food stuffs and raw material would be practically the same. If this were her object the obvious course for her to have pursued would have been to approach the Korean government with a friendly proposition urging that the Koreans be encouraged to undertake the work and offering to aid by finding a part of the necessary capital, which would of course be thoroughly secured. But if the Japanese were convinced beforehand that the Koreans would not carry out this work and that if done it must be done by Japanese, it would have been in place for them to have asked to

be allowed to do it subject to some definite and specified plan which would have indicated clearly the scope of the work and the limitations under which it would be carried out, but instead of this they made a general demand and left the particulars to be worked out later. If Korea should accede to such a demand and grant the concession it would be like contracting for the building of a house and afterwards drawing up the specifications. The fact that the demand was pushed strongly and without waiting to formulate a definite scheme has led some to believe that it was the purpose of the Japanese to secure the concession and then use it as collateral on which to raise another war loan. If so it would have been better to have frankly said so for the demand in the bare form in which it was made was sure to be interpreted by the Koreans as a direct aggression. It was a proposition that needed to be made in the most careful way that human ingenuity could devise. But it may be asked why it was necessary to [page 309] put it in such a way as not to excite the people. If the government should acquiesce and the concession be definitely granted why would not everything move on as smoothly as did the railway or mining or timber concessions? The answer to this question brings us to the kernel of the matter and lies embedded in the very fiber of the Korean character. The Korean is an agriculturist. You may take his mines, his fisheries, his forests and yet not touch him to the quick, but his land is his very flesh and substance and when you tamper with it you flick him on the raw. The soil gives him his food and drink, on it he rears his house and in it he buries his dead. It is the only thing that he will fight for or has ever fought for. He may despise his central government, hate his local magistrate and sneer at the flag, but he loves the soil with a passion which makes up for all other seeming lapses. For this reason we believe that even though the government might grant the concession and the Foreign Office might affix its seal the work itself could never be brought to a successful issue without the acquiescence and good will of the Korean people.

There is reason to believe that the storm of remonstrance with which the people met the demand of the Japanese came as a great surprise to the latter. There had been a failure to gauge the feelings of the Koreans and when the quiet attitude of the disinterested onlooker changed in an hour to fierce invective and clamorous protest it was a revelation to the Japanese. It showed conclusively that the matter had been taken hold of at the wrong end, and it is greatly to the credit of the Japanese that they hastened to clear themselves of the charge of aggression. We understand that the original scheme has been laid on the table but that the Korean government has been asked to formulate a counter-proposal. In other words the Japanese hold, and rightly, to the necessity and propriety of insisting upon the development of these latent resources, and say in effect "If you will not permit us to do it in our way it is 'up to you' to suggest how it shall be done." And it is probable that this point will be carried. The Japanese have offered to lend the [page 310] Korean government Y10,000,000 with which to establish banking facilities throughout the country whereby a beginning may be made and we hope that it will be carried to a successful issue. The trouble has always been in such enterprises that after an enthusiastic beginning the Koreans rapidly lose interest in the undertaking and it comes to nothing. The reason for this is a lack of genuine business ability or perhaps only of business training. The Korean is apt to look askance upon any business enterprise that will not double his money in a year. He prefers great risks and great profits to safe business and small profits. In this the Koreans need to take a lesson from the Chinese. It will be necessary therefore for the Japanese to stand back of the undertaking and hold the Koreans strictly to the work if it is once begun, or else it will end as so many government industrial projects have ended in Korea.

Now that the Japanese authorities have, by their prompt recognition of the insuperable obstacles to the carrying out of the original proposition, shown their continued regard for the integrity of Korean territory the excitement will be completely allayed. The whole difficulty arose from the Koreans' lack of knowledge of the Japanese intentions. Now that it is clear that there will be no arbitrary seizure of land the Koreans will soon be brought to a point where they will recognize the necessity of developing their waste land and bringing the country measurably up to its producing capacity. What counter-proposition the government will make we do not pretend to guess but that some good understanding will be reached we do not doubt.

There appear to us to be two preliminary steps that must be taken before the development of the fallow lands be well begun. The monetary system must be put on a firm basis so that the rapid fluctuation of exchange will not make business a mere lottery, and the administration of the prefectural governments must be purged of many evils which now stand as a bar to the exercise of thrift and energy on the part of the farming classes. The common people who till the land must receive an absolute [page 311] guarantee that they shall be taxed only to some definite and known extent and that they shall be permanently freed from the system of extra and irregular taxation which has prevailed from time immemorial. This is no small undertaking, but until it is done we see no possibility of a successful development of the agricultural resources of the country. Some way must be found whereby the prefects themselves shall voluntarily forego their enormous perquisites or whereby they can be checked in the exercise of these illegal or at least extralegal prerogatives. It has been said that the Koreans have not the energy to develop these waste lands, but give them the absolute assurance that they shall be thoroughly protected in the use of profits which will accrue from such development and it would not be five years before the area under cultivation would be increased from thirty to fifty per cent. In our opinion the Japanese should bend their energies to the solution of these necessary questions and then it will be found that the

others will solve themselves. It would be interesting to know how many foreigners have been approached by Koreans with propositions looking toward the artificial irrigation of large tracts of land. The Koreans themselves are eager for the reclamation of those lands but they want the cooperation of the foreigner, for his connection with it would prevent official squeezes, at least so the Koreans believe. This being so, the Japanese can confidently expect the development of these resources just so soon as they can bring about reforms in the administration of government which will insure to the laborer the enjoyment of the profits of his labor. We believe that such is the intention of the Japanese government and that it will be carried out speedily, and that in spite of the unfortunate misunderstanding that has arisen the Koreans, secure in the possession of their own land, will willingly cooperate with the Japanese in effecting the necessary reforms.

During the past weeks the foreign element in Korea has been led into the expression of very strong sentiments regarding the Japanese demands. We believe these have [page 312] been caused more because of genuine sympathy with the real interests of Japan than out of an unfriendly spirit. It has been felt that she was jeopardizing her own position and widening the gulf between herself and the Korean people, whereas she should be doing everything to bridge it. We believe that the outspoken opposition of foreigners generally has done much to modify the position of the Japanese and to show to them the danger of unnecessarily antagonizing the deep-seated prejudices of the Korean people. We have heretofore expressed the sentiment that Japan has, in some senses, a more difficult job in handling Korea than in whipping the Russians. The latter is a military enterprise for which the Japanese are equipped both by natural aptitude and by diligent training but the former is one that calls for a different and in a sense, higher qualification. The handling of an alien people so sensitive as the Koreans is a task that will require all the patience and tact that has characterized the work of the British in India and perhaps more since Japan claims no such administrative hold upon Korea as Great Britain has upon India. To uphold the independence and integrity of Korea, hold in check the acquisitiveness of a certain class of Japanese with one hand and secure the renovation of the administrative, monetary and industrial systems of Korea with the other is a task which if successfully accomplished will add to Japan's military renown the higher glory of constructive statesmanship and will be the final proof of Japan's claim to enlightenment as distinguished from mere civilization.

News Calendar.

On June 28th a young man named Yi Seung-sol sent a strong memorial to His Majesty arguing against the granting of the concession asked for by the Japanese. This was only one of a dozen or more of the same tenor. The Japanese press has accused them of hating the Japanese but they reply that they do not hate the Japanese but that it is necessary to check the ambition, of the Japanese when it goes so far as to attempt to take away Korean land. A few days later the [page 313] Japanese chargé d'affaires informed the Foreign Office that these constant memorials and the false rumors circulating so wildly in Seoul were a danger to the friendly relations between Korea and Japan, and he urged the Korean authorities to suppress such demonstrations, adding that if the Koreans did not attend to the matter it would be necessary for the Japanese to interfere and make arrests. The War Office communicated with the Foreign Office saying that the government had established a bureau specially for the purpose of opening up fallow lands and that the Japanese demands were therefore unintelligible. It urged that the Japanese demands be returned and that a firm stand be taken against these encroachments upon the sovereignty of Korea.

On the 24th the Police Bureau sent a body of police to Chong-no to prevent any meeting of the people or any public demonstration. All the big shops were shut for the day.

In addition to the \$5000 given by the government to the Whang Sung Sin-mun the Emperor has also given \$4000, and ordered that the paper be not suspended again. It is evident that the paper is in some sense a government mouthpiece, but what effect it will have on the policy of the paper remains to be seen .

Song Su-man and Song In-Sop have been turned over by the Japanese police to the Korean police, though the Koreans have given no guarantee that the men would be punished.

On the 26th the Foreign Office again returned the Japanese demand for land rights, to the Japanese Legation saying that the matter was creating so much disturbance among the people that the government hoped the Japanese Minister would not press the matter.

We understand that the Japanese authorities have asked the Korean government to formulate a counter proposal

anent the development of latent agricultural resources. It is said that Y 10,000,000 have been offered as a loan wherewith to make possible the establishment of a bank which will loan money wherewith to develop the waste lands.

On the 27th the Japanese began throwing additional troops into Seoul. It is said that the number would be six thousand. A modified form of martial law has been established by the Japanese in Seoul in view of the possibility of trouble from the populace.

All the Koreans who have been graduated from schools in foreign countries and have returned to Korea will assemble at the Educational Department on the first of August to receive from the department diplomas recognizing their various attainments.

The Home Department has sent a notice to each district stating that the Japanese demands have been refused and will not be pressed and ordering that if any Japanese have anticipated the granting of the concession by marking out land he must be immediately informed of the status of the matter and stopped.

We understand that the war correspondents who sailed away on the Manchuria, rejoicing that at last they were going to the front, are now back at Kobe having seen nothing of any account. Hard, luck!

[page 314] The Russians made an attack on Wonsan from the sea on June 30th a description of which will be found elsewhere in this issue of the *Review*. The police determined to exterminate the dogs of Seoul on the ground that they ate up so much food and created such a disturbance barking at night, but so many people objected and such an outcry was raised that the scheme was abandoned. For a few days however dog was quoted in the market reports at a greatly reduced figure!

On July 1st the Minister of Education graduated the first class from the Imperial Middle School. The number of graduates was twenty. The course covered mathematics, history, geography, chemistry, physics, political economy and language, completed in the course of four year's study.

Because of the large number of Koreans who have gone to Hawaii the Korean government has determined to establish a consulate there.

On July 2nd a class of twelve was graduated from the Government Medical School. The faculty of this school is made up of Korean and Japanese instructors.

A Korean Colonization company has been organized in Kobe and Osaka for the purpose of taking advantage of opportunities which diplomacy is opening up in the peninsula.

The prefect of Yun-san was attacked by Japanese coolies working on the Seoul-Fusan Railway and was badly injured. The Japanese had demanded forty pairs of straw shoes and the prefect had promised to procure them but as they were not immediately forthcoming some of the Japanese, the worse for wine, entered the prefect's rooms with weapons and maltreated him severely. Two of the culprits were arrested then and sent up to Seoul where they were doubtless handled by the Japanese authorities as they deserved.

Heavy hail fell in the three districts of Tuk-ch'un, Yong-yu and Suk-ch'un in Pyeng-an Province and the young crops were badly damaged,

Yi Chi-yong resigned from the Ministry of Law and Pak Che-sun took his place.

The prefect of Yong-duk in Pyeng an Province reports that Koreans are making very serious complaints against the Japanese fishermen who have lately begun to ply their trade along that coast in accordance with the late agreement. They claim that one Korean has been killed and others severely injured.

The Korean account of the arrest of Song Su-man and Chong Insop is as follows. On the 16th inst. about three o'clock in the afternoon about ten members of the newly founded Po-an society met at the Cotton guild at Chong-no. Many other Koreans were present simply as spectators. Song Su-man was acting as Chairman and was haranguing the crowd, giving what arguments he could against the granting of the Japanese demand for farming and other privileges in Korea. The speaker was not on the street but inside the house, but the audience overflowed into the street to some extent. While the speaking was going on two Japanese policemen arrived on

the scene, one of them being the [page 315] Japanese Chief of Police. They entered the house and quietly said that the Japanese acting Minister would like to see Mr. Song Su-man and have a little conversation with him. Mr. Song replied that he had not the pleasure of knowing the Japanese Chargé and he had nothing to discuss with him and declined to go. Thereupon the Japanese loudly insisted upon his going and seized upon the persons of the two men and prepared to take them away. Korean policemen came on the scene and objected to the arbitrary arrest of Korean subjects without the order or permission of the Korean authorities. No attention was paid to this protest and a move was made to take the arrested men away. This would have been impossible owing to the great excitement of the Korean crowd, had it not been for a number of Japanese civilians who hurried up with drawn revolvers and formed a cordon about the arrested men. The Society immediately appealed to the Government and the Foreign Office. Yi Ha-yung the Foreign Minister sent an agent to the Society to secure an accurate account of the business after which he and the Vice Foreign Minister went to the Japanese Legation and protested against the arrest, but without result, for the two men were held at the Japanese police station. The Korean police authorities ordered a discontinuance of the public meetings of the Society, solely in the interests of peace, though the government and the entire Korean populace are in complete sympathy with the purposes of the society. In spite of this prohibition an enormous crowd gathered on the 20th inst. at the Cotton guild and sent to the Foreign Office asking if the government had taken steps to frustrate the designs of the Japanese upon the sovereignty of the Korean Government, and to secure the release of the two men, The answer was in the affirmative. On the day before this, the 19th, the Japanese Minister invited the Judge of the Supreme Court, Yun Tuk-yung, to a conference, at which the Minister strongly objected to the opposition which the Judge had made to the proposition of the Japanese, and asserted that if he showed such a hostile spirit he could not continue to hold office under the government. The Judge was highly incensed and immediately memorialized the emperor asserting his unworthiness to hold office and asking to be released, but the emperor did not accept his resignation. The Japanese authorities sent to the Foreign Office stating that the meetings at Chongno were composed of evil men who wished to stir up riot and rebellion, and demanding what steps the government was going to take to suppress them. On the 21st a great crowd gathered at the headquarters of the Po-an Society and a long communication was sent to the government urging prompt action in the matter of the Japanese demands. About a hundred Japanese soldiers were present at the meeting but merely as spectators, for no opposition was made nor any attempt to break up the meeting. On this same day Yi Yu-in one of the vice presidents of the society had a talk with the Japanese Minister, and on the next day he met the members of the society and said that he had asked the Minister whether this action on the part of the Japanese was ordered from Tokyo or whether the Japanese [page 316] had merely taken advantage of their military occupation of Korea to press the demand. The Minister had replied that as Korea would not develop the waste lands the Japanese would do so, but he gave no answer to the definite questions of the vice president. But he did promise, so the vice president said, to withdraw the demands provided the society would disband first. To this the members loudly dissented, asserting that it was merely a trick to get them to disband; that when the demands were withdrawn it would be time enough to think of disbanding, for then the object of the society would be effected. Shortly after this some Japanese policemen came to the Society and said that the Japanese Minister would like to confer with some of the leading members. So five men were selected, Pak Chi-hun, Whang Yongsung, etc., to go and see the Minister, but after they had gone with the policemen they were detained without being taken to the Japanese Legation. Soon after this a large number of Japanese gendarmes came to the Society headquarters and arrested Wun Se-seung, Sim Sang-jin, Chong In-ho and Sin Hak-kyun and at the same time seized all the records and documents of the Society.

The society had opened new quarters in Chan-dong at the Chinese Language School, because there was not enough room at the Cotton guild, but the Japanese closed it and guarded the doors. When the four men above mentioned, were arrested a young Korean rushed up to the Japanese gendarmes and passionately demanded that he and all the other members be arrested, since they were all alike involved, but the Japanese paid no attention to him. Arriving at Chong-no the Japanese and their captives were met by an enormous crowd of angry Koreans and were obliged to use force to prevent a stampede. One Korean in his frenzy threw off his coat, baring his bust, and dared the Japanese to thrust him through with their swords. The Japanese charged the crowd with drawn swords and in the rout which followed many Koreans were injured by being trampled upon. One of the captives Sin Hakkyun was pierced by a bayonet. The Japanese took him to the Japanese Hospital for treatment.

A message of condolence upon the death of the Queen Dowager has been sent by the Pope to the Emperor of Korea and it was presented by Bishop Mutel in audience on the 21st inst.

The Japanese Minister called in the editors of the two Korean daily papers and informed them that the matter to be inserted in their journals must be submitted to the Japanese authorities for approval the night before its publication.

On July 1st the Japanese authorities having received the application which was returned by the Foreign Office, immediately sent it back to that office saying that this answer could not be entertained and urging that the application be granted. On the third or fourth inst. the Japanese representative informed the Foreign Office that the Japanese demands for (1) A site for a military station at Chemulpo, (2) the abolition of the Northwest Railway Bureau, (3) the repair of the Seoul-Wiju road, (4) the arrest of the men who are sending in memorials [page 317] hostile to the Japanese, must be promptly attended to and that delay in these particulars will make it necessary to revise the treaty between Korea and Japan. The Foreign Office has stated that as the people are busy with their farming it will be impossible to begin the repairs on the Seoul-Wiju road till autumn.

The most violent memorial yet presented was by Yi Sun-bom, in which he spoke rather severely of His Majesty and of the Japanese authorities and predicted the destruction of the country. Anticipating his own arrest he went to the Supreme Court and gave himself up, saying that he was ready to meet and answer every charge against him.

Two hundred and nine spears of barley that had three, four or five stems were brought to Seoul from Nam-p'yung and presented to His Majesty. These are considered a good omen for the country.

There are four hundred ex-prefects that are worrying about arrears of taxation that they failed to send up to Seoul when it was due. The government is pressing them for payment. The aggregate of their indebtedness to the government mounts up into the millions.

The government has discovered a plan on the part of people in Seoul to send down letters to people in all the districts urging them to rise in revolt against the Japanese and oppose them in every way. The government has therefore sent orders to each prefecture to seize such letters and burn them. One was so burned at Chin-ju on the 3rd inst.

The police have issued orders that women shall not be found on the streets at night nor shall any woman use a jinriksha except palace dancing-girls.

We learn that the payment of Y750,000 by the Emperor to the Electric Company is not only to cover half interest in the company but also in settlement of various outstanding claims against him, on the part of the company. From now on the new company will be known as the American-Korean Electric Company.

A German steamer brought 20,782 bags of rice from Saigon recently. The high price of rice in Seoul probably made the transaction a profitable one.

On the 1st inst. the Foreign Office returned to the Japanese Legation the application for the use of fallow lands in Korea. The Korean government seems to have taken a very determined stand on this question

The Japanese authorities have stated that miscreants who cut the telegraph wires between Seoul and Wonsan must be punished by the Koreans to the extreme limit of the law, and that if it is not done the Japanese will seize them and inflict capital punishment.

Yi To-ja, formerly Foreign Minister but now vice president of the Privy Council, has organized a large company for the purpose of developing mining and agricultural resources in Korea. This is since the Japanese made their demand for special privileges. There is a good deal of money behind the venture. There are 200,000 shares of \$50 each making a total of \$10,000,000. Of this amount \$200,000 is already paid up.

[page 318] The Japanese Legation instructed the Consul General to deal out strict justice to the two Japanese who murdered Koreans in Kom-san.

On the 11th inst. the government ordered the release of all prisoners held on the charge of minor offenses. This applies to about 200 men, many of whom have already profited by the order.

A company of Japanese consisting of 150 men has been organized to take advantage of the new fishing privileges lately granted by the Korean government on the western coast of the country.

A large number of influential men in Seoul have united in sending letters to all the prefectures in the land urging

that country people come up to Seoul to aid in impressing the government with the extreme seriousness of the proposed granting of Korean land to Japanese. In other words they propose a national demonstration which shall impress both the Koreans and the Japanese.

The government has abolished the Northwest Railway Bureau, which planned to build a Seoul-Wiju Railway under French supervision.

Since the 13th inst. there has existed in Seoul a Society called the Po-an-whe or Society for the Promotion of Peace and Safety. It numbers many leading men, among whom are Sin Keui-sun, Yi To-ji and Song Su-man. Its object is to discuss ways and means for the protection of Korean interests. Public addresses have been delivered before large popular audiences at Chong-no. The Japanese police have interfered with these gatherings and arrested one of the speakers, Song Su-man, and took him to the Japanese Consulate in spite of imminent riot. This society sent to all the government offices and invited the officials to attend the meetings of the society outside of regular office hours. In one of their meetings a man arose and argued that it would be well to grant the Japanese request. Instantly the meeting was in an uproar. They wanted to despatch the man on the spot but better counsels prevailed and he was sent under arrest to the Police Headquarters, where after receiving a beating and promising to make a handsome donation to the society he was let off. Because of these evils which threaten the country Cho Pyung-se and Sim Sun-t'ak have come up from the country. They are very strong men, former high officials who left for the country because of their too outspoken criticism of the evils of the administration. Now they are needed again.

The Governor of Pyeng-an reports that serious disturbance is threatened by the people because of the large extent of ground staked out for the railway station there. It is believed to be from two to three times as large as is necessary and as the Koreans do not receive full value for the land and houses which are taken it causes great dissatisfaction.

Because of the accident on the electric road by which a child was killed two conductors were arrested and the Chief of Police said that \$10,000 must be paid as indemnity for the life of the child. As the entire blame for the accident rested on the child who fell in front of the car a little diplomacy secured the release of the conductors.

Messrs. Harry and Morris Allen arrived in Chemmlpo early in July [page 319] on a visit to Dr. and Mrs. Allen. We understand that they stay until the first of August.

Viscount de Fontenay left Seoul about the middle of July, upon the return of M. Collin de Plancy, the French Minister.

The Foreign Minister has been bitterly criticized for his pro-Japanese sympathies, in spite of the fact that he rejected the application for the unoccupied land of the country, and he desired to resign his position and tried to do so several times but His Majesty has not been willing to dispense with his valuable services.

Ninety young men of good family have been selected by the Educational Department to go to Japan and study. They are between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five.

Three Koreans who had sent in memorials against the granting of the Japanese demands were arrested by the Japanese police and taken to the Japanese police headquarters where they were questioned. They indignantly denied the right of the Japanese to arrest them or call in question their acts in any way. The Japanese therefore sent them to the Korean police office where they were straightway set at liberty.

The Foreign Office has protested against the great extent of ground appropriated at Pyeng-yang by the Japanese for a railway station and the inadequate prices paid the people for their land and houses.

The British Government has sent a despatch urging the Korean Government to fill the vacancy caused by the retirement of the Korean Minister to the Court of St James.

The prefect of Ka-ryong, in Kyong-sang province, reports that some lawless, armed Koreans infested the highway and that one Japanese was killed on the road and says that every effort will be made to apprehend the guilty parties and bring them to justice.

Something very like cholera has broken out in the river town of So-gang just below Mapo. Fears are expressed

that it may become epidemic in Seoul and the Japanese authorities have urged the government to take prompt steps to prevent it.

In answer to the Japanese charged against Yi Kyung-jik the prefect of Yong-ch'un that he aided the Russians, the Foreign Office has declared that the charges are false and that if Yi Kyung-jik is to blame the Foreign Office itself is the one to bear the blame. His Majesty ordered that the accused party be brought up to Seoul but the people of Yong-ch'on decline to dispense with his services and will not allow him to come. They seized his baggage and prevented his departure. This is a pretty good recommendation. In too many cases the people would be glad to "speed the parting guest."

Twenty-three students of the government Law School have been graduated after a course of three years of study.

The Superintendent of Kyong-heung reports that for the purpose of reconstructing the telegraph line from that point to the Tuman River the Russians have demanded that Koreans cut the timber and set up [page 320] the poles, but the prefect says that he informed them that he would not consent to this until he had consulted with the Seoul government, and he asks instructions from Seoul. It is not known what actual commands have been given. Ostensibly the request has been refused.

Yi Sun-bom, one of the most active Koreans in opposition to the proposed concession of fallow lands to the Japanese, was arrested by the latter and lodged in the Japanese police station. The Foreign Office demanded his release but the Japanese replied that he would be released after the Korean government took active steps to put down the opposition. The Japanese police took the man to Chong-no and ordered him to announce publicly before the crowd that compliance with the Japanese demand would result in great benefits to the Korean people. He indignantly refused and the people were greatly enraged. He was then carried back to the Japanese police station, but was released later.

Kwon Chung-sok was the Korean appointed by the Emperor to go to Manchuria and watch the progress of the war in the interests of the Korean government but as he actively supported the request of the Japanese for the use of the fallow lands he became an object of grave suspicion to the Korean officials and so his appointment was cancelled and Kwin Chung-Pyon was appointed in his place.

Cho Pyong-p'il has been made Home Minister in the place of Yi Yong-t'a, resigned.

His Majesty has graciously remitted the house tax in the northern provinces where the people have been disturbed by the military operations of the Japanese and Russians.

Mr. Hagiwara has again pressed, the Government to carry out its promise to mend the road from Seoul to Wiju.

The Korean press states that the Japanese Government has decided not to place a general adviser at Seoul.

The prefect of Kyong-heung informed the central Government at the end of June that the Russians had bridged the Tuman and were compelling the people to mend the road between the river and Kyongheung.

The Governor of North Ham-gyong, who, by the way, is a nephew of Yi Yong-ik, informed the Government about the end of June that the Russians had seized large amounts of provisions and cattle in his territory, that twenty Russians seized the telegraph office at Kyungsung and carried away 400 coils of telegraph wire and 500 insulators and compelled the Koreans to carry them away for them.

The Russians broke up a common school in Kyong-sung and sent the students home. This is a characteristic Russian move. They apparently hate schools and education.

In June the weather became so dry that fears were felt for the crops, and sacrifices were offered at Yong-san, Puk-ak and Nam-san.

Two men were condemned to banishment last April but through bribery they delayed the execution of the sentence till July; but an investigation followed and the guilty police were punished and the twomen sent to their places of banishment.

[page 321] KOREAN HISTORY.

(7) The assessment, collection and disbursement of the national revenue shall be in the hands of the Finance Department.

(8) The expenses of the Royal Household shall be reduced, that the example may become a law to the other departments.

(9) An annual budget shall be made out so as to regulate the management of the revenue.

(10) The laws governing local officials shall be speedily revised in order that their various functions may be differentiated .

(11) Intelligent young men shall be sent to foreign countries to study.

(12) A method for the instruction of military officers and a mode of enlistment for soldiers shall be determined upon.

(13) Civil and criminal law must be clearly defined and strictly adhered to and imprisonment and fines in excess of the law are prohibited.

(14) Men shall be employed irrespective of their origin. Ability alone shall determine a man's eligibility whether in Seoul or in the country.

CHAPTER XX.

The ex-Regent's influence . . . The queen's influence . . . continued reforms . . . King adopts new title . . . cruel punishments abolished. . . Arch demolished . . . Yun Chi-ho. . . Korea astonished at Japanese victory over Chinese . . . Buddhist monks allowed in Seoul. . . Yi Chun-yong banished . . . Independence Day . . . Pak Yong-hyo again banished . . . American Mining concession . . . Count Inouye retires . . . cholera . . . official change . . . Educational reform . . . arrival of Viscount Miura. . . Japanese policy . . . Miura directly [page 322] implicated in murder of queen . . . Inouye not concerned. . . Japanese Government ignorant of Miura's plot.

The year 1895 was big with history. Its events created a strong and lasting impression upon the whole Korean people and it is in the light of these events that the whole subsequent history of the country must be interpreted. The year opened in apparent prosperity. The king had taken oath to govern according to enlightened principles and had exhorted his officials to adhere strictly to the reform program, protesting that if he himself failed to do so it would be an offence against Heaven. The Ta-wun-gun had retired from public life but as his son, the brother of the king, was Minister of the Household and his grandson Yi Chun-yong held a position near the king, there can be no doubt that in a private way the Ta-wun-gun exercised fully as much influence as he had done while in active office. It is necessary to bear in mind that the enmity of the queen against the ex-Regent extended to the sons of the latter and in spite of the terms of the king's oath constant pressure was brought to bear upon the king from that direction. Whatever be the reason, we find that in January Yi Chun-yong was sent to Japan as Korean Minister, an act that was really in favor of the anti-Regent faction since it temporarily removed one of the chief actors from the immediate stage.

The progress of the so-called reforms went on apace. The outside, the integuments, were changed, whatever may or may not have happened in the inner mind. The long baggy sleeves which had distinguished the true yang-ban were done away and the side-openings of the long coats were sewed up. The width of the hat brims was curtailed and other minor changes were effected. A salutary change was made by putting power into the hands of the ministers of state to carry out the work of their respective offices according to law without referring every thing to the central government, excepting in very important cases where it affected other departments. The immemorial customs regarding the salutations of inferiors to superiors and vice versa were largely done away and more democratic rules formulated. The Home Minister undertook to correct many abuses in the [page 323] country, to ferret out cases where cultivated land returned no revenue, because of the indirection of the ajuns, and by this means the revenue of the government was very largely augmented.

At the advice of the leading members of the Cabinet His Majesty adopted the title of Ta-gun-ju Pyeha (***) in place of his former title of Chonha (**). This elevated him to a position somewhat higher than that

of Wang (*) but still much lower than the title of emperor which he later assumed. All other members of the Royal Family were likewise elevated one degree.

At this time a radical change was made in the manner of punishing criminals. The cruel forms of execution and of torture which had always prevailed were done away and more humane methods instituted. Decapitation was done away and strangulation substituted. This worked no relief for the criminal but the horrible spectacle of public decapitation was relegated to the past.

A large number of men who had been banished or who had fled the country because of connection with the troubles of 1884 and other years, were pardoned and their relatives were again recognized as eligible to office.

On the native New Year which occurred in February the king issued an important edict saying that office should be given not only to men of noble blood but to others of good character and attainments, and he ordered that such men be selected and sent up from the country as candidates for official position. This was very pleasing to the country people and was hailed as a genuine sign of political renovation. At the same time the ancient arch outside the West Gate was demolished. This arch was the only remaining sign of Chinese suzerainty and its demolition broke the last visible thread which bound Korea to her great patron. We say visible advisedly, for there can be no doubt that the intrinsic loyalty of the vast majority of Koreans to China was still practically unimpaired.

On February thirteenth Yun Chi-ho returned from many years' sojourn in America and China where he had gained a genuine insight into truly enlightened government, and his return to Korea would have been a most happy [page 324] augury had there been enough enlightened sentiment in the country to form a basis for genuine as distinguished from superficial reform.

Meanwhile the Japanese were carrying every thing before them in Manchuria and the end had now come. The Korean government therefore sent a special envoy to the Japanese headquarters on the field at Hai-cheng, congratulating them upon their brilliant successes. Soon after this the war terminated with the treaty of Shimonoseki by the terms of which China ceded to Japan southern Manchuria, and the island of Formosa, abjured all interest in Korea and paid an enormous indemnity. The result astonished the Koreans but so strong was the feeling in favor of China that very many still clung to the idea that China would pay the money and then go to work preparing for a much greater struggle with the victorious Japanese.

Since the year 1456 Buddhist monks had been forbidden to enter Seoul. This was part of the general policy of this dynasty to give Buddhism no political foothold. Now the Japanese secured from the government a reinstatement of the Buddhists in their original position and for the first time in four centuries and a half the mendicant monk with his wooden gong and rosary begged on the streets of Seoul.

In April a great misfortune overtook the house of the ex-Regent. His grandson, Yi Chun-yong, nephew to the king, was arrested and charged with having connived with tonghaks and others to depose the king and assume the reins of power. It was not shown that Yi Chun-yong had been a main mover in the scheme or that he had even favored the idea, but the very fact that his name had been used in such a connection was enough to send him into banishment on the island of Kyo-dong, off Kang-wha. Four other men connected with this affair were executed. This was a severe blow to the ex-Regent and did much to bring him to the point which made possible the terrible events of the following October.

The sixth of June witnessed a great celebration in Seoul which has gone down in history as Independence Day. A fete was held in the "Old Palace" which exceeded in brilliancy [page 325] any similar demonstration since the opening of Korea to foreign relations.

It was inevitable that, from the moment of his arrival in Korea, Pak Yong-hyo should be at sword's points with the Ta-won-gun, for the returned refugee represented the radical wing of the reform party, which the ex-Regent had always bitterly opposed; and besides the presence of such a strong man would necessarily subtract from the influence of the aged but autocratic prince. It is probable that the Japanese brought Pak Yong-hyo back to Korea under the impression that he would prove a willing instrument in their hands, but they soon discovered that he had ideas and opinions of his own and that he was working rather for Korea than for Japan. He failed to fall in with some of the plans which would help the Japanese but at the expense of Korea and, in fine, he became something of an embarrassment to his former benefactors. Meanwhile the king and queen were both attached to him, and this for several reasons. He was a near relative of the king and would have no cause for desiring a change in the status of the reigning house; in the second place he was a determined enemy of the Ta-won-gun, and in the third place he was sure to work against a too liberal policy toward the Japanese. This attitude of increasing friendliness between him and the Royal family was a further cause of uneasiness to the Japanese, although Count Inouye himself had done much to win the good will of the queen. Finally Pak Yong-hyo had won the lasting gratitude of the king and queen by exposing the machinations of Yi Chunyong.

The ex-Regent was determined that Pak Yong-hyo should be gotten out of the way. To this end he concocted a scheme which, with the probable sanction of the Japanese, seemed to promise success. He laid before the king certain grave charges of treason against Pak, which, though not believed either by the king or the

queen, convinced them that it would be impossible to shield him from probable destruction; for the people still called him a traitor, the ex-Regent would spare no pains to see him put out of the way and it was evident that the Japanese would not take any strong measures to protect him. The queen called him up and [page 326] advised him to make good his escape before action could be taken on the charge of treason. He complied and forthwith escaped again to Japan. He had not as yet broken with the Japanese and they were doubtless glad to help him away. It was early in July that he passed off the stage, perhaps for ever, and thus there were lost to Korea the services of one of the most genuinely patriotic Koreans of modern times. If the Japanese could have determinedly put the ex-Regent in the background and allowed Pak Yong-hyo to work out his plans on terms of amity with the Royal family all the evils which followed might easily have been averted. It was this act, as we believe, of allowing the ex-Regent to carry out his scheme of personal revenge that caused the whole trouble and there never was a time, before or since, when brighter hopes for Korea were more ruthlessly sacrificed.

But progressive measures kept on apace and during July the government issued new and important mining, quarantine and army regulations and organized a domestic postal system. A valuable mining concession in the district of Un-san in the north was granted to an American syndicate, a transaction that has proved the most profitable, at least to the foreigner, of any attempt to open up the resources of Korea.

Near the end of the month Korea suffered the misfortune of seeing Count Inouye retire from the Legation in Seoul and return to Japan. Never did the Japanese have such need of a strong and upright man in Seoul and never had a Japanese Minister in Seoul opportunity for greater distinction. There are those who believe that he despaired of accomplishing anything so long as the two opposing factions in Seoul were led by personalities so strong and so implacable in their mutual hatred as the queen and the ex-Regent. It is not unlikely that he felt that until one or other of these should be permanently removed from the field of action there could be no real opportunity for the renovation of Korea. This by no means implies that he desired such removal to be effected by forcible means but it is not unnatural to suppose that he must have given expression to the conviction as to the futility of doing anything under existing conditions in the peninsula. There have been some who have believed that the Japanese authorities in Tokyo [page 327] determined upon the removal of the obstacle in Seoul by any means in their power. Subsequent events gave some color to this surmise but we cannot and do not believe that the Japanese government was a party to the plot which ended in the tragedy of the following October but that a fanatical and injudicious Japanese Minister to Korea privately gave his sanction to an act which the Japanese government would have sternly forbidden had they been consulted.

The summer of 1895 witnessed the first serious epidemic of cholera in Korea since the far more destructive one of 1886. Special plague hospitals were erected in Seoul and in spite of their temporary and inadequate nature the foreign protestant missionaries of Seoul, who were in charge, accomplished very much in the way of local relief. It is impossible to say what the total mortality in Seoul was, to say nothing of the country at large, but it is probable that ten or twelve thousand people died in the Capital before the subsidence of the epidemic.

The forces which worked to the expulsion of Pak Yonghyo also operated to curtail the term of banishment of Yi Chun-yung who was recalled from Kyodong Island on August 6th, but even the ex-Regent could not secure the residence of his grandson in Seoul, so he sent the young man to Japan, since which time he has been numbered with the political refugees and has never been able to think of returning to his native land. After the departure of Count Inouye, who had enjoyed the partial confidence of the queen, the ex-Regent's prospects improved to such an extent that several of the ministers of state who were well affected toward Her Majesty were removed and others substituted; especially significant was the removal of the king's brother Yi Chamyun from the Ministry of the Household. As he was the son of the ex-Regent, this would seem to be a defeat for that faction but, in fact, his removal from that position was a necessary step to the carrying out of the dangerous plot which was already being formulated in the mind of the queen's determined enemy.

This summer, which witnessed so many curious contradictions, was further distinguished by a determined effort in the line of education. The Educational Department [page 328] projected a Normal school and a beginning was made. One hundred and seventeen young men were sent to study in Japan and other measures of lesser importance were carried out.

On the first day of September Viscount Miura arrived from Japan to assume the duties of Minister. Over a month had elapsed since the departure of Count Inouye. The Viscount was an enthusiastic Buddhist and evidently belonged to the old rather than the new Japan. He was, withal, a strenuous man and is said to have considered the settlement of the Korean difficulties merely a matter of prompt and vigorous action. At the time of his arrival the ex-Regent was living at his summer-house near the river and from the very first he was in close relations with the new Japanese Minister. It was quite evident that the latter had espoused the cause of the ex-Regent as against the queen and that instead of trying to close the breach which was constantly widening between these two powerful personages he was preparing to make use of this estrangement to further what he supposed to be the interests of Japan. Min Yong-whan, the most powerful of the queen's friends, was sent to America as Minister; and everything was ready for the coup which had undoubtedly been determined upon.

From the mass of conflicting evidence, charge and counter charge, it is difficult to escape the following conclusion. There were two different policies held by political parties in Japan as to the best way to handle the Korean question; one was what we may call the radical policy which advocated strong measures and the instant and complete overthrow of all opposition to the will of Japan in the peninsula; the other, or conservative, policy looked to the attainment of the same object by gradual and pacific means. It seems that the failure of Count Inouye to accomplish anything definite in the line of a settlement of internal dissensions at Seoul resulted in the appointment of Viscount Miura as an exponent of the extreme radical policy. He was supposed to do prompt work but what that work would be perhaps neither he nor his constituency saw clearly before his arrival on the scene. It would be going much too far to say that the assassination of the queen was once thought of, and yet it is more than likely that those [page 329] most conversant with conditions in Seoul felt that by some means or other her enormous influence must be permanently checked and that affairs must be so managed that she should have nothing more to do in the handling of questions of state. How this was to be accomplished neither Miura nor any of his advisers knew until he came and looked over the field.

For this reason it is easy to see how the ex-Regent would be the first man in Korea with whom the Japanese Minister would wish to consult, and it is certain that the Ta-wun-gun would have but one word to say as to the solution of the difficulty. His experience of twenty years had convinced him that there was only one way to accomplish the object which the Minister had in view and while Viscount Miura naturally shrunk from adopting that course it would seem he too was at last convinced that it was the only feasible plan. That he actually advised it in the first instance we do not believe, but that he fell in with the plan which others suggested and which they offered to carry through without his personal intervention there can be no doubt whatever. Nor can there, be any question as to where the responsibility for the tragedy rests; not with the Japanese Government, surely, except in-so-far as its appointment of such a man to the difficult post of Minister to Seoul may reflect upon its wisdom.

It has sometimes been hinted that Count Inouye upon his return to Japan advocated some such policy as that which was carried out by Marquis Miura but there is nothing to indicate that this is other than a libel, for the whole career of that able statesman gives the lie to such suspicions and his dispatches to his government show the very opposite spirit from that intimated in these slanderous reports. For instance we have the extract from his reports read in the Japanese Parliament in which he says :

On one occasion the queen observed to me, "It was a matter of extreme regret to me that the overtures made by me toward Japan were rejected. The Ta-wun-gun, on the other hand, who showed his unfriendliness toward Japan, was assisted by the Japanese Minister to rise in power." In reply to this I gave as far as I could an explanation of these things to the queen and after allaying her suspicions I [page 330] further explained that it was the true and sincere desire of the emperor and government of Japan to place the independence of Korea on a firm basis and in the meantime to strengthen the Royal House of Korea. In the event of any member of the Royal family, or indeed any Korean, attempting treason against the Royal House, I gave the assurance that the Japanese Government would not fail to protect the Royal House even by force of arms.

This unequivocal promise of protection was made by Count Inouye just before his departure for Japan and we do not and cannot believe that he expressed anything but his honest sentiments and those of the government that was back of him. It has been urged that the action of the Japanese Government in acquitting Viscount Miura in the face of the evidence given proves the complicity of that government in the outrage and its previous knowledge that it was to be perpetrated, but this does not necessarily follow. That government was doubtless unwilling to stultify itself by acknowledging that its accredited minister to Korea was actually guilty of the crime indicated in the charge. This attempt to evade the responsibility was of course futile. There was no escape from the dilemma in which that government was placed but the deduction that it was *particeps criminis* in the events of October 8th is unbelievable. It was the work of Viscount Miura and of his staff and of them alone, as is shown by the following extract from the Decision of the Japanese Court of Preliminary Inquiry, which court sat in Hiroshima in January 1896.

CHAPTER XXI.

Decision of Hiroshima Court on queen's assassination . . . Miura's estimate of situationApproached by Ta-wun-gun . . . pledges required of ex-Regent . . . Miura's instructions preparations complete The rendezvous at the Ta-wun-gun's summer place a final exhortation joining the Korean troops outside the West Gate The move on the palace the entrance . . . Royal quarters surrounded The search for the queen the assassination Viscount Miura arrives on the scene. . . . an audience other representatives arrive and see the king Miura disclaims any connection with the plot degradation of the queen foreign representatives refuse to recognize it Miura recalled.

[page 331] We append the decision of the Hiroshima Court in full as it gives the fullest and probably the most nearly correct account of the events which led up to the assassination of the queen. It reads as follows : —

“Okamoto Ryunosuke, Adviser to the Korean Departments of War and the Household, etc.

“Miura Goro. Vicount, Sho Sammi, First class order, Lieutenant General, etc.

“Sugimura Fukashi, Sho Rokui, First Secretary of Legation, and forty-five others.

“Having, in compliance with the request of the Public Procurator conducted preliminary examinations in the case of murder and sedition brought against the above-mentioned Okamoto Ryunosuke and forty-seven others and that of wilful homicide brought against Hirayama Iwawo, we find as follows : —

“The accused, Miura Goro, assumed his official duties as His Imperial Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Seoul on Sept. 1st, 1895, According to his observations, things in Korea were tending in the wrong direction. The court was daily growing more and more arbitrary, and attempting wanton interference with the conduct of state affairs. Disorder and confusion were in this way introduced into the system of administration that had just been reorganized under the guidance and advice of the Imperial government. The court went so far in turning its face upon Japan that a project was mooted for disbanding the *Kunrentai* troops, drilled by Japanese officers, and for punishing their officers. Moreover a report came to the knowledge of the said Miura that the court had under contemplation a scheme for usurping all political power by degrading some and killing others of the Cabinet Ministers suspected of devotion to the cause of progress and independence.

“Under these circumstances he was greatly perturbed inasmuch as he thought that the attitude assumed by the court not only showed remarkable ingratitude toward this country which had spent labor and money for Korea, but was also calculated to thwart the work of internal reform and jeopardize the independence of the kingdom. The policy pursued by the court was consequently considered to be injurious to [page 332] Korea, as well as prejudicial in no small degree to the interests of this country. The accused felt it to be of urgent importance to apply an effective remedy to this state of affairs, so as on the one hand to secure the independence of the Korean kingdom and on the other to maintain the prestige of this empire in that country. While thoughts like these agitated his mind, he was secretly approached by the Ta-wungun with a request for assistance, the Prince being indignant at the untoward turn that events were taking and having determined to undertake the reform of the court and thus discharge his duty of advising the king. The accused then held at the legation a conference with Sugimura Fukashi and Okamoto Ryunosuke on the 3rd of October. The decision arrived at was that assistance should be rendered to the Ta-wun-gun’s entrance into the palace by making use of the Japanese drilled Korean soldiers who being hated by the court felt themselves in danger, and of the young men who deeply lamented the course of events, and also by causing the Japanese troops stationed in Seoul to offer their support to the enterprise. It was further resolved that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the queen, who exercised overwhelming influence in the court. They at the same time thought it necessary to provide against the possible danger of the Ta-wun-gun’s interfering with the conduct of State affairs in future — an interference that might prove of a more evil character than that which it was now sought to overturn. To this end, a document containing pledges required of the Ta-wun-gun on four points was drawn by Sigimura Fukashi. The document was carried to the country residence of the Ta-wun-gun on the 15th of the month by Okamoto Ryunosuke, the latter being on intimate terms with His Highness. After informing the Tawun-gun that the turn of events demanded His Highness’ intervention once more, Okomoto presented the document to the Prince saying that it embodied what Minister Miura expected from him. The Ta-wun-gun. together with his son and grandson gladly consented to the conditions proposed and also wrote a letter guaranteeing his good faith. Miura Goro and others decided to carry out the concerted plan by the middle of the month. Fearing lest Okamoto’s visit to the Ta-wun-gun’s residence [page 333] should excite suspicion and lead to the exposure of their plan, it was given out that he had proceeded thither simply for the purpose of taking leave of the Prince before departing for home, and to impart an appearance of probability to this report, it was decided that Okamoto should leave Seoul for Chemulpo and he took his departure from the capital on the sixth. On the following day An Kyungsu, the Minister of War, visited the Japanese Legation by order of the court. Referring to the projected disbanding of the Japanese drilled Korean soldiers, he asked the Japanese Minister’s views on the subject. It was now evident that the moment had arrived, and that no more delay should be made. Miura Goro and Sugimura Fukashi consequently determined to carry out the plot on the night of that very day. On the one hand, a telegram was sent to Okamoto requesting him to come back to Seoul at once, and on the other, they delivered to Horiguchi Kumaichi a paper containing a detailed program concerning the entry of the Ta-wun-gun into the palace and caused him to meet Okamoto at Yong-san so that they might proceed to enter the palace. Miura Goro further issued instructions to Umayabara Muhon, commander of the Japanese batallion in Seoul, ordering him to

facilitate the Ta-wungun's entry into the palace by directing the disposition of the Japanese drilled Korean troops and by calling out the Imperial force for their support. Miura also summoned the accused Adachi Kenszo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, and requested them to collect their friends, meeting Okamoto at Yong-san, and act as the Ta-wun-gun's body-guard on the occasion of His Highness' entrance into the palace. Miura told them that on the success of the enterprise depended the eradication of the evils that had done so much mischief to the kingdom for the past twenty years, and instigated them to dispatch the Queen when they entered the palace. Miura ordered the accused Ogiyara Hidejiro to proceed to Yong-san at the head of the police force under him, and after consultation with Okamoto to take such steps as might be necessary to expedite the Ta-wun-gun's entry into the palace.

"The accused, Sugimura Fukashi, summoned Suzuki Shigemoto and Asayama Keuzo to the Legation and acquainted them with the projected enterprise, directed the former to [page 334] send the accused, Suzuki Junken, to Yong-san to act as interpreter And the latter to carry the news to a Korean named Yi Chu-whe, who was known to be a warm advocate of the Tawun-gun's return to the palace. Sugimura further drew up a manifesto, explaining the reasons of the Ta-wun-gun's entrance into the palace and charged Ogiwara Hidejiro to deliver to Horiguchi Kumaichi.

"The accused Horiguchi Kumaichi at once departed for Yong-san on horse-back. Ogiwara Hidejiro issued orders to the policemen that were off duty to put on civilian dress, provide themselves with swords and proceed to Yong-san. Ogiwara also himself went to the same place.

"Thither also, repaired by his order the accused Watanabe Takajiro, Oda Yoshimitsu, Nariai Kishiro, Kiwaki Sukunori and Sakai Masataro.

"The accused Yokowo Yutaro joined the party at Yongsan. Asayama Kenzo saw Yi Chu-whe and informed him of the projected enterprise against the palace that night. Having ascertained that Yi had then collected a few other Koreans and proceeded toward the Ta-wun-gun's place Asama at once left for Yong-san. Suzuki Shigemoto went to Yong-san in company with Suzuki Junken. The accused Adachi Kenzo and Kunitomo Shigeakira, at the instigation of Miura, decided to murder the Queen and took steps to collect accomplices. Twenty-four others (names here inserted) responded to the call, by Miura's order, to act as body-guard to the Ta-wun-gun on the occasion of his entrance into the palace. Hirayama Iwahiko and more than ten others were directed by Adachi Kenzo and others to do away with the Queen and they decided to follow the advice. The others who were not admitted into the secret but who joined the party from mere curiosity also carried weapons. With the exception of Kunitomo Shigeakira Tsukinori and two others all the accused went to Yong-san in company with Adachi Kenzo.

"The accused Okamoto Ryunosuke on receipt of a telegram saying that time was urgent at once left Chemulpo for Seoul. Being informed on his way, at about midnight, that Hoshiguchi Kennaichi was waiting for him at Mapo he proceeded thither and met the persons assembled there. There he received from Miura Goro the draft manifesto [page 335] already alluded to, and other documents. After he had consulted with two or three others about the method of effecting an entrance into the palace the whole party started for the Ta-wun-gun's place with Okamoto as their leader. At about three o'clock a.m. on the eighth of October they left the Prince's place escorting him in his palanquin, with Yi Chuwhe and other Koreans. When on the point of departure, Okamoto assembled the whole party outside the gate of the Prince's residence and declared that on entering the palace the "Fox" should be dealt with according as exigency might require, the obvious purport of this declaration to instigate his followers to murder Her Majesty the Queen. As the result of this declaration, Sakai Marataro and a few others, who had not yet been initiated into the secret, resolved to act in accordance with the suggestion. Then slowly proceeding toward Seoul, the party met the Japanese drilled Korean troops outside the West Gate where they waited some time for the arrival of the Japanese troops. With the Korean troops as vanguard the party then proceeded toward the palace at a more rapid rate. On the way they were joined by Kunitomo Shigeakira and four others. The accused Husamoto, Yasumaru and Onra Shigehiko also joined the party having been requested by Umagabara Muhon to accompany as interpreters the military officers charged with the supervision of the Korean troops. About dawn the whole party entered the palace through the Kwang-wha Gate and at once proceeded to enter the inner chambers."

At this point the recital of the facts abruptly stops and the court goes on to state that in spite of these proven facts there is not sufficient evidence to prove that any of the Japanese actually committed the crime which had been contemplated, and all the accused are discharged.

It is very much to the credit of the Japanese authorities that they frankly published these incriminating facts and did not attempt to suppress them. Their action discharging the accused was a candid statement that in spite of the actual proof which they adduce it would not be possible to punish the perpetrators of the outrage, for Miura had been sent as the accredited Minister of Japan and his acts, through unforeseen by his superiors could not but partake of an official [page 336] character, and therefore the onus of the affair must fall on the Japanese Government. This is the effect that was produced in the public mind, and while the Japanese Government as such must be acquitted of any intention or desire to secure the assassination of the Queen, yet it can scarcely

escape the charge of criminal carelessness in according to the Korean Court a representative who would so far forget the dignity of his position as to plan and encourage the perpetration of such a revolting crime.

The description of the scene as given by the Hiroshima court stops abruptly with the entrance into the palace before the actual business of the day began. It is necessary for us to take up the narration from that point. The buildings occupied by the King and Queen were near the back of the palace enclosure almost half a mile from the front gate, so that the Japanese and Korean force accompanied by the ex-Regent had to traverse a long succession of passage-ways through a great mass of buildings before reaching the object of their search. Some of the palace guard were met on the way and easily pushed aside, some of them being killed, among whom was Col. Hong. When the Japanese arrived at the buildings occupied by their Majesties a part of them formed about it in military order guarding all the approaches, but they did not enter the building. A crowd of Japanese civilians commonly believed to be *sosi* and a considerable number of Koreans, all heavily armed, rushed into the Royal quarters. A part of the crowd went into the presence of the King brandishing their weapons but without directly attacking his person nor that of the Crown Prince who stood beside him. Another part of the crowd ranged through the apartments of the Queen, seizing palace women and demanding information as to the whereabouts of the Queen. They met Yi Kyong-jik the Minister of the Household before the Queen's apartments and at once cut him down, but he managed to crawl into the presence of the King, where he was despatched by the Japanese. The Queen was found in one of the rooms which constituted her suite and was ruthlessly cut down. It is impossible to state with absolute certainty whether the blow was struck by a Korean or by a Japanese but the overwhelming probability is that it was done by one of the armed Japanese.

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The Fusion of Korean Society.

The casual onlooker can form little or no idea of the enormous changes that have taken place in recent years and that are now taking place, in the mutual relations that exist between the different classes of Korean Society. It is well known that the barriers between the upper and the lower classes have been shaken to their foundations if not, in some respects, entirely broken down; but the causes which have brought this about and the changes it has effected in the running of the social establishment are a sealed book even to many who have lived in the country for years. It is believed by many that in spite of all that has happened during the past three decades, the Korean people are practically where they were previous to that time and that the leaven of so-called civilization has as yet hardly penetrated the cuticle of society. We propose to indicate briefly a few of the evidences which go to prove the contrary.

One of the most powerful factors in this change was the abolition of the national examination or *kwaga* in 1894. The fact that these examinations were an empty form and that not once in a thousand times did they reveal the really superior scholar has little to do with the question. There can be no doubt that they stood between the upper and the lower classes as a real if only imaginary line of demarcation. If it is objected that a thing cannot be real and still only imaginary I would [page 340] [point out that a???] few years ago no one could sell silk or cotton or shoes or hats or in fact any of the staples of commerce except wine, tobacco and a few other things, in Seoul, except he joined the guild. This no *yangban* could do, of course, but when the guilds were disfranchised and competition became possible thousands of gentlemen invested money in these enterprises. The broadening effect of such a change can hardly be exaggerated. Some would consider it a lowering of the standard but we consider it to have been a great blessing. In Western countries gentlemen have scores of ways whereby they rub against their fellows and gain practical experience. The arts and professions afford ample opportunity for all round development; but in Korea the *yangban* was well nigh useless. He had no acquaintance with practical affairs, was helpless in an emergency and unless possessed of wealth was a burden upon his relatives or lived off the labor of his wife. There was no way to earn an honest living. But now all this is changed, and even the *yangban* is beginning to see, though as yet darkly, that it is as little a sacrifice of real dignity to earn a living as to sponge on his relatives and friends.

The radical changes that have taken place in the system of education has had a more far reaching effect than is generally supposed, for after the discontinuance of the *kwaga* and the establishment in Seoul and in the provinces of schools based upon modern ideals the attention of the people has been directed to them as the avenues through which distinction can be attained. But these schools are open to the middle as well as to the upper classes and this helped to demonstrate to the public that the old order of hereditary yangbanism is passing rapidly away. Of course the intermediate stage is one of confusion and friction. The older generation fume and fret because the old dignified standards are being laid aside, and the younger generation fumes and frets because the conservative element still blocks the progress of popular education by ignoring the graduates of the schools in the distribution of offices. It is for this reason that the recent lapse into conservatism has practically emptied [page 341] the schools. The pupils say, and rightly, "Why should we take these liberal courses of study since the government not only fails to recognize the graduates but exercises a system of espionage over the schools as if they were centers of sedition?" There can be no question that these schools have awakened many Koreans to a recognition of the serious lacks which exist in the intellectual ideals of the people. The study of mathematics and its applications, for instance, has shown how little the old-time standards are fitted to prepare a man for practical life; and the study of the sciences, however rudimentary, has revealed the inanity of the Chinese classics. This has bred in many minds a certain contempt for the persons and the opinions of the older statesmen who are necessarily old school men. The young men are coming more and more to recognize that the future belongs to the survivors of an obsolete system. This is why all such popular movements as that attempted by the Independence Club are led by young men backed by still younger men, and this in turn has made almost inevitable their temporary failure. But it must always be remembered that it is these young men who are gradually taking the places of their conservative elders. Look about and note the sons of many of these older men of influence. In many cases they have travelled and observed more or less widely and they afford the greatest contrast to their conservative fathers. There have been a few startling cases where foreign travel and modern education have failed to emancipate men from the worst forms of conservatism but they are notable exceptions to the rule.

Another factor that is working powerfully to transform existing conditions is the improvement in facilities for communication between the capital and the provinces. The postal system in spite of the fact that it

shows a large annual deficit is one of the most paying investments of the government. A necessary preliminary to definite and general reform is the welding of the people into a more homogeneous whole. Through all the past centuries it has been the impression that by leaving [page 342] the Capital a man shakes off his feet the dust of politics and joins the passive majority, but in these times of more perfect intercommunication between town and country the people of even the most distant places keep in touch with the events and thoughts of the Capital, and that sullen antipathy between town and country which is bred of ignorance is being ameliorated by the influence of the daily press through the medium of the post-office. It forms an arterial and venous system, ensuring an intellectual circulation which is in marked contrast with the previous stagnation. As a result of this there has been something approaching a *volte face* in the attitude of the country people. Formerly they were the most conservative and the quickest to deprecate any change, but to-day many of them are waiting eagerly and expectantly for radical changes in the central government. They are learning to realize their own importance to the state and to push the proposition that the central government has duties and obligations to the provinces that cannot be shifted or ignored. We say this, such a change has begun. It is yet in its infancy and will need years for its complete development, but anyone would be rash indeed to predict a limit to its ultimate transformation of social conditions.

Another factor that has worked powerfully in the direction of social fusion is the work of Christian Missions. In a sense Christianity is a disintegrating force and leads to temporary social confusion. Under certain circumstances, for instance during the regime of the late Regent, the work of Christian missionaries causes a great social upheaval, but in another and far more fundamental sense the Christian propaganda is a welding force. This lies in the fact that it forms a fraternity of interest between the different sections of the country, brings typical representatives of distant provinces into physical as well as intellectual touch with each other and affords in countless cases a breadth of sympathy and a catholicity of interest which transforms an ignorant provincial into a well-informed and sturdy patriot. One of the significant signs of the times is the fact that in [page 343] hundreds of country villages the men who are wellinformed and who take an appreciative interest in the large affairs of the country as distinguished from petty local matters are the men who have come in contact with the missionary and have read the books which he supplies. The very universality of the claims of Christianity gives a flavor of cosmopolitanism which tends to make men seriously compare their social status and their civic life with that of other peoples more or less favorably situated. It is the common impression of those who are hostile or indifferent to Christianity that it is a narrowing cult. This is of course the mistaken dictum of those who have never tried it and are incompetent to judge, but whatever may be said of western lands it must be confessed by every fairminded, though unsympathetic, critic that it stings to life the lethargic oriental and makes him do things. It wakes him up. As to whether the things he does are always commendable we do not propose to discuss but none will seriously deny that if there are things to do it will take live men to do them. The village of Sorai on the coast of Whang-ha Province is a case in point. This village is prevailingly Christian. It has a school of a grade as far advanced as any in Korea. It has good sanitation, sidewalks, bridges and other evidences of communal pride. The people there raised a considerable sum of money to send to India at the time of the last famine there, and in many other ways it has shown evidences not only of civilization but of Christian enlightenment. And all the work has been done without the use of foreign money. This village is an exceptional case. We would not claim as much for many, if any, other places in Korea, but it shows what is easily possible when the people wake up.

Another factor in the fusion of Korean Society is the change from barter to sale in the commercial life of the people. From the most ancient times barter formed almost the sole method of exchange of commodities. It was only recently that the government ceased to receive rice as revenue. The country markets are a relic of days [page 344] when if a man wanted a bolt of linen he must pay for it with a bag of rice or a bale of dried fish. This method still prevails to a large extent in the country but the great increase in amount of coin and the rapid change in the ratio of commodities to exchange medium will rapidly do away with the local markets or fairs and the merchant will purchase goods at the point of production or manufacture and transport them to distant parts of the country. This will cause, and is causing, an enormous increase in the number of middle men. This necessarily causes a rise in the cost of goods but it relieves the country farmer of the necessity of wasting his time going to distant fairs every few days, and the extra cost will not be felt. It is a salutary division of labor which will work in the direction of better conditions.

Such are only a few of the factors which are welding the Korean people into a homogeneous whole. There is much still to be desired and as yet only a beginning has been made, but what has already been accomplished refutes the argument of those who claim that a foreign power should seize Korea because she does not advance.

The Fallow Lands.

In the last number of the Review we stated that the margin of cultivation had lowered during the last few decades; that is, the land now under cultivation is less in extent than it was at the beginning of the present reign. This statement has been challenged by certain of our friends, and we propose to give a few of the reasons why we believe that the statement was correct. It is true that neither we nor anyone else has made a personal inspection of these lands, and all we can go by is the statements of Koreans themselves, and even these are worthless unless they can be supported by reasonable arguments. There are several principal reasons for believing that the ground now under cultivation in Korea is smaller in area than at the beginning of the present reign.

[page 345] (1) It is conceded by all that there has been, during these years, a constant deterioration in administrative ethics in Korea. The open sale of public offices has increased to an alarming extent, the breaking down of social barriers has resulted in an influx of inferior material into the personnel of the government and this has resulted in a lowering of the standard of official conduct. As we show elsewhere, this is but a transition stage and time will remedy the evils of it, but we think no one will deny that the ideals of the country prefects have been seriously lowered during the past two decades. The farmers, who provide the great bulk of the revenue, have been ground down more and more by illegal exactions, with the result, as everyone knows, that they have no ambition to produce more than a bare subsistence. The pressure has been all in the direction of a curtailment rather than an enlargement of the range of agricultural industry. Now, the people know very well that agriculture is the most heavily-taxed industry in the land, and that taxes have to be paid whether the crops are a success or a failure; and just as fast as the people in the country come to realize that there may be a way out of their uncomfortable situation just so fast will they give up farming for some other pursuit, which will relieve them from constant and increasing official spoliation. Who does not know that the lot of the farmer who is poor and who has no "pull" at the magistracy is the most pitiable and hopeless of any in the land; and if other people know it the farmer himself will not be long in finding it out. He is finding it out and there is a constant stream of people leaving the farm for some other occupation. But it will naturally be asked what these men all do after giving up farming. The other occupations will soon be overrun. The answer to this lies in two facts, the opening of the country to foreign trade and the enormous change in the currency of the country. It is needless for us to attempt to show that the opening of the ports, the influx of foreign goods and the efflux of native goods has drawn away from other pursuits an army of laborers who are required at [page 346] the ports and in the work of transporting goods to and from these centers of industry. This is one of the avenues by which the poor farmer or the farmer's assistant escapes the cruel exactions of the officials. Then again the phenomenal increase in the amount of money in circulation has begun to work a revolution in business methods. Heretofore the farmer carried his own goods to the local market and bartered it for other things which he required. There were very few middle-men, comparatively; but now the farmer in many instances finds that it pays better to sell his goods for money, especially since he no longer pays taxes in grain but in money. For this reason an army of middle-men has sprung up. Where only two men were formerly necessary for a bargain three are now necessary. We do not say that this is universal or even that it is the rule but it is true that the increasing need of middle-men has opened up an avenue whereby thousands of farmers have left the plow for the jiggy and the abacus. This supposition is all the more reasonable when we note that these middlemen have no taxes to pay. They are quite independent.

(2) A second cause of the shrinkage in the area of land under cultivation is the deforestation of the country and its immediate consequences. As to the general fact of such deforestation we think no one has any doubt. It has gone on to an alarming extent under our very eyes. Population has increased and consequently more fuel must be consumed, more houses built, more implements of all kinds constructed. The character of the Korean soil is such that the denudation of the hills results in their being scoured each year by the rains. To such an extent is this carried that it is impossible for them to be reforested. No tree can gain a foothold strong enough to survive the annual floods. The direct and inevitable result of this is that the country prefects annually report hundreds of rice fields being covered from three inches to a foot deep with gravel, that is washed down from the bare hills upon which even grass can find but an occasional and insecure foothold. When this burden is laid upon the farmer it is nine to one that he [page 347] gives up the struggle in despair. The cost of clearing out such a field is prohibitive in many cases and the possibility of the recurrence of the calamity is utterly discouraging. And then on top of this, if the magistrate secures a remission of the taxes on the ruined field, he (the magistrate) is pretty sure to be haled before a fake tribunal some years later and forced to pay the amount which he never collected from the farmer. Is it natural to suppose that the magistrate will wittingly take the chances of the pecuniary loss and the disgrace of such a proceeding?

(3) A third reason for believing that agriculture is on the wane in Korea is the fact of the wholesale export or consumption of cattle. Thousands of these animals have been exported to Vladivostock and from there to a score of other places in Siberia. Most of them have come from the northeast province. In addition to this the increase in luxury in Seoul and the provincial centers, the demands of the foreign populations of the open ports, and the supply of steamships, has resulted in a steady drain upon the cattle of Korea. It is well known that

agriculture here depends as much upon the bullock as upon his driver. The culture of rice cannot be carried on without the bullock. If the land under cultivation were increasing or even holding its own we do not believe the demands for beef for local consumption and for export would be so easily supplied and at such low figures. This goes on uninterruptedly except when, every few years, the cattle plague carries off from ten to sixty per cent of the cattle. It makes no difference whether the curtailment of cultivated land throws the cattle on the market or whether the sale of cattle throws the land out of cultivation. Both are true to some extent probably, but the fact remains that the large and steady and increasing sale of cattle indicates a falling off in the agricultural industry.

(4) A fourth reason, and one which may seem farfetched, though we believe it to be genuine, is the increasing demand for grave space. When we remember that in Korea the graves are preserved and cared for with [page 348] sedulous care by at least half the people for a period of four generations or more, and that the space required for the grave of even a middle class person is three or four times as great as in western countries we will readily see that an increase in population will steadily require an increase in grave space. This argument will appeal most strongly to those who know Korea best. It will be no refutation of this argument to say that the graves are made on land that would not be cultivated in any event, for every one who has travelled at all in Korea knows that very many of the graves of middle class people are found so near the edges of the fields that they preclude the possibility of enlarging the cultivated land, and prove an efficient barrier to the advancement of the margin of cultivation.

But if we admit an increase in population we shall be confronted with the argument that this itself implies an increase in cultivated land, for this surplus population must be fed. The answer to this objection lies in the fact that this increase in population has resulted in a distinct lowering of the grade of living of the Korean people. Even two decades ago professional mendicancy was practically unknown. Korean history asserts that year after year in times of plenty people could travel anywhere without expense because rice was so common and cheap. It is probable that the lowering of the grade of comfort of the common people is quite commensurate with the increase in population. But there is another consideration. When the government received taxes in kind it was accustomed to store up enormous quantities of rice in the different fortresses and storehouses and keep it there until the following season. Thus a considerable amount of food was annually withdrawn from consumption, but of late years this has not been the case and this grain has gone to feed the surplus population. This argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that when the new grain was substituted for the old the latter was distributed among the officials or soldiers and was consumed; but even so the loss by water, vermin and other causes was very great, and in many cases, through [page 349] indirection, the old rice was left in store for six or seven years until it was wholly worthless. Such is no longer the case. For these and other lesser reasons we believe that the increase in population has resulted in no increase of cultivated land, at least during the past forty years.

(5) A fifth cause of the shrinkage of land under cultivation has to do with the Crown lands. Of these there are or were two recognized varieties. The first was called *yuk-t'o* or "post-lands" and the second was the *tun-to* or "camp-lands." The former was land set aside for the support of the *yung-ma* or horse relay system which was the forerunner of a postal system. It was from the proceeds of this land that the system was kept up and the importance of the system made it quite certain that the land would be cultivated in approved style. The "camp lands" were set aside for the support of garrisons, guards and police in the country. The exact extent of these lands we do not know but there was some in each of the three hundred and fifty prefectures. The best land was not usually selected for this purpose. A special official was detailed to oversee the cultivation of these lands in each district and it was thoroughly done, if only for the squeeze that was to be derived from it. Ten years ago this system was abandoned and these lands being no longer under the eye of a responsible party were cultivated by the men who had formerly done so but without any oversight or restrictions. For a time they enjoyed immunity from taxation but after a few years the Imperial Household began to send men down to the country to collect money in the interests of the Imperial privy purse. The lands were exempt from the regular government taxes but their last state was worse than their first, for there was not even a semblance of order in the method of the imposition and collection of the private tax. The growing needs of the Household increased the disabilities of the farmers and the taxes were collected in such a capricious and arbitrary way that many of the men who had to stand the brunt of it gradually moved off the land while many others worked in a discouraged and half [page 350] hearted manner which shrunk the total to a fraction of its former amount. Much of this land is subsequently taken up by others still more desperately situated but all the time a certain amount of it is lying fallow.

(6) The sixth and last cause that we shall mention is the result of seditious uprisings in various parts of the country. The country has not yet recovered from the tonghak uprising of ten years ago. The tonghak were themselves farmers and for the time being they deserted their own lands and terrorized those who did not join them, and looted and destroyed on a scale which has never been explained to the world at large. Hundreds of them were killed and thousands of their victims also fled or were cut down in large sections of the south.

What Korea Owes to Japan.

The statement has been made in various places that Korea is under obligations to Japan, but no one seems to have thought it worth while to specify the particulars of this obligation. It is a private expression of the Japanese that Korea owes them a debt of gratitude and on this they base their claims to extraordinary consideration on the part of the Korean people. As Japan is now seeking to secure a payment of this debt in the shape of exclusive privileges it may be worth while to examine the claim and see wherein it is true and wherein it is imaginary.

From the time Japan opened up her new national regime in 1868 it was her policy to uphold by word and deed Korea's independence of China. The Japanese believed that China had no more claim to suzerainty over the peninsula than Japan had. This belief had no true historical basis, for there never was a time when Korea recognized the suzerainty of Japan or paid her tribute. The exchange of goods between Korea and Japan through Fusan never assumed the character of tribute [page 351] and the rules which governed that interchange would argue Korean suzerainty over Japan as easily as it would prove the opposite. Korea never was a vassal of Japan in any sense. The reputed conquest of Korea by the legendary Empress Jingu is about as historical as "The Taking of Lungtumkin." The ancient histories of Korea which are very complete make no mention of such an invasion.

But however that may be, Japan definitely recognized the independence of the country and concluded a treaty of peace with Korea in 1876 on terms of complete equality. In 1884 occurred the serious emeute in which the would-be reformers were backed by the Japanese. Whatever may be said against the methods adopted by the reformers they were for the time being successful and if the Japanese troops had held firm, in spite of their small numbers, the revolution would have been accomplished and an enormous impetus would have been given to the progressive idea. As it was the Japanese weakened when they found that the king was eager to go over to the Chinese and so they gave up the point and retired, This may be said to terminate the first period. Several other Powers, following Japan's example, had already signed treaties of equality with Korea and it may fairly be said that it was Japan that brought about this definite opening of the country, for had not the treaty of 1876 been signed we doubt very much whether the others would have been proposed. This Korea may be said to owe to Japan in a sense, but it created no obligation payable in such coin as the Japanese are asking now, for the opening of Korea benefitted Japan far more than it did Korea. Japan secured adequate reward in the opening up of commerce with the peninsula, of which she enjoys to-day the lion's share. She has profited largely by the export of food stuffs to Japan and by the enlarged market for her industrial products.

The second period of Japanese influence extends from 1884 until 1896. During that time she found herself thwarted at many points by the strong pro-Chinese sentiments of the Korean Court and people [page 352] and these sentiments at last resulted in the China-Japan war whereby China was thrust out of her position in Korea and the land was declared independent and so recognized by China. In the months following the war Japan attempted to institute reforms. Many excellent changes were made which have remained until today and are now proving of benefit to the country but the virtue of these good reforms was totally eclipsed, in the Korean mind, by the mistakes which were made. The Japanese complained that the Koreans were unresponsive and did not want reform. It was the business of the Japanese to have carried out such reforms, and in such a way, that the Koreans would have responded. The events of 1895 brought the influence of Japan in Korea to its lowest ebb, and the flight of the king to the Russian Legation in February 1896 closed the second period of Japan's influence in Korea. During that period she had once and for all destroyed the very real but very indefinite suzerainty of China and had practically transferred it to Russia. The country was very little better off in any essential particular than she had been before. But the opportunity had been given her to work out her own political salvation. There can be no doubt that Korea missed a great opportunity just after the China-Japan war. If she had grasped the opportunity and utilized it there would have been great hopes for her, but she showed herself so insensible to her privileges that she exasperated the Japanese to acts of extreme resentment, injurious alike to herself and to Korea. It can scarcely be said that Korea owes Japan anything for the events of that second period. She needed not only the opportunity to reform but she needed the wisest guidance in the matter. The opportunity alone without the wise guidance can scarcely be called a benefit.

The third period of Japanese influence extends from 1896 to the outbreak of the present war. What has been done during these years is known to all. Japanese trade has increased by leaps and bounds and thousands of Japanese have largely profited by this trade. On the other hand the predominance of Russian influence negated [page 353] all proposals for reform. The Independence Club movement, which must have been favored by the Japanese, resulted in disastrous failure except in so far as it educated the people in the principles of intelligent government. The currency of the country rapidly deteriorated, largely through the work of Japanese counterfeiters in Osaka and elsewhere, who thereby inflicted upon their own countrymen in Korea a severe blow, for the consequent fluctuation of exchange was ruinous to trade. The Japanese authorities seem to blame Korea for this but while it is true that the government thwarted the Japanese as much as possible the real trouble lay in

those Japanese felons who flooded the country with spurious coin. The Japanese authorities made laudable and successful attempts to stop this nefarious work but great harm was done before the counterfeiters were brought to book, and even yet we hear of an occasional raid on them. During all this time the influence of Russia was always in the direction of national ruin. It is impossible to point to a single measure advocated by them which will stand a moment's scrutiny. Compared with them the Japanese were altruism itself, for the measures that the latter proposed would have been as beneficial to Korea as to themselves. At last matters got so bad that Japan could endure the strain no longer and war was the result. Just as the king put himself in Chinese hands in 1884 and remained there until the encroachments of China precipitated the war of 1894, so he remained in Russian hands till the situation became intolerable for the Japanese and it became once more necessary to take Korea out of Russian hands *vi et armis*.

Thus has been ushered in the fourth period of Japanese influence in Korea. It must be confessed that every one of these deliverances has been distasteful to the Korean court. They did not want to come out of their seclusion in 1876; they did not want to be taken out of Chinese hands in 1884 or in 1894; they did not want to be taken out of Russian hands in 1904. We speak of the court, for it is not known what the people wanted. They were divided and every man wanted what would [page 354] bring him the most personal advantage irrespective of the welfare of the state.

This latest plucking of the brand from the burning presents one entirely new feature. Korea is in Japan's hands just as she was in 1884 and in 1894 but this time there is no one to whom she can appeal or into whose arms she can throw herself. Japan has come stay, if the present expectations as to the war are realized. The civilized world recognizes Japan's right to put a definite veto upon a repetition of that policy in Korea which has persistently played her into the hands of Japan's enemies. And at this point we arrive at the first thing that Korea really owes to Japan, namely straight-forward friendliness— not blind partisanship but an open and frank attitude of genuine good will. In spite of any mistakes of method which Japan may have committed and in spite of any seeming crudities of administration, her consistent and steadfast championship of Korea's independence merits Korea's friendship. That it does not receive it as yet should not astonish the Japanese nor make them cry out that Korea is without gratitude. Korea does not know what independence means. Gratitude for a gift is always proportioned to the appreciation of it and what Japan needs is patience to teach Korea the value of the gift that has been conferred. We repeat that the one and only thing that Korea owes to Japan at the present time is an attitude of friendly receptivity, a willingness to be taught. And she owes this to Japan not only because of Japan's long championship of her independence but because of the more selfish reason that in it lies her own personal safety. Japan has declared the independence of Korea now for the third time. If Korea does not accept the gift and use it she will never be offered it again. As a mere matter of duty to herself, her own autonomy, Korea owes to Japan an attitude of friendliness. She owes Japan nothing else, neither waste lands, nor mines, nor fisheries, nor coolies. These are things which Japan will eventually enjoy the products of without doubt when the proper time comes, but as yet Japan has given Korea nothing that we can call an equivalent for these concessions.

[page 355] We have heretofore said that Korea owes it to the world at large to develop her agricultural resources, but this gives Japan no right to demand that these resources be turned over to her. We deny the oft made statement that Korea has proved that she will not progress. She has never really been given the chance, for though all restrictions to such progress were removed she never was given the impulse to reform. It is a thing that must be developed and brought out. It can only be done by the wise and firm guidance of the dominant power, Japan. This brings us to the other side of the question. If Korea owes something to Japan, Japan also owes something to Korea. If Korea owes to Japan an attitude of friendly receptiveness which will make it possible to bring out her latent abilities, Japan owes to Korea a wise and temperate policy which will conciliate the people, lay at rest their immemorial prejudice against Japan and gradually evolve a genuinely enlightened government. The ultimate fruits of such a firm but temperate and patient policy will be all and more than all that Japan has lately demanded. If Japan wants these things within five years she can get them only by a policy of military force and in the face of the intense hostility of the Korean people, and even then she will get but meager returns. If on the other hand she will begin at the foundation and build up a genuine and mutual friendship between herself and Korea, the benefits which she will reap in the long run will be a hundred times as great, and instead of having in the peninsula a dissatisfied people ever on the lookout for an opportunity to betray her to an enemy she will have a genuine ally and an enormous field of commercial and industrial exploitation.

One thing that the Japanese must get rid of is the contemptuousness with which they look upon the Korean. If they make up their minds that there is no possibility of good in the Korean every plan for mutual benefit which they can devise is doomed from the start. Contempt for a nation of ten or twelve million people, however weak and ignorant they may be, is a sign of weakness. The English had a far better right to be [page 356] contemptuous of the Indian but they were not, and in that very fact lies the unique ability of the English to colonize. On what basis do the Japanese claim that the Korean people are incapable of enlightened government? Is it because officials are prone to mutual jealousy? Time was when Japan suffered from the same cause and in

still greater measure, yet she grew out of it. Is it because of a lack of intellectual ability? Such lack has yet to be proved. The Korean is as good a mathematician as the Japanese, given the same opportunities; and this exact science forms a good gauge of intellectual capacity.

This contemptuous attitude on the part of the Japanese in Korea lies at the basis of the rough treatment that Koreans receive at their hands. The Japanese know that they can ill-treat Koreans with impunity. Do they think it is because the Koreans are a craven lot? If so they make a great mistake. It is simply because in case of retaliation the Korean has no court to which to appeal. The number of cases of assault upon entirely innocent Koreans is so great that no consul could begin to attend to them all even if he wished, and of late there have been several cases of assault upon foreigners, quite unprovoked. The contemptuous attitude of the Japanese has extended to others besides Koreans. We mention the matter not by way of complaint but only to show wherein the Japanese need instruction before they will be able to make a success of their policy in Korea.

It is much to be regretted that a policy has been adopted recently which tends to alienate the good will of the Korean people. The Japanese have no right to demand the fallow lands of Korea; they have no right to take Koreans by force and compel them to go to Manchuria as coolies, and the pity of it is all the greater because the injury thus inflicted must all be undone before Japan can genuinely profit by her influence in Korea, She is putting stumbling-blocks in her own way.

England's colonial system was built up not so much by the sword as by wise conciliation and if Japan wants to emulate England's example she must do it by making friends and not by alienating them.

[page 357] Review

La Code Pénal de la Corée by Laurent Cremazy, Ancien Avocat à la Cour d'Appel de Paris, Premier Président de Cour honoraire, Conseiller Légiste à Séoul; pp. XX and 182; 1904.

We have received a copy of this work from the author and have read it with extreme interest. The work is published privately in Seoul and each copy is issued under the signature of the author. The form and get up of the book are deserving of great praise and does great credit to the printers, Hodge & Co., of the Seoul Press. The work contains (1) A translation and an analysis of the six hundred and seventytwo articles of the Korean penal code, (2) A comparison of the text of the code with that of the Chinese code and the Annamite code, (3) Notes upon the institutions, usages and customs of Korea, (4) A resumé of the penal reforms submitted to the grand Korean Council of State, (5) A very complete index. The book is addressed or dedicated by the author "A Son Excellence, Monsieur Collin de Plancy, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la République Française in Corée. Hommage de reconnaissance et témoignage de respectueux dévouement."

In order to indicate the scope of this scholarly piece of work it will be necessary to give a short precis of the contents. The first portion of the book, which contains the Korean penal code, is divided into five sections. The first deals with the general rules for the application of penal law, under which we find the rules for the method of application of the penal code, judicial competence, arrest of suspects, taking of evidence, privileges accorded to arrested individuals, the limits of legal delays, the general rules governing places of burial, titles, the augmentation or diminution of the degree of punishment according to the rank of officials inculpated or according to degree of relationship. The second section deals with "règles de droit criminel," namely concerning punishable acts and their legal effects, several infractions of the [page 358] law by one individual, crimes committed while under detention, repetition of a crime, several individuals guilty of a single crime, thieves, old men and minors, attempted crime, exemption from punishment. The third section deals with the execution of sentences, under which are explained the different kinds of punishments, the instruments of punishment, the execution of grave penalties, instruments of corporal punishments inflicted for public or private misdemeanors, parents or others who fail to denounce or who conceal a criminal, misdemeanors of men under detention, punishment applicable to a man who has committed several crimes, punishments for attempted crime, royal clemency, augmentation and diminution of punishments, the execution of sentences, the duration of punishment, restitution, commutation of punishments, tentative liberation under caution. The fourth section contains eight chapters dealing with rebellion, crimes committed by officials in the performance of their functions, suits and judgments, frauds and trickery, the spirit cult and regard for the dead, the degradation of autels, access to the palace, mourning and funerals. The fifth section on penal legislation contains six chapters dealing with homicide and assault, adultery, marriage and succession, thieves, rules concerning goods, various infractions of law.

This gives but a very inadequate idea of the very interesting nature of the work, for it gives no details but it is remarkable how much one can learn of Korean society from a perusal of these laws and the punishments inflicted for their infraction.

Following this we find a list of proposed reforms in this code, presented to the Council of State. They suggest the abolition of beating as a punishment for officials who have committed errors in the administration of the government, and they suggest the substitution of other penalties such as a reprimand, a fine, suspension or

dismissal. The second is a recommendation to do away with the incarceration of a complainant and his witnesses until the time of trial. The third relates to the addition of a law dealing with contempt of court. The [page 359] fourth seeks to add a law granting a man damages for unmerited punishment. Another proposes to give a judge the right to refuse any commutation of sentence. The next recommends that the judge be ordered to quote the law in passing judgment on any case. The next seeks to abolish general confiscation of a criminal's property. The last would suppress the 672nd law of the code, which says that a man who does anything that he ought not to do shall be punished with forty blows. The application of this is so broad that "il est de nature à rendre superflues toutes les autres dispositions pénales" which seems quite evident.

The book ends with an index so complete that it fills forty-five pages out of the 182.

This work shows a perfect grasp of the conditions which obtain in the legal field in Korea, and the government is to be congratulated upon having in its employ a man who takes such pains to acquaint himself with the actual status of the service to which he is attached. No one who reads this book will fail to learn many interesting things about Korea that he never heard or dreamed of before. There is but one criticism that we would make. In the "Bibliographie" which the author gives, he includes among others the works of Rockhill, Landis, von Mollendorff, Allen and others but makes no mention of *The Korean Repository* or *The Korea Review* in which have appeared numerous articles bearing on social customs and laws. We venture to say that a perusal of the four volumes of the *Korean Repository* will afford more information about Korea than any other work, and while we would not claim so much for the *Korea Review* we venture to suggest that it merits at least a humble place in any bibliographic of Korea that pretends to give the sources of information about the customs of this country.

Impronte di Bellezza. Erzerum, Acquerelli Umbri, Tlemsen, by A. Monaco, Rome, 1904; pp 360.

We have received from the author a copy of this beautifully published work containing extended dissertations on the four subjects enumerated in the title. As these essays have no bearing upon Korea we do not feel [page 360] justified in using space in the Review to give them a full notice, but we judge from the title and from the general appearance of the book that it must be well worth reading.

Editorial Comment.

He was a very sanguine man who telegraphed to one of the Tokyo papers that there had been a great change for the better in the attitude of the Koreans toward the Japanese claims and that the Waste Lands scheme would again be pressed, implying that it would now be easy of accomplishment; but, as we have already intimated it is one thing to obtain the consent of the Korean Government and another and different thing to gain the consent and co-operation of the Korean people. Mr. Nagamori's aphorism "Treat a fool like a fool," is not a good augury of success. It is likely to become as notorious as Vanderbilt's exclamation "The Public be —" well, anything but felicitated. The truth is there are two ways of treating a fool. One is to take advantage of his foolishness, the other is to help him to get rid of it. Mr. Nagamori evidently considers the former method the proper one.

The foreign press in Japan and a considerable portion of the Japanese press consider this scheme a mistake and have said so frankly, but they say it must be carried through at any cost in order to save the prestige of the Japanese Government. We believe this to be a very bad principle of action. It is poor statesmanship to urge that a bad measure must be carried through simply to save the face of the party that planned it. In the long run such statesmanship will inevitably be discredited. We would like to ask the people who urge this argument one simple question. Did it injure the prestige of the United States to pay back to Japan that Shimonoseki indemnity after it was decided that it was unjust? That act was an acknowledgment that the United States had done Japan a wrong in forcing her to pay the money. Is there anything more lowering to the dignity of a nation in making restitution for a wrong than for an individual to do so? We believe not; and while some people may have thought the United States Government was Quixotic and sentimental in thus letting go of that money it is a very well established fact that that one act did more to give Japan confidence in the integrity [page 361] and the friendship of the United States than decades of diplomatic talk could have done. It did not lower the prestige of the United States by the fraction of a hair's breadth, and the Japanese would be the first to say so. Why then should it be beneath the dignity of the Japanese Government to withdraw this claim entirely, now that it is generally acknowledged to be a mistake? The history of the scheme affords a strong argument against it. Mr. Nagamori had tried to carry out a similar plan in Siam and had failed. It was transferred bodily to Korea without, apparently, the smallest consideration of the prejudices of this people. It was looked upon as a great industrial problem merely, whereas it is even more a sociological problem. One might as well say that all that stands in the way of colonization of Palestine by the Jews is the difficulty of raising the money with which to buy the land,

while as everyone knows, that is the least of the difficulties.

The difficulties which have attended the securing of Korean coolies to work with the Japanese army in Manchuria are three-fold. In the first place the ignorance of the coolie has been played upon by certain parties and the impression has gone forth that the coolies will be put in the front rank of the battle as food for Russian powder, and after the ammunition has been exhausted the Japanese will advance to an easy victory. The government has done what it could to counteract such foolish rumors and with partial success. The second reason is that in spite of the large pay offered, the Koreans do not consider it very tempting. One dollar and a half is offered, but any coolie can earn a dollar at home, and the higher cost of living in the north, the separation from their families and especially the necessity of working every day, all combine to make the average coolie rather skeptical. In the third place the way that common Koreans are treated by the Japanese about Seoul and its suburbs does not tend to make the prospect of working under Japanese overseers very appetizing. It is well known to the Koreans that money easily earned is easily lost and in such work as that in the north the temptation to gamble and to waste money in even less commendable ways is very great indeed. It can be confidently affirmed that the wives of these coolies will be a unit in their opposition to their going, for not one in ten will bring any money home with him, in all probability.

We cannot forbear a word in regard to the attitude of the missionaries towards the gestions at issue as between Korea and Japan. The missionaries (Protestant) [page 362] have been besieged with Korean Christians who ask for advice as to what attitude they shall take and what they shall do. Shall they join a society for the protection of Korea's rights? Shall they forcibly resist impressment into the ranks of coolies for the north? Shall they do this or shall they do that? So far we know the missionaries have handled these questions in a very conservative way. They have told the Christian Koreans that if they mix in any of these attempts it must be merely as individuals and not as a church. It is the fixed determination of the missionaries to prevent the church as such from becoming identified with any special political movement. In every case the Christians have been advised to refrain from violence but rather to submit even to injustice, unless a question of conscience is involved. The Christian Church is not in Korea to reform the government or society except through the propagation of the principles of Christianity. It is quite apart from politics, and we trust always will be.

News Calendar.

The Law Department has asked the Supreme Court to deal with the Korean miscreant who dug open the grave of one of the kings of the last dynasty at Song-do, extracted some pottery and sold it to a Japanese for four dollars.

The Home Department has declined to give the Japanese 1,000 tsubo of land at Chemulpo for a meteorological observatory.

The prefect of Chang-yun reports that he has arrested Kim Tak-po a prominent Tong-hak leader who is guilty of seven different offences; arson, theft, robbery, sedition, &c., &c., and he asks for instructions.

Some two months or more ago a special irrigation bureau was established, apparently for the purpose of giving some officials fat positions and exploiting the resources of the country for selfish purposes. It is believed that it was through this clique that the matter of waste land concession was pushed. This bureau was abolished about the end of July.

The Emperor of Korea sent a message to Japan about the first of August asking that Marquis Ito come to Korea to act as general advisor to the Government. The reports as to whether he will come or not are conflicting. It is to be hoped for Korea's sake as well as Japan's that he will come.

It is reported that the Emperor is very desirous that Yi Yong-ik should return from Japan and aid in the administration of the Government. Whether the Japanese will comply or not is as yet a vexed question.

A Japanese Commission composed of twenty-four gendarmes under command of a Major are going to Kang-wun Province on a tour of inspection, and the Korean Home Office has sent to the various prefects ordering them to give every facility to the Commission.

[page 363] On July 30 Sim Sang-han the Vice Prime Minister and Yi Ha-yung the Foreign Minister visited the Japanese Legation under instructions from His Majesty to secure a definite withdrawal of the waste lands demand. The matter was temporarily arranged but the Japanese authorities have not withdrawn the claim

definitely.

The Japanese desire to put up a telegraph line between Ch'ol-yung, in Kang-wun Province, and Wonsan. They ask that the Korean Government give the 570 telegraph poles that will be required.

The Japanese military authorities have seen fit to put up at the street corners wooden guide posts. There can be no possible harm in this but it appears to have been done without consulting the Korean authorities, and so the Korean Chief of Police sent to the Foreign Office asking that the Japanese be told to remove the posts.

The Governor of Pyeng-yang reports that the people of Kasan are much exercised over the seizure of large tracts of land in that district by the Japanese ostensibly for railroad purposes. They describe the land thus taken as forty li square. As this involves the loss of the standing crops the people are desperate and desire relief.

On the nth inst., a cave-in occurred in the tunnel which is being driven under Namsan outside the South Gate and one Japanese was killed and one Korean was severely injured.

About the 12th inst. the apportionment of the number of coolies to be drawn from each province was made. Kyung-geui, South Ch'ungchung, North and South Chulla, North and South Kyung-sang each give 1,200 coolies and North Ch'ung-ch'ung gives 800. This makes 8,000 in all. It is hardly necessary to say that these men are not forthcoming as yet. The Japanese posted a communication in Seoul giving the terms on which coolies would be engaged, (1) Wages to be one and a half Korean dollars a day, (2) five dollars to be given in advance for the coolie to leave with his family, (3) the place of service to be north of Pyeng-yang, (4) food provided from day of contract but wages to begin when actual work is begun. (5) transportation to be provided free of cost, (6) each coolie to provide his own Jiggy. (7) fifty cents a day to be paid to anyone who enrolls fifty coolies, (8) overseer of fifty men to receive two dollars a day, (9) If any coolie is ill he is to receive medical care, (10) no violence will be allowed in the treatment of the coolies, (11) remittances to coolies' families to be sent faithfully by the Japanese, (12) the food will be plentiful and of good quality, (13) the final date of enlistment is August 20th, (14) limit of enrollment is 10,000 men, (15) anyone who attempts to interfere with the enrollment of coolies to be severely punished

The Supt. of Trade at Chinnampo reports that a Korean engaged on the railway, having committed some offence, was shot by the Japanese

The Home Minister having ordered the various provincial governors to acquaint the prefects with the terms under which coolies are to be secured by the Japanese, the Governor of Kyung-geui sent to the prefects saying that in accordance with the order of the central government he has informed the people of the terms under which the coolies are to go but that erroneous reports have been circulated to the effect that the coolies would be forced to fight the Russians and that for this reason the people refuse to go. The people must know that these reports are false and that the coolies will not be sent within a thousand li of the actual fighting. They must know that the wages are good, the food excellent, medical care efficient and postal facilities sufficient. He adds that the offer of the Japanese is generous, that Koreans have an opportunity to earn splendid wages and that he trusts that the 6,000 men required will be soon forthcoming.

[page 364] The prefect of Yong-in reports that while he was collecting the eighty men required from his district some Japanese gendarmes and the local ajuns went to the market place and seized three Koreans and immediately all the inns were deserted and the people fled. One other man was seized. That night five or six thousand people came armed with clubs and demanded of him why he wanted to kill them and demanded the release of the four men. He complied and got the Japanese gendarmes out of the place as best he could, to save their lives. After this the excitement subsided. Not a single coolie was obtained there.

Early in August the Belgian authorities applied to the Korean Government for a gold mining concession, basing the request upon the fact that other nationalities had been given concessions.

The governor of South Ham-gy'ung Province announces that twenty-four districts of the province will be unable to pay the house tax owing to great disturbances due to war, whereby many houses have been deserted and the peaceful avocations of the people have been suspended.

Memorials continued to pour in charging Kwon Chung-suk with being a traitor in trying to sell the country to the Japanese. This was because he was understood to be one of the instruments used by the Japanese in the

waste land propaganda. Kwon denies that he is culpable and has singled out one of his detractors to sue him before the Supreme Court. The man selected is Yun Si-yong and this gentleman so far from shrinking from the ordeal is eager to engage the doughty Kwon before the bar of the Supreme Court. The court will shortly sit and then we shall see what we shall see.

Now that the Electric Company is a joint American and Korean Company a Korean joint manager has been appointed in the person of Yi Keun-sang, formerly vice Minister of Agriculture; and two other overseers namely Hong U-gwan and Nam Chung-gyu.

Some time ago it was decided to send abroad a number of Korean young men to be educated. At first only sons of officials were offered the opportunity but they unanimously declined, so now it is being offered to men of lower social standing.

On the seventh inst. the prison doors were opened and some one hundred and twenty men were set at liberty. It is said that most of these were men who had been imprisoned through private spite or party animosity. It is with great pleasure that we note the final release of Mr. Yi Seung-man whose long imprisonment of more than five years has been a constant source of grief to his foreign friends. They have known all the time that he was no more guilty of any crime than scores of others who were long ago released. Many of these men came out of prison without other clothes than their prison uniform of blue. Some wealthy merchants at Chongno subscribed enough money to buy each of them a suit of clothes. We call attention to this as a striking example of the innate kindness of the average Korean. These prisoners had no claim on the merchants, and the latter had nothing to gain by giving this money except the consciousness of having helped strangers who were in desperate need.

On the 7th of August began the Japanese demands upon the Korean Government for coolies to go to Manchuria. The prefects of Changyun, Mung-wha, Sin-chun and Eul-yul were asked to furnish 6,000 coolies. The prefects referred the matter to the governor and he in turn sent to Seoul where the authorities ordered the request to be honored.

The people along the Yalu complain that the Korean soldiers are useless as against the Chinese raiders who have been active since the [page 365] passage of the Japanese army. They ask that they be allowed to organize the tiger hunters as a border guard. The request has been granted.

The southern portion of the Seoul Fusan Railway has been opened for traffic as far as the town Ch'ong-do which is only about fifteen miles from Taiku.

The native press tells us that a boat loaded with 18,000 railroad ties for the Seoul Fusan R.R. was wrecked off Ulsan on the 29th of July.

A telegram from Wonsan on the 6th inst. says that on the 2nd 400 Russian cavalry arrived at Ham-heung at eight o'clock p. m. Thirteen of them seized the telegraph office. It is said that they travelled by night and rested during the day. They had three field guns and 400 extra horses and brought a large amount of ammunition and other supplies.

It is said that the fishermen off the northeast coast lost \$80,000 worth of fish at the time of the Russian raid out of Vladivostock and the bombardment of Wonsan. The loss was caused by the hasty flight of the fishermen who gave up everything to secure their personal safety.

Cho Min-heui, the Korean Minister to Japan, returned to Korea on furlough on the 25th inst.

The Governor of Pyeng-yang reported on the 9th that the attempt of the Japanese military authorities to secure coolies for Manchuria in Chinnampo and Yong-gang would result in a general uprising if persisted in and he urged that the Japanese be asked to discontinue the attempt.

The Emperor donated yen 15,000 to the Japanese Relief Fund, to which Min Pyung-suk added yen 100 and Cho Chung-yun yen 500.

The Chief of Police complained to the Foreign Office about the stationing of Japanese guards at the city gates and claimed that it is an insult to Korea. He asks that the Foreign Office take steps to have this discontinued.

On the 8th inst at one o'clock in the afternoon the Japanese and Russian outposts came in touch with each other between Wonsan and Tuk-wun. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which the Japanese drove back the Russians but there were no casualties. Two horses fell into Japanese hands. The next morning at a very early hour the Russians appeared again at the mouth of the Tuk-wun River just north of Wonsan, perhaps two miles distant from the Custom-house, but the Japanese were ready for them there also and after a short sharp fight the Russians again retired leaving three dead in Japanese hands. It is said that seven other Russians were wounded but were carried away by their comrades.

The special Northwest Railway Bureau has been done away or rather has been merged in the general Railway Bureau in Seoul.

Some time ago a Korean Company was formed under the leadership of Su O-sun to build branch railways from Kunsan and Mokpo to the Seoul-Fusan line, and it has lately taken steps to get to work, but the Japanese Minister sent to the Foreign Office saying that this will be an injury to the Seoul-Fusan line, that these Koreans cannot raise the money to carry out the work properly, and that these branch roads should be included in the concession for the Seoul-Fusan line.

The Minister of Law has been compelled by the delinquencies of the clerks of his office to impose a list of fines and punishments for nonattendance.

[page 366] On the 27th ult. the Foreign Minister sent back to the Japanese Legation all the papers that had passed relative to the Land Scheme, but the Minister sent them back saying that the incident had not as yet been closed and the Foreign Office should keep the papers in hand.

A scheme was gotten up by a few self-interested Korean officials to pawn the resources of Korea for ten million dollars, ostensibly for the establishment of a Korean Bank by the Household Department. Kwun Chung-hyun memorialized the throne saying that it was a foolish plan, that the Koreans who were trying to put it through were looking merely to the squeeze, that they were a pack of thieves and they deserved severe punishment. The loan was to have been for thirty years at five per cent. This protest took effect and the loan was not made.

Some Japanese fishermen at Yung-duk, Kyung Sang Do, seized the fish which had been caught by two Koreans, and in the quarrel which ensued killed the two Koreans. The Home Office asked the Foreign Office to communicate with the Japanese Minister about it.

The Governor of Kang-Wun Province reports that a Japanese military officer at Wonsan has asked for information as to the various products of the province, the places where each is grown, the amount of rice raised, the number of houses, and other statistics. As the matter is of national rather than local import the Governor refers the Japanese to the central Government for enlightenment.

The governor at Ha-ju, also, is asked to give the number of people, pigs, chickens and other commodities of his province and is asked to be in readiness to give the Japanese whatever they asked for. It is not anticipated that the governor will count the hens of his province in person.

Early in August the Japanese authorities asked the Korean government whether it was true that Mons. Henry was to be made Adviser to the Household Department. The answer was a decided negative. A couple of weeks later the gentleman named left Seoul for China.

On the 13th inst. the Japanese Minister in audience with His Majesty urged the following considerations. (1) The selection of good men for official position, (2) abolition of useless public offices, (3) reorganization of the monetary system, (4) payment of salaries in gold money, (3) appointment of a Japanese adviser to the Finance Department and of an American as adviser to the Foreign Department.

It was reported on the 14th that 1,200 Russians had arrived at Mach'un Pass north of Ham-heung.

The rumor which circulated in Seoul about Aug. 20th that Yi Yongik was to be brought back to Korea seems to have been quite false.

About the middle of the month the Japanese Minister suggested to the Emperor that it would be a good thing to recall all Korean Ministers from foreign countries. No definite reason seems to have been given for this rather

singular suggestion.

Mr. Kato, the Adviser to the Department of Agriculture, etc., returned from Japan about the middle of August.

On the 16th inst. Japanese gendarmes entered the palace grounds and made a careful survey of them. This caused some uneasiness among the Koreans who surmise that it means a Japanese body-guard for His Majesty.

The Governor of Pyengyang reports that certain Koreans have come back from Manchuria and report that the Korean coolies are pressed into active service and put into the firing line and that many have been killed. These reports have caused consternation among the people especially among the relatives of those who have gone as coolies to the north. The report is of course absurd.

[page 367] The Japanese military authorities caused notices to be posted on the hills along the river above Yongsan saying that as these were needed for military purposes no one must buy or sell any land there. One of these was set up on Dr. Underwood's property at Hankang but when it was learned that it was American property the Japanese courteously expressed regrets and promised to remove the notice from that point.

Some Japanese fishermen have been killing fish in the Han river with explosives. This is a thing that would not be permitted for a moment in Japan and steps should be taken to have it stopped here.

On the 22nd inst. Sim Sang-hun, Acting Prime Minister and one of the strongest men that the present regime can boast, made a powerful appeal to the Emperor to drive from office four men namely Hyun Yung-un, Cho Pyung-p'il, Yi Pong-na and Yi Keun-tak. He gave various reasons for the necessity of such action and asserted that if this was not done he would throw up his portfolio and retire from public life. It is said that the Japanese Minister and leading military men have asked him to reconsider this decision and remain in office. His withdrawal from public life under these circumstances would doubtless add very much to the growing sentiment of the people against the Japanese.

The rumor is about that the Korean government has been asked by the Japanese authorities not to employ any foreigner without first consulting them.

Mr. Yun Chi-ho has been appointed Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs.

In pursuance of a new policy of the government in appointing men to office, the Educational Department called up all those who hold diplomas showing their graduation from the various schools and made a list of their names and then sent to the different government offices stating that if men were needed the Educational Department would nominate men from among these graduates. This is the one and only way by which the schools of Korea can be revived. The knowledge that graduation will put them in line for the civil service will fill the schools as nothing else could do.

On July 30 the Governor of South Ham-gyung stated that 300 Russian cavalry came from Yi-wun to Puk-ch'ung and a Korean Major at the latter place reported that 150 Russians went from there to Ham-heung.

On Aug. 3rd the Chief of Police reported to the Foreign Office that he had received notice from the police at the West Gate that ten Japanese soldiers and seven gendarmes passed the gate having in charge three Koreans, Sin Hyung-gyun, Won Se-sung and Yi Pomsak, leaders of the National Protective Association. The hair of these men had been cut and they were being taken to An-ju to be held in durance because of the agitations against the Japanese demands.

The Minister of Agriculture, Commerce, etc. has sent to all the thirteen provinces ordering that no timber must be cut without permission being obtained from the central office.

The Governor of Pyeng-yang reported on the 4th inst. that the Japanese tried to get 1,000 coolies at Chung-ju but on account of the farm work not a single man would go.

The Chief of Police sent to the Foreign Office asking that an effort be made to have the Japanese turn over to the Korean authorities the persons of Yi Chi-wha and Kil Yong-su who had been leading members of the Peddlers guild and are held in durance by the Japanese at the barracks in front of the palace.

[page 368] Reports came from the north on the 5th inst that 135 houses had been burned by the Russians at Ham-heung, fifty-nine houses at Kowun and eight houses on Mun-Ch'un and that one man was killed in Kowun and four at Chang-jin.

Early in August the chief of Japanese gendarmes sent to the Home Department asking that 2,000 coolies be provided from the four provinces of Kyung-geui, Ch'ung-Chung, Chul-la and Kyung-Yang.

About the middle of August Major Pereira D. S. O. started on a trip to Pak-tu San on the northern border, not being quite sure whether he would be stopped by Russians en route.

The Koreans who lost \$8,000 worth of dried ling by the sinking of the Goyo Maru have sent to Seoul asking the government to collect this little sum from the Russian Government!

The Governor of North Ham-gyung reports that many of the people have run away owing to the necessity of pressing them into the service on the roads which the Russians ordered built from the north to Sung-jin.

In the Seoul tennis tournament the doubles have been finished. Messrs Davidson and Porter beating Messrs. Lapeyriere and Hulbert in the finals. The score was 6-4, 11-9. The second set was a severe contest as the score shows. The singles have yet to be finished as Messrs. Davidson, Porter and Hulbert have tied for first place. It is expected that these will be played off early in September.

As an illustration of our statement that the deforestation of the country is causing a shrinkage in arable land because of the scouring the hills we note that the prefect of Sam-ga in Kyungsang has reported that a violent rain storm there caused the covering with sand of fields which required 886 measures of seed grain for sowing or about sixteen bags. This is no small tract of land and it is rendered quite useless. This sort of thing is going on all over the country every rainy season.

The number of men engaged in repairing the road between Seoul and Wiju is as follows, by sections, between Wiju and Sun-chun 5,572; between Sun-chun and Chong-ju 1,903; between Chong-ju and Kasan 640; between Kasan and Anju 4,250; between Anju and Seoul 11,500. This makes a total of 23,862 men. It is said that when it is finished there will be a fine smooth road all the way to the northern border.

Yun Eung-yul has resigned the portfolio of War and Min Yunggeui has been appointed in his place.

Kim Ka-jin resigned the Ministry of agriculture etc. and Yi To-ji has succeeded him.

On the 22nd a new society was formed called the Il-jin or "Straight Progressive" Society. It met at Chong-no in the Cotton Guild. Yun Si-byung was appointed President with Yu Hak-chu as second. Outsiders were not admitted. The place was guarded by Japanese gendarmes. The Korean police came at first and attempted to stop the meeting but the Japanese interfered and protected the meeting from disturbance. This caused the report to spread that the society was working in the interests of the Japanese.

[page 369] KOREAN HISTORY.

The body was wrapped in some sort of blanket, saturated with petroleum and burned at the edge of a pine grove immediately to the east of the pond which lies in front of the royal quarters.

The Royal family had been aware for two days of the danger which threatened. The guards at the palace had been reduced, the arms had been taken away and the movements of Japanese troops were very suspicious. The King advised the Queen to go to a place of safety and she said she would do so if the Queen Dowager would also go, but the latter refused. Chong Pyung-ha who had been raised to high office through the patronage of the Queen but who had struck hands with the Japanese urged with great insistence that there was no danger to Her Majesty's person and it was the confidence expressed by this traitor that did the most to set at rest the apprehension of the King and the Queen.

At about the time when the Queen was being killed the Ta-wun-gun came into the presence of the King and took the direction of affairs at the court. As might be supposed, both the King and the Crown Prince were in anything but an enviable frame of mind. They had been pushed about and insulted by low Japanese and felt that their lives were momentarily in danger. Col Yi Kyung-jik the Minister of the Household Department had taken his stand at the door of the Queen's apartments and had there been cut down by the Japanese or

Koreans but succeeded in making his way, desperately wounded, into the presence of the King. He was there stabbed to death by the Japanese before the eyes of His Majesty. This did not tend to reassure the King and the Crown Prince but the coming of the Ta-wun-gun tended to quiet them somewhat. Of course they had no idea as yet that the Queen had been despatched.

Before dawn began to break the King learned that Japanese troops were pouring into the barracks in front of the palace, and as some semblance of order had been restored in the immediate presence of His Majesty, a note was sent in [page 370] haste to the Japanese Minister asking what all this meant. The messenger found Miura and Sugimura already up and dressed and sedan chairs at the door. Miura told the messenger that he had heard that troops had been marched to the barracks but did not know why. The Minister and his secretary thereupon proceeded rapidly to the palace. Immediately upon their arrival all the disturbance suddenly quieted down and the soshi dispersed and left the palace grounds. The Japanese Minister and secretary immediately sought an audience with His Majesty, accompanied only by an interpreter and another Japanese who had led the soshi. The Ta-wun-gun was also present.

Three documents were prepared by those present and placed before His Majesty for signature, one of them guaranteeing that the Cabinet should thereafter manage the affairs of the country, the second appointing Yi Cha-myun, the King's brother, as Minister of the Household in place of Yi Kyung-jik who had just been killed, and the third appointing a vice-Minister of the Household. These documents the king perforce signed. Whereupon all Japanese troops were removed from the palace and only the Japanese-trained Korean troops were left as a palace-guard. Later in the day Ministers of War and Police were appointed in the persons of Cho Heui-yun and Kwun Yung-jin, both strong partisans of the Japanese and doubtless privy to the attack upon the palace and the murder of the Queen. In other words the King and court was surrounded by men every one of whom were in sympathy with the movement which had been planned by Viscount Miura.

Very early in the morning, while it was still scarcely daylight, Mr. Waeber the Russian *Chargé d'Affaires* and Dr. Allen the American *Chargé d'Affaires ad interim* came to the palace and sought audience with the King but were told that the King was unwell and could not see them. They insisted, however, and succeeded in seeing His Majesty, who told them that he still had hopes that the Queen had escaped, and besought their friendly offices to prevent further trouble. Other foreign representatives were received later in the day.

It soon became evident that the Japanese authorities intended to deny any responsibility for the outrages committed. [page 371] Miura stated in his dispatches to his government that the origin of the emeute was a conflict between the Japanese-drilled Korean troops, who desired to lay a complaint before His Majesty, and the palace guards who tried to prevent their entrance into the palace. Miura even sought to strengthen his disclaimer by obtaining from the newly appointed Minister of War a definite official statement that the rumors of his (Miura's) complicity in the affair were without foundation. The document that the Minister of War sent in reply proved altogether too much and defeated its own purpose, for it stated baldly that there was not a single Japanese in the palace on the night of the eighth of October, when the Queen was murdered. As this Minister was a creature of the Japanese and as the presence of Japanese in the palace was clearly proved subsequently it is evident that Miura, by this sort of trickery, only succeeded in further implicating himself.

On the ninth, the day after the emeute, a full cabinet was appointed composed entirely of Japanese sympathisers, but with one or two exceptions they were not privy to the assassination of the Queen, though they were willing to profit by that crime in accepting office at the hands of the perpetrators. The men appointed were Yi Cha-myun, Kim Hong-jip, Kim Yun-sik, Pak Chong-yang, Sim Sang-hun, Cho Heui-yon, So Kwang-bom and Chong Pyung-ha.

One would have supposed that the enemies of the Queen would have been satisfied by her death, but not so. On the eleventh, three days after her assassination, an edict purporting to have originated with His Majesty and signed by the full cabinet appeared in the Court Gazette. In it the Queen is charged with having interfered in public matters, disturbed the government and put the dynasty in peril. It is stated that she has disappeared and that her guilt is excessive; therefore she is deposed from her rank as Queen and reduced to the level of the lowest class.

There can be no doubt that this edict is fraudulent. The King never gave his consent to it and several of the members of the Cabinet knew nothing about it, notably Sim Sang-hun who had already thrown up his position and run away, and Pak Chong-yang who denounced the nefarious business and resigned. It was put through by a few of the Cabinet who [page 372] were thoroughly subservient to the Japanese. The Japanese Minister in reply to the announcement of the Queen's degradation, affected to sympathize with the Korean Government but thought it was done for the good of the State. The United States Representative refused to recognize the decree as coming from His Majesty, and in this he was seconded by all the other Foreign Representatives except one.

Meanwhile the Japanese government began to learn something of the truth in regard to the Queen's death and felt called upon to defend itself from the charge of complicity in the outrage through its accredited Minister. Consequently it recalled Miura and Sugimura and upon their arrival in Japan they were arrested and

charged with complicity in the matter. The fact of their arrest and trial was a distinct disclaimer on the part of the Japanese government that it was accessory to the crime; and in spite of the utter inadequacy of the trial and its almost ludicrous termination we hold to the theory that the Japanese government was not a party to the crime excepting in so far as the appointment of such a man as Miura can be called complicity.

But the vigorous action of Japan in arresting Miura and putting him on trial had a strong influence upon the course of events in Korea. The Korean public and all the Foreign Representatives were demanding that the occurrences of the eighth of October should be investigated and the responsibility for the murder of the Queen placed where it rightly belonged. This itself bore strongly upon the Cabinet, but when in addition to this the Japanese government itself seemed to be weakening and it appeared that Miura's acts would prove to have been unauthorized things begun to look rather black for the men who were enjoying office solely through Miura's influence, and although the fiction was still maintained that the Queen was not dead but in hiding somewhere, the situation became more and more strained until at last it became evident even to the Cabinet that something must be done to relieve the situation. Accordingly on the 26th of November the Foreign Representatives and several other foreigners were invited to the palace and it was announced in the presence of His Majesty that Cho Heui-yon the Minister of War and Kwun Yung-jin the Chief of Police were dismissed, [page 373] that the edict degrading the Queen was rescinded and that the facts connected with the attack on the palace would be investigated by the Department of Justice and all guilty persons tried and punished. At the same time the death of Her Majesty was formally announced.

The popular feeling against the Japanese-trained troops was so strong that they were dismissed and another guard summoned but as a matter of fact this new guard was composed almost entirely of the very men who had formerly composed the Japanese-drilled corps.

The position of His Majesty during the months succeeding the attack was anything but comfortable. He had no voice in the direction of affairs, and he considered himself practically a prisoner in the hands of the Cabinet. He even feared for his life, and for weeks ate no food except what was brought to him in a locked box from friends outside the palace. He had requested that two or three foreigners should come to the palace each night and be at hand in case of trouble, feeling that their presence would exert a deterrent influence upon any who might plot injury to his person.

The half-way measures adopted on Nov. 26th by no means satisfied those who wished to see His Majesty freed from practical duress at the hands of men thoroughly obnoxious to him, and a scheme was evolved by a number of Koreans to effect his release by forcible means. The purpose of these men was a laudable one but the execution of it was ill-managed. On the night of the 28th upwards of a thousand Koreans demanded entrance into the palace. They had arranged with one of the members of the palace guard, inside, to open the gate to them, but at the last moment he failed them and they found themselves balked. The palace was in some confusion, the King had called into his presence the three foreigners who, at his request, were on duty that night, but in spite of their assurances that his person would be protected it was only natural that excitement should run high. The crowd without were shouting wildly and attempting to scale the high wall, and the members of the cabinet, before the King, did not know at what moment the guard might betray them to the assailants, and they knew that once betrayed they would be torn to pieces without mercy. They [page 374] tried therefore to induce the King to remove to a distant part of the palace where he could hide for a long time before he could be found even though the crowd should effect an entrance. The night was bitterly cold and the King was but lightly clad, and as the King's person was safe in any event, the foreigners who were with him opposed the move strongly and at last were compelled to use physical force to prevent the change, which would certainly have endangered the King's life. The purpose of the cabinet was thus thwarted but as the hours passed it became evident that the men outside would not be able to effect an entrance. The shouts gradually died away and at last the crowd dispersed leaving in the hands of the palace guard three or four men who had scaled the wall but had not been followed by their confreres.

In view of the attitude of the Tokyo Government the Japanese in Seoul were now entirely quiescent and the government was standing on its own base. The cabinet held its own by virtue of the palace guard which was composed of the soldiers trained by the Japanese. This cabinet and guard held together from necessity, for both knew that should their power fail they would be denounced as traitors and under the circumstances could expect little help from the Japanese. The cabinet had to make a show of investigating the attack of Oct. 5th and someone must be killed for having murdered the queen. At the same time punishment was to be meted out to the principals in the attempt on the palace on November 28th.

Three men were arrested and charged with being directly implicated in the crime of regicide. Of these one was certainly innocent and while the second was probably privy to the crime, being a lieutenant of the Japanese trained troops, there was no evidence adduced to prove his actual participation in the act of assassination. He had not been reinstated in his position in the new guard and he knew altogether too much about the existing cabinet. Their choice fell upon him as one of the scapegoats. The third was Yi Chu-hoe formerly Vice Minister of War. There was no evidence adduced against him at the trial, though from other

considerations be seems to have been implicated in the outrage. He was chosen as the principal one to bear the [page 375] obloquy of the crime, probably because (1) he was a bitter enemy of the existing cabinet and (2) because it was necessary for the sake of appearances to convict and execute someone of rank and reputation. As a fact the court did not know and never discovered who the actual perpetrators were. The three men were executed before the end of the year.

Though only three men were arrested in connection with the assassination of the queen thirty-three men were arrested in connection with the comparatively trivial affair of November 28th. Their trial proceeded simultaneously with that of the other three. Two of them were condemned to death, four to exile for life and four to three years imprisonment. To show the kind of evidence on which these convictions were based we will cite the case of Prince Yi Cha-sun who was proved to have gotten hold of some compromising documents and to have shown them to the King only, instead of to the proper authorities, namely, of course, the cabinet. On these grounds he was sentenced to three years imprisonment!

December and January saw matters move to an inevitable climax. The cabinet forced upon the people the edict ordering the cutting off of the top-knot, the distinctive mark of Korean citizenship. The whole country was in a ferment and the people, almost to a man, were gnashing their teeth at the cabinet. The finding of the Hiroshima court claimed to have freed Miura and his fellows from blame and it was rumored that several of them were to return to Korea to take office under the government. Chong Pyung-ha, a proved traitor, had been reinstated in the cabinet as Minister of Agriculture and Cho Heui-yun as Minister of War. and it was reported that Kwun Yong-jin who had fled to Japan would be made again Chief of Police. It was perfectly evident, therefore, that the grip of the Japanese upon the king through the Goaler Cabinet was tightening and that there was no escape from it except through heroic measures. These measures the king was prepared to adopt rather than longer endure the humiliating position to which he seemed condemned. At that time the principal men in the cabinet were Kim Hong-jip, Chong Pyong-ha, O Yun-jung, Yu Kiljun. Of these O Yun-jung seems to have been far less [page 376] culpable than the rest. The king had great confidence in him and had he not met his fate at the hands of the people he would probably have been called back to office.

But now we come to the important step taken by His Majesty to free himself from his unpleasant position. He determined to find asylum in the Russian Legation. C. Waeber was the Russian Minister, a pronounced friend of the dead Queen, and a man of great ability. Just how he was approached and his consent gained to the king's scheme is not generally known but in view of subsequent events and the part that Russia intended to play in Korea it is easy to see how the Russian Representative would welcome an opportunity to do the King such a signal service and one which was of such a personal character as to render it certain that it would never be forgotten.

The plan was carried out successfully in every detail. Women's chairs were caused to be sent in and out the palace gates at frequent intervals by day and night until the guards had become quite accustomed to them. Then on the night of the eleventh of February the King and the Crown Prince without escort slipped by the guards in common women's chairs and were taken directly to the Russian Legation where they were courteously received and given the best portion of the Legation building. This act was of course a grievous lapse from the dignity that befits a king but under the circumstances there is much to say by way of excuse. On the whole it must be considered a mistake so far as the country at large is concerned, for it set in motion a new set of factors which probably did more harm than the temporary enforced seclusion of the King could have done. It acted as a potent factor in embittering the Japanese against Russia and opened the door for Russian intrigue which finally hastened if it did not actually cause the war at present waging. Had Japan been able to preserve the predominance which she held in Korea just after the China-Japan war she might have looked with more or less complaisancy upon the Russian aggression in Manchuria, but when Korea itself became disputed ground the war was inevitable.

At seven o'clock on the morning of February 11th the King and the Crown Prince entered the Russian Legation. [page 377] Several hours elapsed before the Cabinet in the palace became aware of the fact. During that interval active operations were going on at the Russian Legation. The organization of a new cabinet was hastened by summoning from various parts of the city such officials as the King could trust. Pak Chong-yang was made Prime Minister. No time was lost in putting out a Royal Edict deprecating the necessity of taking refuge in a foreign legation, promising to punish the real authors of the Queen's assassination, rescinding the order for cutting the top-knots. This was posted on the gates of the Legation and at various points throughout the city.

Chapter XXII

The King at the Russian Legation A Royal edict . . . Massacre or flight of cabinet miuisters an excited city Japanese consternation . . . provincial uprisings . . . party reorganization . . . The Independence

Club . . . trial of Queen's murderers . . . Appointment of Dr. Brown as adviser to Finance Department . . . The Independent . . . The Waeber-Komura Convention . . . material reforms . . . reaction . . . The Independence Arch . . . Seoul-Chemulpo railway concession . . . The new palace planned . . . retrogressive signs . . . postal and other administrative reforms.

When the public awoke to the momentous fact, a thrill of excitement and, generally, of approval went through the whole population of Seoul. The city hummed with excited humanity. The streets swarmed with the crowds bent upon watching the course of such stirring events.

Later in the day the King put forth an edict calling upon the soldiers to rally to his support and urging them to bring the heads of the traitors Cho Heui-yun, U Pom-sun, Yi Tuwhang, Yi Pom-na, Yi Chin-ho and Kon Yong-jin. But later still this was toned down to read that these individuals should be seized and turned over to the proper authorities for trial.

The reason why the names of Kim Hong-jip, Chong Pyong-Ha and others of the former cabinet were not included was because they had already met their fate. As soon as it became known in the palace that the King had fled, these [page 378] men saw that their lives were forfeited. O Yun-jung managed to escape to the country but was set upon and killed by the people, Cho Heui-Yun escaped, Yu Kil-jun was spirited away to Japan by the Japanese; but Kim Hong-jip and Chong Pyong-ha found no way of escape. Being seized by the Korean soldiers, were immediately rushed by the crowd and killed. Their bodies were hauled to Chong-no where they were stamped upon, kicked, bitten and stoned by a halfcrazed rabble for hours. A Japanese who happened to be passing was set upon by the crowd and killed and several foreigners drawn to the spot by curiosity were threatened.

The King was shocked when he heard of the summary execution of the two ministers, whom he intended to give a fair trial. Two days later an edict was promulgated by the King deploring the impoverished state of the country and laying the blame upon himself; and concluded by remitting all arrears of taxes due up to July 1894. The new cabinet consisted of the following men Pak Chong-yang, Yi Yun-yong, An Kyung-su, Ko Yong-heui, Yun Chi-ha. Yun Yong-gu, Yi Wan-yong and Cho Pyung-jik.

To say that the Japanese were nonplussed by this coup on the part of the King would be to put it very mildly. All their efforts to consolidate their power in Korea and to secure there some fruit of the victory in the war just finished, had been worse than thrown away. The King had thrown himself into the arms of Russia and the whole Korean people were worked up to a white heat against Japan, comparable only with the feelings elicited by the invasion of 1592. It was a very great pity, for Japan was in a position to do for Korea infinitely more than Russia would do. The interests of Korea and Japan were identical or at least complementary and the mistake which Japan made in the latter half of 1895 was one whose effects will require decades to efface.

When the King thus wrenched himself out of Japanese hands the Japanese papers in Seoul bewailed the fact that the country was without a ruler, and almost directly advised the people to put someone else on the throne, and this without censure from the Japanese authorities. And it is well known among Koreans that there was a strong faction among the Koreans who were willing to attempt to put Yi Chun -yong, [page 379] the grandson of the Ta-wun-gun on the throne, had that ambitious young man been possessed of the requisite amount of assurance. Fortunately such was not the case and the country was saved from further upheaval.

But the Japanese authorities though thrown into consternation by this radical movement of His Majesty did not give up hope of mending matters. The Japanese Minister saw the King at the Russian Legation and urged upon him every possible argument for returning to the palace. His Majesty, however, being now wholly relieved from anxiety as to his personal safety, enjoyed the respite too thoroughly to cut it short, and so politely refused to change his place of residence. A large number of Japanese in Seoul became convinced that Japan had hopelessly compromised herself, and left the country, but the Japanese Government itself by no act or word granted that her paramount influence in the peninsula was impaired and with admirable sangfroid took up the new line of work imposed upon her by the King's peculiar action, meanwhile putting down one more score against Russia, to be reckoned with later.

The country was suffering from the excitement caused by the news of the Japanese diplomatic reverses, and the people in many districts rose in revolt and declared that they would drive all the Japanese out of the country. These efforts were however scattered and sporadic in their nature and were successfully quelled by Korean Government troops sent down to the various disaffected districts for this purpose.

Now that it was possible the King hastened to order a new investigation of the circumstances attending the death of the Queen. It was feared that this would result in a very sweeping arrest of Koreans and the punishment of many people on mere suspicion, but these fears were ill-founded. The trials were carried through under the eye of Mr. Greathouse the adviser to the Law Department and a man of great legal ability. Thirteen men were arrested and tried in open court without torture and with every privilege of a fair trial. One man Yi Whi-wha was condemned to death, four banished for life and five for lesser periods. This dispassionate trial was not the least of the signs which pointed toward a new and enlightened era in Korean political history.

[page 380] Not only in the country but in Seoul as well the prestige of Japan had suffered greatly by the events of the winter of 1895-96. After the Japan-China war the Koreans were divided into two distinct factions, one holding strongly with the Japanese and the other advocating a more conservative policy, but gradually as the political situation began to crystalize these two split into four, namely the Japanese faction, the King's faction, the Queen's faction, and the Tawon-gun's faction. This is merely another way of saying that every strong political possibility will have its own faction in such a land as this, according as each man fancies that his champion will get supreme power and reward those who have followed in his train. The number of men who follow the standard of this or that party because of any altruistic or purely patriotic consideration is so small as to be a negligible quantity. When, therefore, it appeared that Japan's star was setting in Korea there was a hasty shifting of political platforms and soon it appeared that there were only two, one of which favored Russian influence and the other conservative and very quiet, for the time being, until the extreme pro-Russian enthusiasm should subside somewhat. Of course the Ta-won-gun's had disappeared with the waning fortunes of the Japanese and the Queen's faction had gone over to the Russians. It was the conservatives alone that held to their former position and desired no foreign interference whatever. But many of those who had favored the Japanese joined the conservative party but unlike the "mossback" conservatives wanted to do something actively to counteract Russian influence. They therefore worked to bring English and American influence into greater prominence. In the heart of this movement was born the "Independence Club." It will be remembered that ever since the previous year Dr. Philip Jaisohn had been acting as adviser to the Privy Council. This council enjoyed considerable power at first but gradually fell to a secondary place, but now that new conditions had sprung up the element combatting the Russian influence took advantage of the presence of Dr. Jaisohn and other Koreans who had been educated abroad. The Russians seemed to look with complaisance upon this movement and in the Spring of this year, seem to have made no [page 381] effort to prevent the appointment of J. McLeavy Brown, L.L.D., as Adviser to the Finance Department, with large powers; which seemed to bear out the belief that the Russian Minister was sincere in his statement that Russia wished the King to be quite untrammelled in the administration of his government. It is this generous policy of Mr. Waeber that is believed to have caused his transfer later to another post, to be replaced by A. de Speyer who adopted a very different policy. However this may have been, things began to take on a very hopeful aspect in Seoul. Needed reforms were carried through : torture was abolished in the Seoul courts, a concession was given to an American company to construct a railway between Seoul and Chemulpo, Min Yong-whan was appointed special envoy to the coronation of the Czar, work was begun on the American mining concession granted the year before, various schools were founded, and the outlook on the whole was very bright indeed. It looked as if a solution had been found for the difficulties that afflicted the state and that an era of comparatively enlightened government was opening.

For some time there had existed a more or less secret organization among the Koreans, the single article of whose political creed was Independence both from China and Japan, or in other words Korea for Koreans. Now that the King had been relieved of Chinese suzerainty by the Japanese and of Japanese restraint by himself, this little society under the leadership of Dr. Philip Jaisohn blossomed out into what was called The Independence Club. The name but partially described the society, for while it advocated the complete independence of Korea it still more insistently advocated a liberal government, in the shape of a genuine constitutional monarchy in which the royal prerogative should be largely curtailed and the element of paternalism eliminated. At first the greater stress was laid upon the general principle of Korean Independence and to this the King in the joy of his newly found freedom heartily agreed. The royal sanction was given to the Independence Club and it was launched upon a voyage which had no haven, but ended in total shipwreck. This club, society was composed of young men many of whom were doubtless aroused for the time being to something like patriotic [page 382] fervor but who had had no practical experience of the rocky road of Korean politics or of the obstacles which would be encountered. The cordiality of the King's recognition blinded them to the fact that the real object of their organization, namely the definition of the royal prerogative, was one that must eventually arouse first the suspicion and then the open hostility of His Majesty and would become the slogan of all that army of self-seekers who saw no chance for selfaggrandisement except in the immemorial spoils system. These young men were armed with nothing but a laudable enthusiasm. They could command neither the aid of the Korean army nor the advocacy of the older statesmen, all of whom were either directly hostile to the movement or had learned caution through connection with previous abortive attempts to stem the tide of official corruption. The purpose of this club, so far as it knew its own mind, was a laudable one in theory but the amount of persistency, courage, tact and self-restraint necessary to carry the plan to a successful issue was so immensely greater than they could possibly guess, that, considering the youth and inexperience of the personnel of the society, the attempt was doomed to failure. They never clearly formulated a constructive plan by which to build upon the ruins of that system which they were bent upon destroying. Even had they cleared the way to such construction they could not have found a statesman in Korea of recognized standing and prestige, to act as master-builder, whose previous record would have made him acceptable to themselves or a fit

exponent of their principles.

On April 7th the first foreign newspaper was founded by Dr. Philip Jaisohn. It was called *The Independent* and was partly in the native character. From the first it exerted a powerful influence among the Koreans and was one of the main factors which led to the formation of the Independence Club.

Both Japan and Russia were desirous of coming to an understanding as to Korea and on May 14th there was published the Waeber-Komura Agreement which was modified and ratified later under the name of the Lobanoff-Yamata Agreement. According to the terms of this convention both Powers guaranteed to respect the independence of Korea and not to send soldiers into the country except by common consent.

[page 383] The summer of 1896 saw great material improvements in Seoul. The work of clearing out and widening the streets was vigorously pushed and although much of the work was done superficially some permanent improvement was effected, and the "squatters" along the main streets were cleaned out, it is hoped for all time. In July the concession for building a railway between Seoul and Wiju was given to a French syndicate. From subsequent events it appears that there was no fixed determination on the part of the French to push this great engineering work to a finish but merely to preempt the ground and prevent others from doing it. Russian influence doubtless accomplished this, and from that time there began to spring up the idea that Korea would be divided into two spheres of influence, the Japanese predominant in the south and the Russians in the north.

In spite of the favorable signs that appeared during the early months of 1896 and the hopes which were entertained that an era of genuine reform had been entered upon, the coming of summer began to reveal the hollowness of such hopes. The King himself was strongly conservative and never looked with favor upon administrative changes which tended to weaken his personal hold upon the finances of the country and he chafed under the new order of things. In this he was encouraged by many of the leading officials, who saw in the establishment of liberal institutions the end of their opportunities for personal power and aggrandisement. The old order of things appealed to them too strongly and it became evident that the government was rapidly lapsing into its former condition of arbitrary and partisan control. Open and violent opposition to such harmless innovations as the wearing of foreign uniforms by the students of Foreign Language Schools indicated too plainly the tendency of the time and the Russian authorities did nothing to influence His Majesty in the right direction. Judging from subsequent events it was not Russia's policy to see an enlightened administration in Seoul. The political plans of that Power could be better advanced by a return to the status ante quo. The act of the government in substituting an Independence Arch in place of the former gate, outside the West Gate, which commemorated Chinese suzerainty, was looked upon, [page 384] and rightly, by the more thoughtful as being merely a superficial demonstration which was based upon no deeper desire than that of being free from all control or restraint except such as personal inclination should dictate. The current was setting toward a concentration of power rather than toward a healthful distribution of it, and thus those who had hailed the vision of a new and rejuvenated state were compelled to confess that it was but a mirage.

Pressure was brought to bear upon the court to remove from the Russian Legation, and it was high time that such a move be made. As a matter of urgent necessity it was considered a not too great sacrifice of dignity to go to the Legation but to make it a permanent residence was out of the question. The King was determined however, not to go back to the palace from which he had fled. It held too many gruesome memories. It was decided to build the Myung-ye Palace in the midst of the Foreign Quarter with Legations on three sides of it. The site selected was the same as that which King Sun-jo used in 1593 when he returned from his flight to the north before the armies of Hideyoshi. He had lived here for some fourteen years while the Chang-dok Palace was building. The present King however intended it as a permanent residence, and building operations were begun on a large scale, but it was not until February of the following year that His Majesty finally removed from the Russian Legation to his new palace.

All during the latter half of 1896 the gulf between the Independence party and the conservatives kept widening. The latter grew more and more confident and the former more and more determined. Dr. Jaisohn in his capacity of adviser to the Council of State was blunt and outspoken in his advice to His Majesty and it was apparent that the latter listened with growing impatience to suggestions which, however excellent in themselves, found no response in his own inclinations. The Minister of Education voiced the growing sentiment of the retrogressive faction in a book called "The Warp and Woof of Confucianism" in which such extreme statements were made that several of the Foreign Representatives felt obliged to interfere and call him to account. A Chief of Police was appointed who was violently anti-reform.

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Spelling Reform.

The following is not an attempt to give the views of any one person on this very important topic but to bring together all the arguments *pro* and *con* which have, up to the present time, been adduced.

It is generally known that about the middle of the fifteenth century King Se-jong appointed a commission to reduce Korean speech to phonetic writing. Their choice lay between a syllabary like that of Japan and a genuine alphabet. They chose the latter course and after many months of work, during which thirteen journeys were made to Manchuria to consult a famous Chinese scholar there in exile, an alphabet was completed. A careful distinction was made between vowels and consonants, the former being called the "mother" of the syllable and the latter the "child."

Before approaching the main subject we must inquire to what degree the inventors of this alphabet approximated to a perfect phonetic standard. Only two of the letters originally determined upon have been dropped. One of these represented the break in the throat when one pronounces a vowel in a slightly emphatic or explosive manner and the other was a still more obscure sound. It is found that almost all the letters in use today have but a single sound each. Each of the vowels [page 386] has its long and short quantity twin that does not affect the quality of the sound except in the case of a single vowel. Each of the surds k, p, t and cb are pronounced as sonants g, b, d and j when euphony demands, and so the same letters are used both for surd and sonant. There is one weak letter that represents the sounds of l and r, and is also pronounced n in some cases. This is one serious defect in the phonetic structure of the Korean alphabet. The English alphabet will stand no comparison with the Korean for simplicity and consistency. There are a few exceptional uses of letters in Korean but these are nothing compared with what we find in English. And the reasons for these seeming lapses are the same in Korea as in English. The present spelling of English words represents a pronunciation that formerly existed but is now lost. Take the word "right." Today the gh is silent but in older times it was sounded. So in Korean we have two ways of indicating the sound of a as in *father*, but time was when these two methods represented two distinct sounds. In like manner all the inconsistencies now found are the result of phonetic change in the use of the language during the lapse of centuries, and do not prove a charge of carelessness against the authors of the alphabet.

The proposition, now formulated, is that we should revise the Korean alphabet and eliminate useless elements, and it is to the arguments for and against this course that we wish to direct the notice of the reader.

The proposed changes are as follows: (a) to drop one of the two methods of expressing the sound of a as in *father*. There is no difference in sound between the two and some think it would be well to simplify spelling by dropping one of them; (b) to discontinue the use of the letter t in those places where it is pronounced ch or y, and use the letter which ordinarily represents these sounds; (c) to discontinue the use of the double point in vowels preceded by the letters s, t and ch, because in these cases the y sound which the double point represents is never heard after these consonants.

Every one agrees that in these three particulars at [page 387] least the writing of Korean falls below a perfect phonetic standard, and it is generally felt that it would have been well if the originators of the alphabet and its use could have avoided these inconsistencies and infelicities. But the question that we have to face is whether at the present time, it would be well to adopt in all our Christian and other educational literature this more perfect phonetic standard that has been proposed, or whether it would be well to attempt to compromise and introduce at least a part of the suggestions, or whether in the third place it would lie well to leave Korean spelling as it is.

Even the most enthusiastic advocates of these changes acknowledge that the burden of proof lies with them, for the law of inertia is not confined to physical nature and the present status of things must be considered the best until someone is ready to show another as good or better.

The first argument advanced is that there exists today no genuine standard of Korean spelling. The conservatives deny this and assert that there exists today at least the basis of a standard of spelling. As no native lexicographer has ever given us a complete vocabulary of the Korean and as the contempt in which the native script is professedly held by Koreans who read Chinese makes them quite careless as to the spelling of words in pure Korean, we can confidently affirm that Korean spelling is in a very backward state; yet those who claim the existence of a partial standard show the Ok-pyun as evidence. This book gives us the spelling of all the Chinese characters, and since there is as much Chinese in Korean as there is Latin in English they claim that so far as it goes the Ok-pyun forms a standard. As for native words there is more doubt. As a rule the ordinary verbal and substantive endings are stereotyped and can be said to have attained a fixed standard, but the ordinary nouns and

verbs are spelled variously. The advocates of the change argue that even though there is something of a standard there runs through it no law of spelling. It all seems very arbitrary. This is true. If [page 388] we knew the ancient pronunciation of these words we should doubtless see why they are spelled as they are, but as phonetic changes have come in the vernacular we can find in the spelling of the words no fixed law. The same thing obtains in every language. Centuries ago every letter of the word *thorough* was sounded, as was every letter of the words *know*, *psalm*, etc. As the phonetic changes in the vernacular follow no fixed law necessarily the spelling must be gradually thrown into confusion if it is retained in its original form. It gets out of alignment, so to speak. The question is whether we shall draw the spelling back into alignment with the pronunciation or not. It seems to us that it depends very much upon the degree to which the present spelling has fixed itself in the Korean mind. We call a man a crank if he tries to tamper extensively with English spelling. It is a fixed quantity and people will not allow it to be violently wrenched out of the old grooves. The question as to how much the same conservatism exists in Korea is answered variously by various individuals. Some say that no one would care if the change were made. Some say every body would object, others still say that a few scholars would find fault and still others that few if any would detect the change. The one thing which works strongly in favor of the conservative contention is that the whole matter has not been threshed out. There are so many matters of fact that are yet in dispute. The two sides have not been able to find any common ground from which to argue. Some say there is a standard, others that there is none. Some believe that the change is distasteful to the great majority, others that it is welcome. Some say everyone would know the difference and others that no one would. As to the question of standard, which is a leading one, who has gone through that commonest of all native books and found whether the spelling is consistent and whether it follows any fixed law? It is usage which makes a standard but far too little work has been done in hunting up the usage. Instead of this we hear the wild assertion that no Korean writes the native alphabet consistently. The question is [page 389] not whether any single Korean writes immaculate Korean but whether all reputable writers give a large majority of common words a common spelling. Some say they do and some that they do not. The matter ought to be proved one way or the other before we can assert that Korea has no standard of spelling. A standard does not necessarily mean a codified standard crystalized in a dictionary. It means the concensus of opinion as expressed in men's writings. We doubt whether any one knows whether there is any such concensus among Korean writers of the native script.

It is the desire of the advocates of the reform to give the people a system which will make the spelling of words absolutely phonetic so that the very sound of the word will indicate the spelling and there will be no chance of mistake. The advantages of such a system are manifest. Children will be able to learn to read more readily and writing will be a very simple matter. According to the old system the spelling of each word had to be learned separately as in English, a labor which manifestly has its disadvantages. The opponents of the change affirm that there is much more in language than mere spelling. They think that the meaning of the word should be suggested by the sight of the word itself. One gentleman made the argument that while, as a rule, each Chinese character goes to one extreme by suggesting independently its whole meaning the pure phonetic system would go to the other extreme and leave almost every thing to the context. As if the English words *write*, *rite* and *wright* were all spelled alike, or the words *sight*, *site* and *cite*. If these were spelled alike no one could understand them except through the context. The gentleman argued that the uniform spelling of all words that are pronounced alike would be to impoverish the language, and that a golden mean, some where between an extreme phonetic simplicity which leaves everything to the context and complete verbal independence which leaves nothing to the context should be sought for. As the system now in use is such a mean, he argues that there is no call for a change; that the effort required to [page 390] memorize the spelling of words is not too high a price to pay for the added richness of the language. It should be borne in mind that the vagaries of Korean spelling are nothing so wild as those of English. The Korean has almost no silent letters. In Korean the whole matter lies in two methods of writing the letters *a*, *t* and *ch*, and the use of a silent *y*. These complications are enough to cause difficulty but they are simplicity itself compared with our own language. Of course it is a question of fact whether the simplifying of the spelling would impoverish the language, but it was evident in the meeting at which the matter was discussed that the advocates of the change had not given this question sufficient thought. It is just at this point that the conservative stick, for they say the question has not been thought out sufficiently for us to come to a definite conclusion that will warrant such drastic changes as those which are proposed. They might have suggested many other phases of the question that have never been brought up. For instance, what of the fact that the phonetics of every language are undergoing constant change and that even if we should force Korean spelling into its *present* phonetic form it would all be awry again in a few decades, more or less? Spelling is a stereotyped thing, a dead thing, while language itself is living and growing, it is probable that there are many phases of this question that have not as yet been so much as thought of much less digested. What the conservatives want is that we should wait until we are sure of ourselves and sure of what we want.

It may be that the scheme of reform spelling might be improved by adding to it. To our mind one of the most glaring imperfections of the Korean alphabet is the lack of distinction between the long and short sound

of the vowels; 눈 may be either eye or snow, 산 may be either mountain or mathematics, 길 may be steam or a gentleman's name. This is particularly true of the vowel 어 which has two separate and distinct sounds. If we are to take from the alphabet with one hand for the sake of simplicity why should we not [page 391] add to it with the other for the sake of precision? But the defenders of the reform scheme disavow any intention of making a perfect system, they want simply to eliminate a few unnecessary factors. But if we are to manipulate the alphabet in favor of the coming generations, why not make a thorough job of it and give them something that will be approximately perfect? The conviction forces itself upon our minds that we are not ready for action yet. Neither the advocates for the scheme nor its opponents nor the men on the fence are prepared to vote on this very important and far-reaching question.

The difficulty that has been raised because of dialectic differences of pronunciation has never been properly answered. In a large section of the country the y is not silent in the vowels with the double spot and the t and ch are not interchangeable. We have never been told what these people will do if books are put in their hands in which the y is dropped and in which the t and the ch are arranged according to Seoul pronunciation. Those people could not be induced to change their pronunciation to accord with the new spelling. On the other hand all Koreans except those mentioned know that the letter t, with any double-spot vowel or with i is pronounced as ch. They have no difficulty about it. It is a fact that can be learned in ten minutes by any child. So far as reading is concerned the old system works well enough. When, it comes to spelling, however, the new method would be simpler, but how the revisionists would condemn it to that portion of the Korean people who pronounce according to the *present* spelling it is very hard to see.

There are some who hold that the lower a could be dropped, while they object to the other changes. In this point dialectic differences cause no trouble, for the two letters for a are pronounced alike the whole country over. The only argument against this change is the general one that was adduced, namely that we need to have words of the same sound spelled differently because they thus engage the eye independently and do not leave, every [page 392] thing to the context. Imagine a few sentences, in English. The last *rain* was an important one, characterized by unusual severity, but on the whole salutary to the people. If he hasn't the cents to come on thyme he can't expect a daze wage. Is led oar mind hear? He nose awl about the matter. These are exaggerations to be sure but they illustrate how a mere phonetic method will demand far closer attention on the part of the reader in order to seize the meaning of a sentence than our present method does. To learn to spell means a little extra work in the beginning but it confers a lifelong benefit, in the ability it develops to grasp the written idea rapidly and accurately. One of the staunchest advocates of the reform spelling says that the great difficulty with a Korean text is its lack of visual perspicuity; in other words the difficulty of grasping the meaning at a glance of the eye. Surely the similar spelling of all words that are sounded the same will add to this difficulty and require a still more careful eye. After all is said, does it not come down to this, that the reform spelling will make it easier to write Korean and harder to read it? There are thousands of people in America who can read the newspapers with perfect comprehension but who could not write a letter without a dozen mistakes in spelling on each page. Which is the more important, to read or to write? Manifestly the former. The conservatives contend that though the proposed changes would make it a little easier to learn to read, the difficulty would only be transferred, for the reader would always be under the necessity of a greater mental effort in reading than he would be under the present system. The difference between the two systems is something like that between a steel engraving and a painting. In the one case every effect is produced in black and white by simply shading while in the other there is the added element of color. Of course the painting is the more difficult to produce but it is more satisfactory in the end. So, there is some difficulty in learning to spell, but the visual element thus added gives a richness to the text and does for it something of what color [page 393] does to the picture. At least there are those that think so, and until the whole question is studied into much more extensively, they think definite and binding action would be premature.

Such a change, too, is in the nature of radical amendment to a constitution and should require an overwhelming vote in its favor. A nearly unanimous vote would probably convince the minority that they were presumably wrong and the change could be made, but anything like an even division would preclude the possibility of it.

There is no one who will not sympathize with the desire to benefit the Korean people along this or any other line and the staunchest conservative would hasten to assent to any change however radical if he was once convinced of its usefulness. This question bears heavily upon the whole matter of education in Korea, and every one will hail the presentation of any plan which will secure the general consent of those who know Korea and Koreans and which will really lighten the labor either for the teacher or the taught or both.

Northeast Korea and the War

The conundrum that is puzzling the public just at present is: What are the Russians proposing to do in Northeast

Korea? The only guess that we can make is that they expect to hold their own in Harbin, keep the railroad intact all the way to the Pacific coast, defend Vladivostock against the Japanese and use the road southward from that port as a line of military operations, hoping perhaps that, when peace is discussed, they may receive in lieu of Manchuria whatever territory they may be in actual military possession of on the east coast; and thus secure an ice-free port on the Pacific. Of course this is a wild scheme, for if they win they will not be content with so little and if they lose they will be given much less.

[page 394] At any rate the presence of Russians in northeast Korea makes that region of special interest to the readers of the Review, and we are very fortunate to have secured a long and interesting statement of conditions in that part of the country from Rev Robt. Grierson, M.D., who has lived for some years in Sung-jin, the newly opened port on the northeast coast and who has travelled extensively not only in Ham-gyung and Pyengan Provinces but across the Tuman into Russian territory as well. The following is what he has to say about conditions, in that part of the peninsula.

Those who live in southern and central Korea often have an erroneous conception of the physical characteristics and the social conditions of the north. Most foreigners think of it as a sparsely inhabited, heavily wooded and largely uncultivated wilderness where the scattered population is poor, rude, ignorant and unmannered. The climate is thought to be bleak and inhospitable and agriculture of a very primitive character.

It is with the idea of removing some of these misconceptions and giving a more correct view of these northern regions that the following considerations are submitted.

It is an error to suppose that the north is but sparsely inhabited. The coast regions all the way from Wonsan to the Tuman River abound in rice plains, some of which are of wide extent and capable of supporting a large population. Besides this, a considerable part of the people obtain a livelihood from the sea, catching the ling in enormous numbers and curing them for transport to all parts of Korea. They form, under the appropriate name *puk-u*, "North fish," a staple article of food throughout the peninsula. Throughout this region the prefectural centers, or county-seats, are large walled towns where much business is done and the country is dotted with villages in every direction, no further apart than in other sections of Korea.

But it will be said by some that the mountainous regions inland must be comparatively thinly inhabited, or [page 395] at best that there are less people than tigers. Here again we find the facts quite at variance with such preconception. It is true that in the mountain regions the population is more scattered and that the county-seats have fewer houses, but here the ordinary distaste for hill-side farming, so conspicuous in some other parts of the country, is quite lacking, perhaps because there is little but hill-side there, and farm houses dot the landscape in every direction, sometimes even to the tops of the mountains. This makes the appearance of the face of the land very different from that of other portions of the country, where the houses are all clustered into villages and isolated houses are unknown. The landscape has more the appearance of an American rural scene, especially at night when the twinkling lights from scores of country houses scattered over the hill-sides make a brave show.

If road travel is a fair index of population, northeastern Korea must be heavily populated; for in spite of the large passenger and freight traffic on the numerous coasting steamers, one will meet as many people coming and going on the great coast road as on any other great highway in the land. The traffic on roads running from the coast into the interior is often surprising. Take for instance the road from the port of Sinch'ang via Puk-ch'ung to Kap-san. It is very probable that no other road in Korea can show a heavier traffic than this one. What with loads of copper ore and of oats coming out and rice, cotton goods, fish and other commodities going in, the road carries a constant stream of merchandise. A railroad that would attract this heavy passenger and freight traffic ought to be a paying investment.

One reason for the dense population in this region is because it forms a sort of "wild west" which attracts hosts of adventurous, disappointed, oppressed or indigent people who, while quite willing to work, find that in parts nearer the capital they are not able to enjoy without molestation the fruits of their own labor. This centrifugal force helps to offset the attraction (largely [page 396] imaginary) which the metropolis exerts, in Korea as elsewhere, upon the bucolic imagination.

While the margin of cultivation in other parts of Korea may have been lowering, it is undeniable that in the Kap-san and Sam-su districts it is on the rapid increase. This may be accounted for in part by the fact that at the time of the China-Japan war ten years ago thousands of people from the districts particularly affected by the military operations fled from the scene of war, all of them yearning for a lodge in some vast wilderness. Some contiguity of shade where rumors of oppression and of war might never reach me more.

In addition to this the copper mines and the gold mines attract a large number of people, for here as elsewhere every scheme for getting rich quickly has its devotees.

It must be admitted that in the most mountainous parts there are districts without population but it is doubtful whether such regions form a larger proportion of the area than in certain parts of Kang-wun or Whang-ha Provinces.

One would naturally suppose that on the northeastern outskirts of the Kingdom there would be an

abundance of timber, and concessions made to Russians some years ago for cutting timber near the Tuman tend to strengthen this idea, but the truth of the case is that such extensive timber tracts do not exist. The Korean is the same in every latitude. The splendid timber that must have once clothed the hills has now almost vanished, having been squandered by past generations. One can travel all the way from Wonsan to the Tuman without seeing any timber that will excite more admiration than certain groves within ten miles of Seoul, always excepting the famous and beautiful sea-side grove, three miles in length, in the town of I-wun; and this remains only because it is preserved under heavy penalties. New settlers have been accustomed to burn down the forests for the double purpose of clearing the land and [page 397] of fertilizing it with the ashes. This naturally ensures good crops at first, which are so essential to the pioneer. They reason, quite logically, that the timber is useless. There is no local demand for it and the cost of getting it to the coast is prohibitive. One could hardly expect them to exhibit enough altruism to be willing to wait until railroads tap the region and make transportation possible, even if they knew the difference between a railroad and a bicycle — which is not the case. It must be remembered that on the east coast there are no rivers on which timber can be rafted to the sea.

In the Kap-san, Sam-su and Ma-san regions there is plenty of timber, of a sort, among the hills. Most common are a kind of evergreen black fir called ku-mun-pi and a deciduous fir called ik-kal. Both of these are good, shapely trees but the wood does not appear to be of a very durable nature. There are few or none of the hard woods, especially maple, which make the landscape on the western side of the peninsula so gorgeous in Fall. And yet the ik-kal tree is very pretty. The groves of these turn golden yellow, as the needles die before falling; and they give a brilliant touch of color to the landscape. Those that grow near houses give scope for the exercise of the peoples' aesthetic tastes, for they are frequently trimmed into quaint pagoda or other shapes and are sure to attract the eye of the wayfarer. Besides these trees there is a sprinkling of spruce and of the common scrubby oak. It will probably surprise the readers of the *Review* to know that the ordinary pine which is so common throughout other parts of Korea is entirely absent from these northern mountain districts.

In regard to the cultivation of the soil, it is as general as anywhere else in the peninsula. Along the coast we find the same crops as are grown elsewhere; millet, rice, beans, barley, sorghum, hemp, etc. Among the mountains immense quantities of oats, wheat and potatoes are raised. Near the Chinese border genuine cabbages and yellow turnips are largely grown. The mountainous nature of the country affords a much larger area for cultivation than the flat surface of a map would [page 398] indicate. The people "turn the land up on edge and farm both sides." It is a glorious picture which you may see in mid-Autumn from any considerable elevation. The enormous area sown to oats and wheat is then revealed by its golden yellow, and one can form some conception of the thrift and energy of these northern farmers and can estimate where the margin of cultivation is. In many a case it lies right on the sky line. The steepest hillsides wave with grain and often it climbs to the very mountain tops. One simply wonders where the people are who can till and consume such crops.

The staple food of these people is oats, boiled whole, and eaten as rice is in other parts of the country. The kernel is harder than that of rice and is more difficult to digest. New comers are always troubled for months with indigestion and diarrhoea before they can get accustomed to this hardy food.

Considered socially these northern people are by no means the ignorant boors that they have sometimes been painted. So far as book learning goes they average very well with Koreans in other parts, and as for manners they are no whit behind the dwellers in the districts near the capital. Nor will it do to think of them as poor. There is some evidence, indeed, that they are better off on the average than the people in the south. For instance, in the town of Tan-ch'un tiled houses are much more numerous than thatched houses. This refers not to the county seat merely but to the houses of the country-side. We doubt if the same could be said of many districts in Korea.

In the mountain regions of the north the houses are larger and more commodious than in most parts of Korea. Timber is locally cheap and is used lavishly. The houses are not built about a court and but one kan deep but are built solid, two kan deep and five or six kan long. A typical house would be arranged as follows. It is, say, two kan (sixteen feet) wide, and five kan (forty feet) long. At one end are found the an-pang or "inner room" and the sarang or "parlor" each two kan long and one wide, running the long way of the house. Doors [page 399] open from each of these into the next compartment which is two kan running right across the house. It has a kang floor and in this floor on one edge are set the kettles with fire-places underneath. The fire passes under the floor and then under the an-pang and sarang. It is this floor where the pots and kettles are that forms the ordinary living room of the family. The next compartment is of two kan and has a dirt floor only. It is the kitchen, and is not separated from the living room by any partition. Between this and the next, and final, compartment are the troughs from which the cattle eat. The cooked food for the cattle can therefore be easily transferred directly from the kettles to the troughs. In the last compartment are the cattle, separated from the house proper by no partition, but only by the eating troughs to which they are tied. The whole establishment is therefore under a single roof and the odors are almost stifling. The reason for keeping the animals in the house is two-fold, one being the need of keeping them warm in the severe winter and the other, which is less to the point than formerly, is the necessity for protecting them from wild beasts. These houses are always kept inordinately warm because hard

wood is used for fuel and the fires are kept going at full blast. The flues beneath the floor carry off the smoke ordinarily but some dishes are cooked by simply building a fire beneath a skillet, the smoke escaping into the room. This would cause serious inconvenience were it not that there is a hole through the roof directly over the place where this cooking is done. In the winter time or during heavy rains a mat is drawn over this aperture to keep in the heat or keep out the rain. The whole establishment seems to be a development from the aboriginal tepee, wigwam or yourta and forms in itself an interesting object for ethnological comparison.

The floor of the sarang or "parlor" is ordinarily used as a place to dry oats and if a chance guest arrives he hits to wait until many bushels of grain have been cleared away before he can settle down for the night.

The character of the people in these distant regions is stronger and more virile than that of Koreans in the [page 400] south. They have more pluck, more independence of character and a greater readiness to resent insult or injury. They have little patience with dishonest officials and the readiness and unanimity with which they resort to mob law to defeat the machinations of local squeezers is truly engaging. Many interesting stories might be told of how such schemes have been checked in the bud. Even government troops are held up or put to flight by these determined people, as was illustrated in 1900 when the people of Kil-ju disarmed and locked up a body of troops that had been sent to work the Imperial will in opposition to the wishes of the populace.

Northeastern Korea has two climates: (1) The coast climate, which, on account of the proximity to the sea, differs very little from that of central Korea, and (2) the inland climate on the water-shed plateau which has a very long and severe winter. In certain sheltered places, near dwellings, ice has been seen as late as June. Snow begins to fall early in November.

Fifteen or twenty years ago tigers were very common throughout this section but now there are comparatively few. The people explain this on the ground that the tigers have been frightened away by the whistle of the coasting steamers. The older houses have the windows provided with cleats so that heavy wooden shutters could be put up at night to keep tigers out.

This territory in the north cannot be an easy one in which to carry on military operations. At last accounts the Japanese forces had reached Ham-hung. The Russians meanwhile are making Sung-jin their headquarters and keeping detachments out to the south to keep in touch with the enemy. The road between these two places is a difficult one to fight over. The people have done a good deal of work on it during the past year but the passes are still very hard to cross and impassable even now for guns of any considerable weight. There are four passes of considerable altitude between Hamhung and Sung-jin. They are found where the road crosses bold spurs that are thrown out from the great central range and come right down to the sea. The [page 401] names of these four are Ham-gwan Pass, Tu-deul Pass ("Slow Pass") Tung-geul Pass ("Twistey-wise Pass") and Ma-chun Pass ("Heaven-toucher"). The road crosses none of these at an altitude of less than a thousand feet above sea-level.

The Russian forces are all cavalry, so that should the Japanese land in their rear they could not be cut off, but might retire by any of the numerous roads running inland and regain their line of communication by a circuitous route. The Russians have established telegraphic communication between Sung-jin and Vladivostock and have made good military roads all the way from the north, blasting out the worst places in the mountains, so that they can probably bring fairly heavy artillery as far south as Sung-jin. Between Sung-jin and Possiet Bay, beyond the Tuman, the passes are not nearly so high as those south of Sung-jin, and they present comparatively few difficulties to the transportation of artillery. The best road out of Kyung-sung, near the Tuman, is an interior one leading up to the large river towns on the Tuman and this would make it difficult for the Japanese to cut communications by landing north of Kyung-sung.

The Koreans in the northeast are inclined to be pro-Russian in their sympathies. Very many of them have been to Vladivostock and have seen some of the material evidences of Western power, while they judge Japan only by the small settlements in Korea. Many of them speak a little Russian and in the border districts many people have relatives who are naturalized Russians. When the people saw the Japanese retire from Sung-jin, the port burned, and the Russians passing on toward Wonsan with impunity, they were confirmed in their opinion. That opinion may soon be materially modified.

Koreans claim that the boundary of north-eastern Korea formerly extended far beyond the Tuman River, by virtue of the conquests of a certain General Im; so that in selling the Ussuri district to Russia China actually sold a part of Korea. A better Korean claim is that a certain island in the Tuman belongs to Korea. At present the southern branch of the river forms the boundary [page 402] but Koreans claim that the old pillars are still there as land-marks to show where the boundary is. An international commission went up there to investigate the matter in 1903 and we believe they reported in Korea's favor. But the transfer has not been yet made.

What will be the effect on northeast Korea if Japan wrests Vladivostock from Russia and holds the whole stretch of coast from Saghalien to Fusan? Take out the Russians and you will find that this whole territory is inhabited only by Koreans. The boundaries of Korea may be shifted to the Arctic regions, especially as there

would most likely be a large emigration of Koreans to the Primorsk. Shall we look forward to an eastern Austria-Hungary or United States of the Orient inclosing the Sea of Japan as an imperial lake — a Japanese-Korean Empire? Such seems more likely than an Egypt-like protectorate. The present guaranteed independence of Korea under the patronage of Japan, a dual monarchy under a single empire! Such an empire could become one of the strongest ever seen. All products of river, sea, mountain, forest and plain, from arctic through temperate to sub-tropical climes, would be her's. She would be completely self-contained and her heart would be protected from a vital blow, in her island stronghold.

The beginning of a railway to Wonsan is prophetic and indicates that Japan has not left north-eastern Korea and its future out of her calculations.

Robert Grierson.

Editorial Comment.

The *Kobe Chronicle*, in a recent issue, agreed substantially with our remarks about Japanese projects in Korea but stated incidentally that the moral principles laid down as guides in international relations are open to a good deal of question. The *Chronicle* says that we excused Japan's forcing this scheme upon Korea on the ground that whereas a country might be justified in [page 403] delaying the development of her mineral resources under the plea that they are definitely limited in extent, such an argument cannot be urged in excuse for allowing arable land to lie permanently fallow, for by so doing she deprives the world of a permanent source of food supply without benefitting herself. It is just here that we find fault with the method of criticism adopted by the Editor of the *Chronicle*. We never justified Japan's aggressive action on this or any other ground. We laid down the general principle that every country included in the family of treaty powers owes it to the family to develop its resources, and we added that this applies more fittingly to agricultural than to mineral resources because the former are perennial while the latter are strictly limited. We also said that, sentimental consideration apart, the law of the survival of the fittest would work inexorably to the extinction of Korean autonomy. Much may be said for the North American Indian but he could not permanently block the way for progress. If a nation persistently refuses to develop its agricultural and other resources, we say that someone else will do it for her, moral or any other considerations to the contrary notwithstanding. We never condoned the manner in which Japan approached the question. We very clearly opposed the methods adopted and showed their futility. We repeat emphatically that there has come to be such a thing as International Eminent Domain and when a majority or any considerable number of powers unite to say a thing shall be done, it is done irrespective of the private rights of individual powers, since it is for the good of the greatest number. To say that a power does not surrender any of its individual rights in joining the federation of the world is as foolish as to say a man does not surrender any individual rights when he becomes the member of a firm or the party to a contract.

The method of criticism which quotes a writer's words and then states that they were intended to prove something quite different from the writer's express intention hardly commends itself to our sense of fairness. The reason why a thing is done does not by any means form [page 404] its justification. We would ask the *Chronicle* whether we did not state, in the very article from which it quotes, that Korea owes Japan nothing but an attitude of friendly receptivity. Of course the *Chronicle* will not answer this question, but we commend it to those who, out of a very praise-worthy sympathy for Korea, have accused us of being too strongly pro-Japanese. On general principles we do believe in people who have energy, enterprise, courage, thrift and perseverance, and we believe that Japan has a moral right to see established in the Peninsula an administration which shall be friendly to her and shall secure her from all fear that any other power shall ever use Korea as a hostile *point d'appui* against her. We may, and we do, criticize some of the methods employed in effecting this, as being injurious to Korea and detrimental to the best interests of Japan but we deliberately and expressly refuse to take a position sweepingly condemnatory of Japan's attitude toward this country. Japan is not the first nation that has had to learn by experiment how to do things, and it is greatly to her credit that in spite of an intense national pride, which for the time being has been naturally exaggerated by remarkable military and naval achievements she has been willing to modify very materially plans to which she was publicly committed but which proved to be somewhat premature.

We join with all other friends of Korea in urging that the Japanese authorities place in the fore-front of their Korean policy the scrupulous preservation of the rights of individual Koreans as against private Japanese. It would pay Japan enormously to make it strikingly evident to the Korean people that if a single dollar's worth of property is wrongfully appropriated or if a single blow is wantonly struck by any Japanese the Korean shall have swift and exemplary justice. At present Koreans complain that the Japanese authorities are very slow to do them justice. The lowest coolie in the land ought to be able to bring before a Japanese official any Japanese who

offers him the slightest injury and the Japanese authorities should see to it that the [page 405] Koreans be encouraged to bring every such case up for trial. What does civilization mean if it be not the preservation of individual rights and how can the Japanese commend themselves more highly to the Korean people as a whole than by showing them that Japanese influence in this country will mean equal justice to all? Oh, if we could only find words to prove to the Japanese that they could weld to themselves the affection of the Korean people as by bands of steel, if they would only demonstrate that their influence here will do away with the fear of man. A Korean gets in your way and you cuff him out of your path; a moment later you meet a Japanese coolie and you give him his half of the road. Why is it? It is because you know that that coolie has the ability to uphold his right to half the road. Let the Japanese give and guarantee to every Korean his right to half the road and access to swift redress in case it is not granted and this country would be transformed. What Koreans need is self-respect and they can never gain it unless they are given immunity from gratuitous insult. This applies to high and low alike. There is no Korean official who is sure that a turn of fortune's wheel might not see him publicly whipped or see him tramping the streets in a chain-gang. There is no merchant who is sure that his capital or stock may not be wantonly confiscated. There is no common Korean in the land who would dream of walking up single-handed to a court of justice and demanding judgment against a wealthy and influential man who has cheated or maltreated him. The curse of Korea is the fear of man and until the Japanese do war with that, there will be nothing but treachery and suspicion. What if this does require a heavy reinforcement of the Japanese Consular body? A few months of such procedure would show the Koreans what they might count upon in the way of justice and it would show the Japanese residents of Korea that they cannot cuff and kick the Koreans about at pleasure. The cure once effected, there would be less need of extra courts. In no way could Japan expend money in the peninsula with surer prospect of [page 406] heavy returns. Hardly a day passes but we are approached by Koreans asking us to help them to get a hearing so that injustice that has been done them may be righted. We tell them to take their cases directly to the Japanese authorities, but they shrug their shoulders and go sadly away. Why is it? Because if all Koreans who have been wronged were to apply for redress the Japanese have no legal machinery sufficient in extent to cope with even a fraction of them. But the greater the number of cases the more absolute is the necessity that they should be handled, for every case works two evils, it confirms the Korean in the hopelessness of his case and it confirms the Japanese in his contempt of the Korean; and so the breach will widen and widen until Japan will find that the only practical solution of the problem is the extinction of the Korean people and the peninsula will become a second Finland. But we believe better things of Japan and we have high hopes that such counsels will prevail that the Japanese will strike at fundamental evils in Korea and establish their influence on the firm basis of equity and justice. This may not come until after the fever of war has subsided but it will come in time.

Our statement that the margin of cultivation in Korea is lowering has met with a certain degree of contradiction on the part of foreigners living in the interior. It is so seldom that the *Review* is favored with an expression of opinion on the part of any foreigner in regard to any matter whatever, that we are pleased to obtain even this adverse criticism. The evidence of those who have "been there" is of course better than that of those who have merely "heard about it" and we accept without reserve the statement that in the regions where these foreigners have been the margin of cultivation has been going up rather than down. If the reader sees fit to accept these regions as typical of the whole country he will conclude that more land is under cultivation than was the case ten years ago, but we have heard nothing from the foreigners about the land in Chul-la Province where the greatest falling off is claimed and where rice is supposed to grow to the broadest extent. We should be glad indeed [page 407] to believe that Koreans are developing their latent agricultural resources and shall welcome any evidence that goes to prove it.

We feel sure that our readers will be deeply interested in Dr. Grierson's article on north-east Korea in this issue of the *Review*. We confess that the facts here given were, many of them, a surprise. It appears that northern Korea contains a large population of hardy and independent people, that the soil is well cultivated, that the stories of swarming tigers are a myth, that the country is not an almost unbroken forest, that wealth and intelligence and courtesy are not the exception. We commend this article to our readers as showing how much more valuable a source of information this magazine might become if those who know things would communicate that knowledge, not for the sake of the magazine but for the sake of the public.

The military executions which recently took place have caused considerable comment among foreigners in Korea. It is well understood by the foreign population that the Japanese have declared military law for the time being, and that the culprits were legally executed, but we doubt whether the Koreans are fully aware of the danger of committing acts which in times of peace would receive comparatively light punishment. In our opinion the Japanese ought to be careful to see that the common people are fully informed as to the meaning of

martial law in order that such painful incidents may be averted in the future. It is true that one striking example like that which has occurred will do more to teach the people than anything else, but it is a great pity that it was deemed necessary to teach the lesson in such a drastic way.

[page 408] News Calendar.

On Aug. 31 Yun Chi-ho, Min Sang-ho and Mr. Hagiwara met to determine upon a site for a pleasure ground or a sort of Club for Japanese and Koreans. The Ta-gwan-jung opposite the Imperial Alter was selected and has been arranged for this purpose.

A committee of twelve generals was appointed on Aug. 31 to take charge of the reorganization of the Korean Army along lines suggested by the Japanese. The Seoul guard will probably be lowered from 10,000 to some 2,000 men.

Reports from Kang-neung on the eastern coast about opposite Seoul, indicate that the recent typhoon caused a good deal of damage. Fifty fishing boats were wrecked. The waves were so high that the Koreans were astounded. Many houses along the coast were unroofed or entirely demolished.

The town of Kyo-ha near the mouth of the Han River was the scene of some excitement about the end of August. The Japanese agents arrived and proceeded to search for coolies to take north. About twenty were enrolled but an enormous crowd assembled and began to act in a threatening manner. When armed Japanese appeared the people fled but eight ring leaders of the mob were arrested.

The Superintendent of Masampo reports that the typhoon was very destructive, 376 houses being destroyed, seven men killed, fourteen boats swept away and enormous damage of other kinds done. He asks that help be rendered, taxes remitted and the destitute cared for. In Chulla Province the damage done was without precedent. Rice fields, hemp fields and cotton lands were destroyed wholesale. Along the coast it is estimated that the destruction of fields totalled three-tenths of the whole area.

Cho Min-heui the Minister to Japan asks that the Yen 6,000 to cover the running expenses of the legation for the year be paid out of Customs receipts.

Sin Keui-son has taken the place of Sim Sang-bun as vice-Prime Minister.

Min Pyung-han has been made Judge of the Supreme Court in place of Yun Tok-yung.

A fire broke out on the 13th of September in a building in the palace that is being rebuilt but it was put out before it became serious.

The month of September saw several conventions and meetings in Seoul. In the first place there was a week of Bible Study which was attended by a large number of missionaries from various parts of the country, and this innovation was voted such a success that it is to be repeated next year. Next came the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of Protestant missions in Korea. Thursday the 22nd of September was devoted to this purpose and several meetings [page 409] were held. Addresses were made by Rev. W. B. Scranton, M. D., Rev. S. A. Moffett, D. D., Rev. Robt. Grierson, M. D., Rev. G. Engel, Rev. H. G. Underwood, D. D., and others.

A third meeting of some interest was one that was called for the purpose of discussing publicly the matter of spelling reform in Korea. A lively discussion took place and it was found that there was no great unanimity of opinion in regard to the matter.

A fourth event was the meeting of the Council of the Presbyterian Churches in Korea at which the question of reform spelling was further discussed.

The Annual Meetings of the Presbyterian Missions North and South and of the Methodist Mission South took place almost simultaneously. We note with pleasure that both the Presbyterian missions have been handsomely reinforced since their last annual meetings. Dr. Hirst has come to work in the new Severance Memorial Hospital, and Rev. Mr. Pieters has returned with his wife from America. The Southern Mission has three new medical workers, Dr. Nolan, Dr. Forsythe and Dr. Daniel. An important step was taken by the Northern Mission in

deciding to open a new station in Ch'ang-ju in Ch'ung-ch'ong Province.

At the same time came the annual meeting of the Korean Religious Tract Society. At the end of the meeting subscriptions were called for in order to start a fund for building a suitable edifice in Seoul for the use of this important organization. The sum of Yen 5,000 was pledged by the people in the audience and this together with what will be given from the home country will secure the object sought.

One important and happy event of the month which we must not fail to mention was the wedding of Mr. Hugh Miller and Miss Nellie Pierce which took place in the Mead Memorial Church on the 21st, the Autumnal Equinox. The ceremony was performed by Rev. S. A. Beck assisted by Mr. J. S. Gale, D.D. It was followed by a delightful reception at the I-wha School.

On Sept. 13th 300 Pyeng-Yang soldiers were sent from Pyeng-Yang to Sam-deung to disperse the tonghaks that had congregated there.

Owing to the establishment of the Il-chin Society many people came up from the country to see what was going on and perhaps to participate in any fun that might be on the tapis. When the police saw such people at the inns in Seoul they advised them strongly to go back to their country homes.

A curious story comes from Chi-nan in Chulla Province. Many people there were reduced by famine to eating the bark of trees and pine leaf soup but, wonderful to relate, they found a kind of food growing on bamboo trees on Sun-gak and Tuk-ti mountains and they subsisted upon it till the crops had ripened. The people believe that the prefect sent up several measures of this "manna" to the Emperor.

Kim Ka-jin has been appointed Minister of Law in place of Pak Che-sun, resigned.

[page 410] On September 15th the people of Si-heung, ten miles south of Seoul, arose in revolt against the prefect, Pak U-yang, because he had withheld six million cash, about Yen 1,200, which should have been distributed among the people. It was a very determined crowd and it attacked the prefect's quarters about eleven o'clock in the morning. The accounts of how the crime was committed differ but so far as evidence that we can gather goes the prefect was not burned to death but was beaten and trampled upon until he expired. His son, nineteen years old, tried to protect his father and so was also struck down and killed. Meanwhilmany of the people of the town had run away leaving their houses unprotected; the excited crowd scattered and broke into many of the houses and took what they wanted. Several of the houses were burned. Word had been carried to the Japanese who were working on the railroad in the vicinity. A small body of these soon arrived upon the scene and tried to stop the riot but they in turn were attacked and two of them were killed. No one could possibly condone the action of the mob but it must be confessed they had a serious grievance and no way to obtain redress except by violence. It is much to be regretted that the prefect and his son and the two Japanese were killed and we hope the leaders of the mob will be punished, but this ought to be an object lesson to the Japanese as showing what a Korean crowd is capable of when once aroused

The Foreign Office requested the Japanese authorities to punish a Japanese soldier who while under the influence of liquor attacked and injured a Korean gendarme near the Su-gak Bridge on the 15th of September.

The governor of North Ch'ung-chong Province sent a report to the Home Office on the 19th of September saying that thousands of Tongkaks were in his jurisdiction and were demanding that they be given a part of the power of government and were declaring that the central government had lost its hold upon the people. He asks what he shall do under such conditions. In many districts they claim that they now have power to pay back unrighteous prefects and other men of influence who have oppressed them.

The foreigners in Seoul have established an Educational Association with Rev. H. G. Underwood, D. D., as President, with a view to preparing text-books and doing whatever else may forward the cause of education in Korea. Many committees have been appointed to prepare glossaries of the terms used in the different sciences. When this is done an important obstacle to the making of uniform text-books will be removed.

About the first of September the new Society called Il-chin-whe or "Single Advance Society" began to propagate its principles, the main one of which seems to have been the education and enlightenment of the people and the advocacy of a national spirit. This they said would mean more for Korea's advancement and success than many gun boats. They advocated (1) the stability of the Imperial House, [page 411] (2) the security

of life and property, (3) the carrying out of Korea's promises to Japan to reform the administration of the Government and correct existing abuses, (4) to reorganise the army and the currency. On September 1st a great meeting was held at Chong-no and speeches were made. Japanese Gendarmes lent their protection and allowed no one but members of the organization to enter the building. For this reason the people believed that the society was a pro-Japanese one and consequently its influence was very small. It tried to exert influence by persuading Sin Keui-son to accept the vice Prime-Minister's portfolio, which the Emperor had offered him but which he had declined. He did so and for a time he helped the new society but he soon gave it up.

On September 2nd a Mudang near the "Water Gate" was seized dressed in her professional clothes, taken all about the city with her face daubed with red and white paint and with her professional instruments carried by a servant. This was a deadly disgrace and all the Mudang class were in consternation. At last she was stripped of her Mudang garments and driven away in her under garments alone, and all the clothes, instruments, etc. were burned on the big street.

Om Chun-wun has been made the head of a monopoly which is to handle all the cow-hide business in Korea. Just what this means it is hard to say, but we may be sure that it will not work to the detriment of Mr. Om's private purse.

Mr. Megata, the new adviser to the Finance Department arrived in Seoul at the end of September. We understand he intends to make a close study of financial conditions in Korea before beginning active work. This is a good augury of success and it helps to disprove the statements of those who claim that the Japanese think they know it all.

It is reported that the ginseng crop in Songdo is a failure this year, and that only four per cent will be harvested. Now ginseng is a plant that is grown by hand and the weather has little or nothing to do with the weather. We make the guess that interested parties have already pulled the crop and put it in a safe place.

Yi Pom-jin, the very pertinacious Minister to Russia, was notified several times that his removal from the Russian Court was desired, but he refused to comply. He has therefore been dismissed .

On September 5th forty-five men out of 146 candidates were selected to go to Japan to study. Many of these were very undesirable men, some of whom were being forced to go and others were running away without the knowledge of their families. The Minister of Education refused to send them and determined to make a new selection but the Japanese papers attacked the Minister on the ground that he wanted to send only yangbans, so the men already selected were retained.

The Foreign Office asked the Japanese to remove the signs that they set up all about between the city and the river to the effect that this was land required for military purposes and must not be sold. The [page 412] Japanese replied that the land would eventually be required and refused to comply.

A drunken Japanese wantonly attacked a Korean policeman outside the South Gate. The Mayor of Seoul asked the Japanese authorities to punish the man but they replied that he had run away and could not be found.

The Governor at Pyeng Yang announced to the Foreign Office that the Japanese have demanded a part of the land set apart for the Imperial Palace in Pyeng Yang for the Railway station and asks that a strong protest be made.

The new Mayor of Seoul, Kim Chung-geun, has made a pretty clean sweep of the sorceresses and fortune tellers. A large quantity of their books, pictures, instruments, garments, knives, spears, drum» etc., etc., were burned in front of the Mayor's office early in September.

It is reported that the receipts of the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway for the half year were yen 258,598.74.

Yi Yong-t'a has been appointed Minister of the Household in the place of Min Pyung-suk.

About the tenth of September a serious affray occurred in Kong-ju where the people rose in revolt against the magistrate, stoned the yamen, attacked and wounded the magistrate with knives but did not kill him. Soldiers were sent there and the people quieted down but the leaders of the attack were not arrested. It is said that Japanese troops will be sent there to preserve order.

The Minister of Education and other officials went to Chemulpo to attend the graduation exercises in a large Japanese school for Koreans about the 10th of September.

Chang Seung-wun has been appointed Governor of North Kyungsang Province, and in North Ham-gyong Province a Military Governor, Chong Keui-t'ak, has taken the place of the civil Governor Yi Yun-ji because of the military operations in that section of the country.

His Majesty suffered for some days from a throat trouble during September but is now nearly well.

A new club has been formed called the Ti-tong-ku-ak-pu or "The Great Eastern club." It is for the purpose of bringing Koreans and Japanese into social relations with each other. The opening of the club took place on September 25 at the Ta-gwon-jong, which will be used as a club-house.

It is with great regret that we have to record the death of the infant son of Rev. and Mrs. Preston, of Mokpo. It took place in Seoul on the 20th of September.

On September 21st a Japanese Captain, eight gendarmes and forty soldiers took three Koreans who had tampered with the railway and shot them near Mapo. One of the Koreans was from A-o-gi near Seoul, one from Yang-ju and one from near Mapo. The charge was that they had pulled up some of the track on a military railway in Korea. The charge was doubtless true. The Koreans claimed that the [page 413] road ran across their fields which had not been paid for and they tore up the track in retaliation. No foreigners witnessed the execution but thousands of Koreans saw it and it will probably prevent any more acts of the kind. One of the Koreans was shot eight times before he finally expired.

A Japanese who kept a Korean school in Chang-heung, Chulla Province, disappeared and after four days one of the scholars found his body hanging from a tree. He is supposed to have committed suicide. A special prefect was appointed to investigate the trouble in Siheung where the prefect was killed by the mob. Japanese troops went there and seized seven mob leaders and brought them to Seoul.

The Koreans have discovered a new way of getting even with an enemy. They simply denounce him to the Japanese as a Russian spy. This is sure to land him in duress vile, for a few weeks at least, until the matter is investigated. A special case has been brought to our notice lately. A man of some means but entirely ignorant of letters was employed in connection with the culinary department in the palace. An enemy of his told the Japanese that he was a Russian spy and was in communication with the Russians. He was seized, all his papers including valuable deeds and promissory notes were taken, but nothing of an incriminating nature was discovered. Still he is in confinement and no one knows when he will be liberated. Meanwhile all his interests are suffering, including his reputation. If he is discharged, who will make good these losses which he has suffered, on the merest suspicion?

On account of the fall of Liaoyang the Japanese in Korea held a mighty celebration. The triumphal arches, the waving flags, the processions, the lanterns, the vociferous "banzais" all gave evidence of the national enthusiasm.

A Korean company has been organized with a capital of \$30,000 to establish a great national newspaper called the Kuk-min-Sin-mun or "The National People's Newspaper." It is said that the government favors the undertaking and so far the Japanese have made no objection. Many students have been selected for the new School of Industry, Agriculture and Commerce, which bids fair to take an important place in the educational field in Korea.

Won U-sang, one of the strongest men in government circles, finding that his advice was neglected and that of political adventurers was being listened to, has left the capital and gone to the country. This is one of the worst signs of the time.

The government has ordered the students who were sent to Russia to remove to Berlin. From there they will probably return to Korea.

Many Tonghaks gathered in Sam-deung about 420 li northwest of Seoul and threatened to move on the capital but later they heard that Japanese troops were facing in their direction and so they "folded their tents like the

Arabs and as silently stole away.”

The Japanese commanding officer at An-ju announced to the governor of North Pyeng-an that five men (names appended) in Heui-ch'un [page 414] had helped the Russians at the time of their late raid and had given information about Japanese movements. He therefore said that these men would be taken to An-ju and shot. This was done.

Four thousand six hundred yen are to be expended upon the roads in and near Song-do.

Four Koreans who graduated from a military school in Japan were taken to the front by the Japanese military authorities and they there exhibited such a disposition to fight that they were given small commands and fought all the way from the Yalu to Liao-yang, but were not in the great battle which delivered that city into the hands of the Japanese. They were highly complimented by the Japanese commanders.

His Excellency A. Monaco, the Italian Minister, left Seoul for Peking early in October for a month's stay. Before going he was given a first-class decoration by the Korean Emperor.

The government has asked the Japanese to designate particularly the exact portions of land which they need for military purposes between Seoul and the Han River.

It is said that the Japanese will take prompt steps to survey for a railway between Seoul and Wonsan and that the work will be begun as soon as possible.

Yi Yong-tai has been appointed Minister of the Home Office in place of Cho Pyung-p'il.

The members of the Il-chin Society once and for all proved their greatness by cutting off their hair but it turned out that, like Samson, the loss of their hair got them into trouble, for they fell under the contempt of the people and the authorities turned against them. Many were imprisoned, but they were again released and at the present time are finding fault with the government on several scores. The whole thing is quite contemptible and the great mass of the Korean public knows it.

On Sept. 24th a new society was launched upon the stormy sea of Korean politics. It is called the Kuk-min or National Peoples Society. This organization probably has the sanction of the highest Korean authorities and was designed to act as an offset to the Il-chin Society. It has five principles (1) to uphold the Imperial House, (2) to cause a better state of feeling between the upper and lower classes, (3) the fostering of friendly relations with foreign Powers, (4) to uphold domestic and international law, (5) to watch against men who have fled the country, tonghaks any others who threaten the State.

A number of detectives have been chosen to go to the country and discover how things stand in the disaffected districts.

Now that the army is being reorganised the Board of Generals will be abolished and the power centralized in the War Department.

The committee appointed to effect reforms in the army has recommended among other things the establishment of an arsenal. We trust the Japanese will see to it that better advice than this will be followed. Enough money has been wasted on new ventures. It had better be spent on making some of the old ones a success.

[page 415] It has been brought to our notice that the *Japan Gazette* has quoted once or twice from the *Korea Daily News* and credited it to the *The Korea Review*. We are sure that this must be merely an oversight on the part of the *Gazette* but we hope that the editor of that paper will be careful to give the *Daily News* the credit of any matter quoted from that journal.

Mr. Oura the Japanese Minister of Communication is making a visit to Seoul. Much good will evidently be done if leading Japanese officials visit Korea and see the conditions existing here. We wish more of them would come.

The Emperor ordered the liberation of all prisoners younger than 15 years and older than 70. This occurred on September 3rd.

The Emperor's birthday fell on September 4th but on account of the Court being in mourning for the Empress Dowager there were no considerable festivities. The foreign representatives and employees were received at a quiet audience in the Ton-dock Hall.

The general opinion among Koreans is that the rice crop this year will be somewhat below a medium point. This, together with the unusually good crop in Japan, may affect the export figures to some extent. At any rate the price of old rice has not fallen, as is customary at this season .

The Home Office has announced to every prefecture that the selection of Korean coolies for work in Manchuria has been discontinued and he orders that all agitation on that score should cease.

The Superintendent of Trade at Pyeng Yang has sent to Seoul strongly protesting against the absorption of government ground by Korean Catholics for the purpose of building a church near the Imperial palace. He asks that the French authorities be appealed to stop this work. The charge is that to certain land which the Roman Catholics have bought they have added a certain tract belonging to the government and to which they have no claim. We have not heard the other side of the story, which might put a very different complexion upon the affair.

On September 5th the Japanese Minister said to the government that if Korea was not be prepared to establish a consulate in Hawaii she should put the matter into the hands of the Japanese Consulate there. The matter has not been settled.

Forty-five men have at last been found who will go to Japan to study. It is said the Minister of Education will go to Japan to look into the matter of education there.

All these things crowded so thick and fast upon each other that there was scarcely breathing space between them, but the rare intervals were improved by several games of base ball, all of which were rather ragged but great fun nevertheless. In the first one the Seoul nine was defeated by the "Countrymen" by a score of twelve to ten, though it must be confessed that there is some uncertainty about the exact score . In the second game the American soldiers beat a team chosen from among the foreign residents by a score of seventeen to fourteen, and [page 416] a second game resulted in a win for the residents against the soldiers by thirteen to six.

It is with great pleasure that we note the return to Seoul of Rev. W. B. Scranton, M.D. and family. Mrs. M. F. Scranton also returns to resume work among the women. We congratulate the foreign community and especially the Korean church upon this happy event.

The foreign children's school has resumed work, under the superintendence of Miss Scranton, and bids fair to be an even more flourishing concern than ever. There are twenty-one children enrolled.

The Governor of South Ham-gyung telegraphed on the 26th of September that the Japanese and Russians had fought a small engagement near Tuk-wun and that the Russians had retired.

On September 26th an Imperial Edict put an end to the Il-chin Society. The reason for this is said to be as follows. The Governor of South Pyeng An Province sent an urgent message saying that the tonghaks in PUNCH'un. Mang-san, Yong-duk and Yong-yu were making Il-chin Society flags and claiming that they were members of that society and that many of them had gone up to Seoul to take part in the proceedings. It began to look as if the society were assuming too large proportions.

Hong Seung-nok of Yong-byun has been shot by the Japanese for stealing one of the electric batteries connected with the telegraph office in that place.

News from Kok-san seems to indicate that serious trouble has arisen. In the riots which have occurred both Koreans and Japanese have been killed. Japanese troops have been despatched to that town. If the Japanese have to send troops to every town where there are local disturbances it is likely to require a considerable army.

[page 417] KOREAN HISTORY.

The Summer and Autumn of this year 1896 saw the promulgation of a large number of edicts of a salutary nature, relating to the more systematic collection of the national revenues, the reorganization of gubernatorial

and prefectural systems, the definition of the powers and privileges of provincial officials, the further regulation of the postal system, the definition of the powers of the superintendents of trade in the open ports, the abolition of illegal taxation and the establishment of courts of law in the various provinces and in the open ports. As many of these reforms survived the collapse of the liberal party they must be set down as definite results which justify the existence of that party and make its overthrow a matter of keen regret to those who have at heart the best interests of the country.

All this time Russian interests had been cared for sedulously. The king remained in close touch with the Legation and Col. Potiata and three other Russian officers were put in charge of the Palace Guard, while Kim Hongnyuk, the erstwhile water-carrier, continued to absorb the good things in the gift of His Majesty. And yet the Russians with all their power did not attempt to obstruct the plans of the subjects of other Powers in Korea. Mr. Stripling, a British subject, was made adviser to the Police Department, a mining concession was granted to a German syndicate; an American was put in charge of a Normal School, Dr. Brown continued to direct the work of the Finance Department and the work on the Seoul Chemulpo Railway was pushed vigorously by an American syndicate. The Russians held in their hands the power to put a stop to much of this, but they appeared to be satisfied with holding the power without exercising it.

[page 418] Chapter XXIII.

Material reforms growth of conservative feeling. . . . Russian influence Mr. de Speyer. . . his activity . . . attack on Dr. Brown England interposes. . . . establishment of the Empire. . . . the Queen's funeral. . . . opening of 1898. . . . Russians over-reach themselves the death of Prince Ta-won a paradox withdrawal of the Russian employees Independence Club beyond control abdication conspiracy Yun Chi-ho before the Emperor fall of Kim Hong-nyuk attempted regicide. . . . foreign body-guard Independent program popular meetings peddlars' guild Independents ask to be arrested. . . . more government concessions Independents arrested. . . . final overthrow of the Independence party.

The first half of 1897 was characterized by three special features in Korea. The first was a continuance of so-called reforms, all of which were of a utilitarian character. A gold mine concession was given to a German syndicate, a Chinese Language School and other schools were founded and the difficult work of cleaning out the Peking Pass was completed. It was announced that Chinuampo and Mokpo would be opened to trade in the Autumn. The second feature was the steady growth of the conservative element which was eventually to resume complete control of the government. As early as May of this year the editor of the *Korean Repository* said with truth "The collapse is as complete as it is pathetic. After the King came to the Russian Legation the rush of the reform movement could not be stayed at once nor even deflected. But soon there came the inevitable reaction. Reforms came to be spoken of less and less frequently. There was a decided movement backwards toward the old, well-beaten paths. But it was impossible to reestablish the old order of things entirely. We come then to the period of the revision of laws. Shortly after the King removed to the new palace an edict was put forth ordering the appointment of a Commission for the Revision of the Laws. This was received with satisfaction by the friends of progress. This commission contained the names of many prominent men such as Kim Pyung-si, Pak Chong-yang and Yi Wan-yong as well as the names of Dr. Brown, General Greathouse, Mr. Legendre and Dr. Jaisohn." But by the [page 419] twelfth of April the whole thing was dropped and the strong hopes of the friends of Korea were again dashed to the ground. The third feature of this period is the growing importance of Russian influence in Seoul. The training of the Korean army had already been taken out of Japanese hands and given to Russians and in August thirteen more Russian military instructors were imported. It was plain that Russia meant to carry out an active policy in Korea. Russian admirals, including, Admiral Alexeieff, made frequent visits to Seoul, and at last Russia made public avowal of her purposes, when she removed Mr. Waeber, who had served her so long and faithfully here and sent Mr. A. de Speyer to take his place. There was an immediate and ominous change in the tone which Russia assumed. From the very first de Speyer showed plainly that he was sent here to impart a new vigor to Russo-Korean relations; that things had been going too slow. It is probable that complaints had been made because in spite of Russians' predominating influence at the Korean Court concessions were being given to Americans, Germans and others outside. De Speyer soon showed the color of his instructions and began a course of brow-beating, the futility of which must have surprised him. It was on September 7th that he arrived, and within a month he had begun operations so actively that he attracted the attention of the world. In the first place he demanded a coaling station at Fusan on Deer Island which commands the entrance to the harbor. This was a blow aimed directly at Japan and sure to be resented. It came to nothing. Then Mr. Kir Alexeieff arrived from Russia, an agent of the Finance Department in St. Petersburg. In the face of the fact that Dr. Brown was Chief Commissioner of Custom and Adviser to the Finance Department, Mr. Alexeieff was appointed by the Foreign Office as director of the Finance Department. But the policy of bluff which de Speyer

had inaugurated was not a success; he carried it so far that he aroused the strong opposition of other Powers, notably England, and before the end of the year, after only three months of incumbency, de Speyer was called away from Seoul. As we shall see, the whole of his work was overthrown in the following Spring. [page 420] But we must retrace our steps a little and record some other interesting events that happened during the closing months of 1897. It was on October 17th that the King went to the Imperial Altar and there was crowned Emperor of Taihan. This had been some time in contemplation and as Korea was free from foreign suzerainty she hastened, while it was time, to declare herself an empire. This step was recognized by the treaty powers within a short period and so Korea took her place on an equality with China and Japan.

On November 21st the funeral ceremony of the late Queen was held. It was a most imposing pageant. The funeral procession passed at night out of the city to the tomb where elaborate preparations had been made, and a large number of foreigners assembled there to witness the obsequies.

The situation in Korea as the year 1898 opened was something as follows. The conservatives had things well in hand and the Independence Club was passing on to its final effort and its final defeat. The work of such men as Dr. Jaisohn was still tolerated but the King and the most influential officials chafed under the wholesome advice that they received and it was evident that the first pretext would be eagerly seized for terminating a situation that was getting very awkward for both sides. The reaction was illustrated in an attack on the *Independent* by which the Korean postal department refused to carry it in the mails. The Russians had taken the bull by the horns and were finding that they had undertaken more than they could carry through without danger of serious complications. The Russian government saw this and recalled de Speyer in time to preserve much of their influence in Seoul. The Emperor, being now in his own palace but with easy access to the Russian Legation, seems to have lent his voice to the checking of the reform propaganda and in this he was heartily seconded by his leading officials. The most promising aspect of the situation was the determined attitude of the British government relative to the enforced retirement of Dr. Brown. When it became evident that a scarcely concealed plan was on foot to oust British, and other foreigners in Korea, Great Britain by a single word and by a concentration of war vessels at Chemulpo changed [page 421] the whole program of the Russians; but as it appeared later the Russian plans were only changed, not abandoned. So the year opened with things political in a very unsettled state. Everything was in transition. The Independents and the Russians had some idea of what they wanted but seemed to be at sea as to the means for accomplishing it. The conservatives alone sat still and held on, sure that in the long run they would triumph even if they could not stop the march of material progress in the cleaning of the streets and the building of railways.

February of 1898 saw the taking off of the most commanding figure in Korean public life during the nineteenth century, in the person of Prince Ta-won the father of the Emperor, formerly Regent. For almost forty years he had been more or less intimately connected with the stirring events which have marked the present reign. The things which specially marked his career are (1), the Roman Catholic persecution of 1866, (2) the determined opposition to the opening of the country to foreign intercourse, (3) the building of the Kyongbok Palace, (4) the debasing of Korean currency, (5) the feud with the Queen's party, (6) the temporary exile in China, (7) the assassination of the Queen. Whatever may be said for or against the Prince because of his policy he remains in the minds of the people a strong, independent character, and they cannot fail to admire the man even though they have to condemn his policy. His adherents stood by him with splendid loyalty even in the hours of his disgrace, because he was in some sense really great.

This time was characterized by curious inconsistencies. At the same time that an edict was promulgated stating that no more concessions would be granted to foreigners, the Seoul Electric Company was organized to construct a tramway and a lighting plant in Seoul. Material improvements continued parallel with but in the opposite direction from, the policy of the Government. An agreement was even entered into with an American firm for the construction of a system of water works for Seoul at a cost of some seven million yen.

The failing hopes of the Independence Club drove it to its final place, that of protest. Memorials began to pour in protesting against this and that. In February it complained [page 422] of foreign control in Korea, directing the attack apparently upon the Russian pretensions: but if so it was unnecessary, for by the first of March the Russians decided that their position was untenable or that a temporary withdrawal of pressure from Seoul would facilitate operations in other directions, and so, under cover of a complaint as to the vacillating policy of the Korean Government they proposed to remove Mr. Alex-| eieff from his uncomfortable position vis-a-vis Dr. Brown and also take away all the military instructors. Perhaps they were under the impression that this startling proposal would frighten the Government into making protestations that would increase Russian influence here, but if so they were disappointed for the Government promptly accepted their proposition and dispensed with the services of these men. No doubt the Government had come to look with some anxiety upon the growing influence of Russia here and with the same oscillatory motion as of yore made a strong move in the opposite direction when the opportunity came. The Korean Government has been nearly as astute as Turkey in playing off her "friends" against each other.

Just one month later April 12th N. Matuoiné relieved Mr. de Speyer, the Russo-Korean bank closed its

doors, the Russian military and other officers took their departure and a very strained situation was relieved for the time being. At about the same time Dr. Jaisohn was paid off and left the country, the management of the *Independent* falling into other hands. This event was important as showing the hopeless state into which the Independence Club and all other friends of progress had fallen. From this time on the tone of the club grew steadily more petulant. The older men in it who saw that the time was not ripe for reform withdrew and left the management of the club and the determination of its policy in the hands of younger men who had not the experience necessary for the handling of such affairs; and although in YunChi-ho, the president of the Club, it had a clear-headed and devoted man he was not able to control the young blood that had begun to run with something too feverish a course in the veins of the society. The excited state of the public mind is proved by the fact that several other daily and weekly periodicals sprang up, debating societies flourished and people [page 425] began to talk about things. The conversations laid all these things up against the Independence Club and awaited their time.

The summer of this year furnished Seoul with some excitement in the shape of a discovered conspiracy to force the King to abdicate, place the Crown Prince on the throne and institute a new era in Korean history. The plot, if such it may be called, was badly planned and deservedly fell through. It was one of the foolish moves called out by the excitement engendered in the Independence movement. An Kyung su, ex-president of the Independence Club, was the party mainly implicated and he saved himself only by promptly decamping and putting himself into the hands of the Japanese.

About the same time the Independence Club came into direct opposition to the Government in its strong protest against the appointment of the conservative Cho Pyung-sik to the vice-presidency of the Council of State. The commotion, engendered by this, resulted in Mr. Yun Chi-ho being called before the Emperor, where he made a strong appeal in favor of the Independence Club and asserted the continued loyalty of the club toward His Majesty. Unfortunately he asserted that the Emperor having sanctioned the founding of the club could disband it merely by Imperial decree. For the time, this appeal sufficed and the immediate object of the society was secured, but the Emperor did not forget that he had it in his power to dissolve the club by a single word. As a fact, the mere sanction of the founding of the Club gave no more power to dissolve it than the wedding ceremony which a clergyman performs gives the right in future to dissolve that union. There can be no doubt that from this time on the Emperor was determined to eliminate this disturbing element at the first opportunity. He had no sympathy with its platform, one plank of which was the curtailment of the Imperial prerogative.

August saw the fall of Kim Hong-nyuk, the former Russian interpreter, who ruffled it so proudly at Court on account of his connection with the Russian Legation. For a year he had a good time of it and amassed great wealth, but when the Russians withdrew their influence in March of this year Kim lost all his backing and thenceforward his doom was as [page 424] sure as fate itself. The genuine noblemen whose honors he had filched were on his track and in August he was accused, deposed and banished. This did not satisfy his enemies however, but an opportunity came when on September tenth an attempt was made to poison the Emperor and the Crown Prince. The attempt came near succeeding and in the investigation which followed one of the scullions deposed that he had been instructed by a friend of Kim Hong-nyuk to put something into the coffee. How Kim, away in banishment, could have had anything to do with it would be hard to tell. He may have conceived the plan but the verdict of a calm and dispassionate mind must be that he probably knew nothing about it at all. However, in such a case, someone must suffer. The criminal must be found; and it is more than probable that those who hated Kim Hong-nyuk thought he would make an excellent scape-goat. He was tried, condemned and executed.

About the same time the Emperor came to the conclusion that he would like to have a foreign body-guard. C. R. Greathouse was sent to Shanghai to find the material for this guard. Thirty men were picked up, of various nationalities, and they arrived in Seoul on September fifteenth. This move caused intense excitement and opposition. The Independence Club was in the forefront of the protest that was made. A dozen good arguments were adduced showing why this should not be done, and so unanimous was the sentiment that the Emperor yielded to popular clamor and dismissed the men, but this, again, cannot but have set the Emperor against the Independence Club, inasmuch as they had been principally instrumental in thwarting a pet scheme of his own.

The month of September witnessed better things than these, however. The Japanese obtained their concession for the Seoul-Fusan Railway, an event of great importance every way and one that will mean much to Korea.

In September the Independence Club determined that it would be well to put forward a program of work in place of the merely destructive criticism which had for some time characterized its policy. An appeal was made to the general public to assemble, in order to suggest reforms. Whether [page 425] this was wise or not is a question. A popular assembly in Korea is hardly capable of coming to wise conclusions or to participate in plans for constructive statesmanship. In addition to this an appeal to the people was inevitably construed by

the conservatives as a desperate measure which invited revolution. In a sense they were justified in so thinking, for the general populace of Korea never has risen in protest unless the evils under which they are suffering have driven them to the last court of appeal, mob law. The move was in the direction of democracy and no one can judge that the people of Korea are ready for any such thing.

However this may be, a mass meeting was held at Chongno, to which representatives of all classes were called. The following articles were formulated and presented to the cabinet for imperial sanction.

(1) Neither officials nor people shall depend upon foreign aid. but shall do their best to strengthen and uphold the Imperial power.

(2) All documents pertaining to foreign loans, the hiring of foreign soldiers, the granting of concessions, &c., in fact every document drawn up between the Korean government and a foreign party or firm, shall be signed and sealed by all the Ministers of State and the President of the Privy Council.

(3) Important offenders shall be punished only after they have been given a public trial and ample opportunity to defend themselves.

(4) To His Majesty shall belong the power to appoint Ministers, but in case a majority of the cabinet disapproves of the Emperor's nominee he shall not be appointed.

(5) All sources of revenue and methods of raising taxes shall be placed under the control of the Finance Department, no other department or officer or corporation being allowed to interfere therewith; and the annual estimates and balances shall be made public.

(6) The existing laws and regulations shall be enforced without fear or favor.

It will be seen that several of these measures strike directly at powers which have been held for centuries by the King himself and it cannot be supposed that His Majesty would listen willingly to the voice of the common people when they [page 426] demanded such far-reaching innovations. The whole thing was utterly distasteful to him, but the united voice of the people is a serious matter. In such a country as Korea the clearly announced statement of the common people as to their wishes carries with it the implication that they have come to the point where they are ready to make trouble if their demands are not complied with. The intensity of the popular feeling was shown in the general closing of shops and in the attendance even of women upon the mass meeting. The reactionists were seriously startled by these demonstrations, and it became necessary to temporize. These demands were not such as would involve any immediate changes; they all looked to the future. So it was an easy matter simply to comply with the demands and wait for the public feeling to subside. On the last day of September His Majesty ordered the carrying out of these six propositions.

The trouble was that the conservatives felt that they had not sufficient physical power to oppose a popular uprising. The temporary concession was made with no idea of real compliance, and was immediately followed by measures for securing a counter demonstration. The instrument selected for this purpose was the old-time Peddler's Guild. This was a defunct institution, but the name survived, and the conservatives used it to bring together a large number of men who were ready for any sort of work that would mean pay. These were organized into a company whose duty it was to run counter to all popular demonstrations like those which had just been made. No sooner was this hiring band organized than His Majesty, in pursuance of the hint dropped some months before by the President of the Independence Club, ordered the disbanding of the Club. From this time on the Independence Club was no longer recognized by the Government and was an illegal institution, by the very terms of the unfortunate admission of its President that the Emperor could at any time disband it by Imperial decree. Mr. Yun Chi-ho had by this time come to see that the Club was running to dangerous extremes and was likely to cause serious harm; and he and others worked with all their power to curb the excitement and secure rational action on the part of the members of the Club. But the time when such counsels [page 427] could prevail had already passed. The Club knew that the principles it advocated were correct and it was angry at the stubborn opposition that it met. It was ready to go to any lengths to secure its ends. Passion took the place of judgment and the overthrow of the opposition loomed larger in its view than the accomplishment of its rational ambitions.

Instead of dispersing in compliance with the Imperial order the assembled Independents went in a body to the Police Headquarters and asked to be arrested. This is a peculiarly Korean mode of procedure, the idea being that if put on trial they would be able to shame their adversaries; and incidentally it embarrassed the administration, for the prisons would not suffice to hold the multitude that clamored for incarceration. The crowd was altogether too large and too determined for the Peddlers to attack and another concession had to be made.

The Independents, for it can no longer be called the Independent Club, offered to disperse on condition that they be guaranteed freedom of speech. The demand was immediately complied with; anything to disperse that angry crowd which under proper leadership might at any moment do more than make verbal demands. So on the next day an Imperial decree granted the right of free speech. This concession, likewise, was followed by a hurried muster of all the peddlars and their more complete organization. Backed by official aid and Imperial sanction they were prepared to come to blows with the people who should assemble for the purpose of making further demands upon the Emperor,

Shortly before this the Emperor had consented to the proposition that the Independence Club should choose by ballot from their own number twenty-five men who should sit in the Privy Council, This council had for a time exercised some influence during the earlier months of Dr. Jaisohn's residence in Seoul but it had lost all power and had become a limbo to which were politely relegated those whom the government did not care to use and yet was unwilling to dismiss. The edict of the Emperor disbanding the Club would be supposed to countermand this order for election, but the Independents themselves did not so view it. and the day set for the election was November 5th, The conservatives now deemed themselves strong enough to try conclusions [page 428] with the outlawed Club and before daylight of November 5th seventeen of the leading men of the Independence Club were arrested and lodged in jail. Mr. Yun, the president, narrowly escaped arrest. It was afterwards ascertained that the plan of the captors was to kill the president of the Club before he could receive aid from the enraged people.

When morning came and the arrest became known the city hummed like a bee-hive. A surging crowd was massed in front of the Supreme Court demanding loudly the release of the prisoners who had been accused, so the anonymous placards announced, of conspiring to establish a republic! Again the popular feeling was too strong for the courage of the peddlar thugs and they remained in the back-ground. The agitation continued all that day and the next, and the next, until the authorities were either frightened into submission or, deeming that they had shown the Independents a glimpse of what they might expect, released the arrested men. Bui the Independents, so far from being cowed, hailed this as a vindication of their policy and attempted to follow up the defeat of the conservatives by demanding the arrest and punishment of the people who had played the trick upon the Club. As these men were very prominent officials and had the ear of the Emperor it was not possible to obtain the redress demanded. So the month of November wore away in a ferment of excitement. Popular meetings were frequent but the crowd had not the determination to come to conclusions with the government. The conservatives saw this and with utmost nicety gauged the resisting power of the malcontents. The offensive tactics of the latter were confined merely to free speech and the conservatives determined to see what they would do when on the defensive. Accordingly on the morning of November 21st a band of ruffians, the so-called peddlars, attacked the people who had gathered as usual to discuss the stirring questions of the times. Weapons were used and a number of people were injured. The Independents had never contemplated the use of force, and this brutal assault aroused the ire of the whole people, most of whom had not as yet taken sides. Serious hand to hand fights occurred in various parts of the city and the peddlars, conscious that even their most murderous attacks would be [page 429] condoned in high places, attempted to whip the people into something like quietude.

On the 26th of November in the midst of this chaotic state of things the Emperor granted a great general audience outside the great gate of the palace. The Independence Club was there in force, and foreign representatives and a large number of other foreign residents. It was a little Runnymede but with a different ending. Yun Chi-ho was naturally the spokesman of the Independence party. He made a manly and temperate statement of the position of his constituents. He denounced the armed attacks of the peddlars upon people who intended no violence but only desired the fulfillment of solemnly made pledges. He called to account those who imputed to the Independence Club traitorous designs. He urged that the legal existence of the Club should be again established by Imperial decree and that the six measures so definitely and distinctly promised by His Majesty should be carried out. There was no possible argument to oppose to these requests and the Emperor promised to shape the policy of the government in line with these suggestions. Again it was mere promise, made to tide over an actual and present difficulty. The Independence people should have recognized this. The Emperor was surrounded by men inimical to the reform program, they had the police and the army back of them as well as the peddlars. The Independence party had not a single prominent representative in any really responsible and influential government office. They simply had right and the precarious voice of Korean popular feeling behind them. What was necessary was a campaign of education. The program advocated was one that could be carried out only under a government whose personnel was at least approximately up to the standard of that program. This could be claimed of only two or three members of the Independence Club. Having secured thi» public promise of His Majesty the club should have waited patiently to see what would happen and if the promises were not kept they should have waited and worked for a time when public sentiment among the leading men would compel reform. But as Mr. Yun himself confesses, "The popular meetings had gone beyond the control of the Independence [page 430] Club and in the face of strong advice to the contrary they were resumed on

December 6th and their language became careless and impudent. On the sixteenth of December the Privy Council recommended the recall of Pak Yonghyo from Japan. The popular meeting had the imprudence to endorse this action. The more conservative portion of the people revolted against the very mention of the name. Suspicion was excited that the popular agitations had been started in the interests of Pak Yong-hyo and they instantly lost the sympathy of the people. The enemies of the liberal party had probably used this argument to its fullest extent, and when it was seen that the Independence movement had at last been deprived of its strongest support, the popular voice, its enemies came down upon it with cruel force. In spite of voluble promises to the contrary large numbers of the reform party were arrested and thrown into prison; not, to be sure, on the charge of being members of this party, but on trumped-up charges of various kinds, especially, that of being accessory to the plan of bringing back Pak Yong-hyo. And thus came to an end a political party whose aims were of the highest character, whose methods were entirely peaceable but whose principles were so far in advance of the times that from the very first there was no human probability of success. But, as Mr. Yun Chi-ho said, though the party dies the principles which it held will live and eventually succeed.

The year 1899 opened with political matters in a more quiet state than for some years past, owing to the violent repression of the Independence Club and the liberal movement. The judgment of the future will be that at this point Japan made a serious mistake of omission. The aims and purposes of the Independence party were directly in line with Japanese interests here and if that powerful government had actively interested itself in the success of the movement and had taken it for granted that the plan was to be definitely carried out the succeeding years would have made very different his. tory than they did. But during all this time Japan seems to have retired into comparative quietude, perhaps because she saw the coming of her inevitable struggle with Russia and was not willing to hasten matters by coming into premature [page 431] conflict with the northern power in Korea, pending the completion of her preparations for the supreme struggle.

Through all this period Russian influence was quietly at work securing its hold upon the Korean Court and upon such members of the government as it could win over. The general populace was always suspicious of her, however, and al ways preferred the rougher hand of Japan to the soft but heavy hand of Russia. The progress of the Russian plans was illustrated when in January of 1899 a mission of the Greek Church was established in Seoul. This suggests some remarks upon the general subject of mission work in Korea. The Presbyterian Church of America had established work here in 1884; the Methodist Episcopal Church of America began work in 1885; the Australian Presbyterian Church in 1889; The English Church Mission in 1890; the Southern Presbyterian Church of America in 1892; the Southern Methodist Church of America in 1896; the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in 1898. Besides these there was independent work under some smaller bodies including one Baptist organization and one college mission. When the last year of the 19th century opened these missions had all become firmly established, and important centres of mission work were found all over the country, especially in Seoul, Chemulpo, Pyeng-yang, Fusan, Wonsan, Chon-ju, Kunsan. Mokpo, Tagu and Songdo. From the very first the Protestant Missions adopted the principle of non-interference with political affairs and with the ordinary course of justice in Korean courts. It has not always been possible to follow this principle implicitly but the people have come to learn that connection with a Protestant Christian Church will not absolve them from their duties and obligations toward their own government nor shield them from the results of misconduct. It has been found that the Korean temperament makes him easily accessible to the rational idealism of Christianity. From the very first the form of Christianity presented by the Protestant missionaries took hold of the Koreans with great power and by the end of the first fifteen years of work the various missions had some twenty thousand adherents. The northern station of the Presbyterian Mission in Korea attained world-wide notice as being, so far [page 432] as human estimate can go, the most successful mission station in the world; and this not merely because of the number of people received into Church connection but because of the striking results obtained along the line of self support and independent Christian work. Hospitals were established in Seoul, Fusan, Wonsan, Pyeng-yang, Ta-gu and Chemulpo, and. schools of various grades both for boys and girls were established in almost every mission station. The work of Bible translation was carried on steadily until by the end of 1899 the whole of the New Testament was put in the hands of the people at least in tentative form. The Korean Religious Tract Society, established early in the last decade of the century, did heroic work in putting forth Christian literature of all kinds. Literary work was represented in various grammars and manuals of Korean, several hymnals, an unabridged dictionary and the publication of a monthly magazine in English called *The Korean Repository*.

Before going forward into the new century we should note some of the more important material advances that Korea had made. Railway concessions for some 600 miles of track had been granted, half to Japanese and half to a French syndicate; several new and important ports had been opened, bringing the total number up to ten, inclusive of Seoul and Pyeng-yang; mining concessions had been given to Americans, English, Germans, French and Japanese, two of which had proved at least reasonably successful; timber and whaling concessions had been given to Russians on the east side of the peninsula and important fishing rights had been given to the Japanese; an attempt at a general system of education had been made throughout the country and

the work of publishing text books was being pushed; students were sent abroad to acquire a finished education and legations at all the most important political centers were established; an attempt at a better currency had been made, though it was vitiated by official corruption and the operations of counterfeiters; trade had steadily increased and the imports and exports of Korea passed beyond the negligible stage; an excellent postal system had been inaugurated under foreign supervision, and Korea had entered the Postal Union.

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Koreans in Manchuria.

Seven or eight years ago a number of Koreans were sent to Japan to study in a Military School in Tokyo. Among the whole number eight graduated with honor in 1903. Four of these had become thoroughly attached to Japan and were looked upon by the Japanese as fellow-countrymen. When the present war broke out the military authorities decided to send these four men to the front to watch the course of events and gain some experience in actual military manoeuvres. When this was announced to the men they said with one accord that they would rather go as actual fighting men than as mere on-lookers. If they were to learn war it must be by actual service. The Japanese were rather pleased at this show of spirit and consented to give the men the rank of captain and actual commands in the army.

When therefore the Japanese armies moved to the front there were four Koreans embarked in the enterprise. Their first experience of actual fighting was before Anju on the occasion of the first fight there. We shall follow the fortunes of only one of these men. He commanded a company of something under one hundred men. The army had landed at Chinnampo before the first of March and it was well into that month before they were ready to drive the Russians from Anju.

When the attack was made upon that town our Korean captain was well to the front with his company. [page 434] They succeeded in getting up close to the wall before any considerable harm was done but there they found that the Russian bullets were singing over their heads while they themselves could not do any execution at all. They were enveloped in a thick cloud of smoke and could see nothing. In this curious situation they remained for half an hour until the gates of the place were forced by other Japanese troops and they all went in together.

After that the army swept on toward the north. Not infrequently Russian stragglers were captured, and at first they were treated very well but later there was a change in their treatment owing to the following circumstance which was witnessed by Korean coolies in Russian employ who afterward told it to the Japanese. The Russians succeeded in capturing a Japanese and the Russian officer in charge ordered him bound. The Japanese objected to this and showed fight. The Russian officer came near to enforce the command when the Japanese seized his hand and bit it severely. Thereupon the Russian had all the Japanese soldier's teeth extracted and perforated his hand and had him dragged along by a rope through this wound. At last they killed the prisoner, or he expired, and they threw his body by the road-side and covered it roughly. When the Japanese troops came on the Koreans who had witnessed the entertaining scene, pointed to the mound and said a Japanese was buried there. The listeners were incredulous but the story was so plainly told and so circumstantial that the grave was opened and the body was found mutilated as had been described. The dead man was given burial honors and re-interred but the rage of the Japanese at his treatment had a definite effect upon their mode of handling prisoners thereafter, for though no such inhumanity was shown, the prisoners were treated with much less consideration.

When they reached the Yalu they found that the actual business of war was about to commence. They had to cross that stream by frail pontoon bridges in the face of thoroughly entrenched forces and severe artillery fire. There were three bridges thrown across the stream on that [page 435] eventful day and it was by the most southerly of these that one Korean captain crossed with his company. There was a new moon in the sky and it was just setting as the first troops attempted the crossing. The moon shining in their faces made the shore before them densely black. The Russians however had their backs to the moon and when the right moment arrived they poured in a destructive fire which destroyed the Manchurian end of the bridge and precipitated a large number of Japanese into the stream. The Japanese leaders saw the mistake at once and called a halt until the moon had disappeared and then the advance was resumed. The Korean captain crossed with the rest and went into battle with enthusiasm. He was no exception to the rank and file of Koreans, who have always shown commendable bravery whenever they had confidence in their commanding officers. It is when they feel sure that the man at the head is a coward and is willing to sacrifice them wantonly that soldiers think first of their own safety. He gives no details of the battle except that for four hours and a half they went at it tooth and nail, and were at last rewarded by seeing the Russians in full flight. It was after the main battle was over and the Japanese were pressing on in pursuit that he gives a little incident that throws some light upon the discipline of the Japanese.

The troops were under orders to drink no water from wayside wells or streams, and consequently they suffered severely at times. As the troops were in full pursuit of the Russians many of them found that the water in their canteens was exhausted. With powder blackened faces and lips that were parched with thirst they were pushing on in pursuit. One Korean captain in passing a spot where there was a little pool of filthy water saw one of the soldiers surreptitiously lower his canteen into this water and allow it to fill. The captain waited until the

fellow had gone on and resumed his position in the ranks then he called him aside and asked what he had been taking that filthy water for. The poor soldier looked startled at being detected but explained that he was so thirsty that the temptation had been too great [page 436] for him. The captain could have had him disciplined but he did not have the heart to do so under the circumstances, so instead of that he took out of his pocket some disinfecting powders which Japanese officers always carry for this purpose and put one of them into the fellow's canteen, thus rendering the water presumably innocuous. The gratitude of the soldier was very genuine.

As they were approaching Feng-whang-cheng an interesting episode occurred which came under the notice of the Korean captain. There had been a Chinaman hanging about all one day and he had been rather lavish with his money among the camp-followers until at last a Japanese official's notice was attracted by something peculiar in the man's face, some feature that was incongruous, and he forthwith had the fellow seized and brought before him. Instead of attempting to brave it out the Russian spy, for he was just that, exclaimed that all was lost. He explained that he had been at work some time in that district completing an accurate map and that he had risked all in order to gain information as to the numbers and equipment of the Japanese so that his superiors could determine whether to attempt to hold the approaches to Feng-whang-cheng or not. On his person were found maps and notes and a large amount of Japanese paper money. So far as the Korean knows this man was well treated, and held more as a prisoner of war than as a spy and was not executed as the rules of war would allow. Of course he may have been shot later, without the knowledge of the Korean captain. He believes however that the failure to offer any serious resistance in the rough country lying between Feng-whang-cheng and Antung was due in part to the failure of this spy to report to his superior.

The next and final incident related by this participant in the actual fighting took place at the time of the severe fight at Pun-sui-ling where the Russians were strongly intrenched on the hills and the fight raged from seven o'clock in the morning until dark before the Russians were finally dislodged. At one point in this severe [page 437] engagement the Korean captain found himself with his small command creeping along at the base of a great precipice. There they had to remain for a time while the artillery opened a way for their further advance. They were completely protected from the fire of the enemy and could sit down for a few moments and rest. The captain looked around upon his men. Their faces were blackened with powder, their lips had cracked with the heat and thirst and they certainly looked as if they had already done a full day's work. The captain proceeded a few rods to take a look around the projecting rocks but as he put out his hand to steady himself he suddenly drew back for he had almost placed his hand on the head of a wounded Russian who had crawled among the rocks, out of the track of the storm of battle. The poor chap was not yet gone and he raised a hand as if asking for water. The captain could not refuse and gave him the few remaining drops that he carried and also a biscuit or two that were in his pocket.

That night as the exhausted troops climbed the hill just evacuated by the Russians and the order was given to sleep on their arms they simply fell where they were and slept the sleep of utter fatigue. All about them was dark and the captain sunk to the ground and laid his head on what seemed to be a hummock of earth. He was asleep almost before he had reached a recumbent position. When he woke in the early morning he found that he had been using a dead Russian for a pillow.

Before the battle of Liao-yang was ready to be fought all the Koreans were sent back to their own country. They would have been willing to continue but the Japanese said they should remember their duty to their own country and refused to take the responsibility of further exposing them to the chances of war. So they came back to Seoul. There should be good material here for Korean leadership, if the time ever comes when merit alone makes a man eligible to responsible position.

[page 438] Russians in Northeast Korea.

Following upon the interesting account that we gave last month of physical and social conditions in the Northeast province we are able to add the following items, received from most reliable sources. Our informant writes that one of the Christian Koreans in Sung-jin left that place on Sept. 22nd and when he arrived in Wonsan he reported that when he left the northern port there were 2,600 Russian cavalry encamped there in tents. They were situated a little to the north of the settlement, directly in front of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission property. At that point there was a large official Korean building but partially constructed. This the Russians finished and used as commissariat headquarters, with a bake-oven for bread; and all rations were issued there. As there was no other water there except that in the well on the mission compound, the Russians used it freely. Of course, all the missionaries had left the place and were in Wonsan and the two mission houses were in charge of native keepers, though the customs officials have general oversight of them. A number of Russians were also encamped on the peninsula which forms the protection for the anchorage harbor and here they had established a bath which is used by all the soldiers in rotation.

All these troops were from western Russia and only came out across the continent a couple of months

ago. They are very well behaved, are not allowed out at night and are kept in good order by military police who see to it that Koreans are not oppressed. The officers have been very kind to the Norwegian gentleman who is in charge of the Customs property and have provided him with many needed supplies which his long isolation had prevented him from obtaining. The officers repeatedly visited the two mission houses and went through them, and they enquired often of the Customs if they might not occupy them. They also bought and paid for vegetables out of the gardens of the missionaries.

[page 439] The most interesting information that our correspondent gives is about the roads in the north of which he says: The Russians have made fine roads all through the north as far as Puk-ch'ung. Contrary to the expectations of some, they have not used the interior route north of Kyung-sung by way of Whe-ryung and the Upper Tuman but have made a good road from Kyong-heung directly along the coast. North of Sung-jin where the road traversed a rice plain, and was therefore very wet in rainy weather, they made a new road on a better surveyed route, and south of Sung-jin they have even made the almost impassable "Heaven-toucher" easy of ascent by blasting out a new zig-zag route. They have also done the same at the Tung-geul Pass so that as far as Puk-ch'ung they have a road that is excellent for the transportation of almost any kind of military impedimenta. The sound of the blasting on the "Heaven Touching Pass" was heard ten miles away in Sung-jin. At the time this Korean came south there were at least 1,000 Russians at Puk-ch'ung and advance pickets as far as Ham-gwan Pass seventy li north of Ham-heung. The advance posts of the Japanese were on the south slope of the same pass, and here the two belligerents have been looking at each other for many days without firing a shot.

Since writing the above our correspondent learns that several thousand more Russians arrived at Sung-jin and came south to swell the force at Puk-ch'ung. In spite of the work they have put on the roads the Russians do not seem to have any heavy artillery. Guncarriages drawn by two horses were the heaviest they had at Sung-jin.

On September 13th news reached Wonsan that the Russians had all left Sung-jin and were assembled at Puk-ch'ung.

If we may be allowed to comment upon the above information, it seems very strange that the Russians should go to the extreme pains of blasting out roads over high passes and making them passable for heavy artillery unless they intended to hold them stiffly against all comers, and it looks very much as if [page 440] they would try hard to hold the Japanese in check. If they do not they have built substantial roads for the Japanese to pass over, for they could not destroy these permanent works behind them. War is truly a curious game. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good, for these new roads will remain and be of lasting benefit to Korean travelers.

The Reform Spelling.

Editor Korea Review. Dear Sir :—

Some rather amazing reflections occur to the mind in considering the movement toward spelling reform which has been agitating the missionaries for the last two years. Is it possible that a considerable proportion of our missionary body, while warmly pressing this proposed reform, have made so little study of the subject, that they have apparently, almost no conception of the sweeping changes involved by such a step? Or is it only an illustration of the well known presence of sheep-nature in man? All we want is a leader, and if someone throws up his hat and shouts, "Come on, boys!" up we all get and away we all scamper, helter-skelter, pell-mell, until we land with our leader in the bottom of the ditch. Fortunately, in the present instance, some of us have come to ourselves, albeit on the very brink of the final plunge, and are disposed to draw back and chew the cud of careful consideration for a while before we risk our precious mutton.

What some of us want to get at before we commit ourselves to the proposed reform, is as to what the actual effect will be upon the written language. What, for instance, does such a sentence as the following, in the new spelling, mean? 천문을보다고하는학도를서도갓소

[page 441] Does it mean that the students who wish to see the astronomy are like each other, or, the students who wish to see the Thousand Gates have gone west, or, the students who wish to see the Heavenly Gate have gone together, or which of the possible combinations of these seven things does it mean? This no exaggerated instance, but only one of many which might be adduced to show that the new spelling will make it impossible, often within the limits of a considerable sentence, to determine which of several meanings may be the one intended. "But the context!" someone cries, "You can tell from the context!" Perhaps we can, if there is enough of it, but we protest that this is a pitiable condition to which to reduce any written language.

To look at the matter from the standpoint of the Koreans, it is doubtless true, which is often averred by those favoring the reform, that the mass of the Koreans, men, women and children would know or care little about the change if we should make it, and if we were building on illiteracy, or if it could be proved to the

satisfaction of a large majority of those best qualified to know, that the advantages to be gained by the proposed reform are greater than any loss that it may entail, then this would be a strong argument. But since neither of these two things are as yet true, the argument seems to me little better than that which influences a Flathead Indian mother when she straps a board across the brow of her child and deforms him for life. He is helpless; he neither knows or cares. Why should she not?

And it is equally true that there are those among the Koreans who do care very greatly, to whom this is a very vital matter. This *unmoon* is their written mother tongue. They learned it years ago when they were little boys, sitting on the floor beside father or mother. They never learned it very well, and are likely to spell it any kind of way. They may affect to despise it, yet they know and love every character. It is connected in their minds with childhood, home, mother and everything which they have a right to hold sacred and dear, and which no men may presume to lightly tamper with or [page 442] take away. And yet what is it that we propose to do? We say to them in effect, "See here, my good fellow, we've been looking over this language of yours, and it seems to us that there is a good deal that's superfluous about it. There are a number of characters that are not really necessary, and it will be a great deal easier for you and us too, if we just cut them out. It will necessitate dropping out whole sections of your written language, and it may seem awkward at first, but you'll get used to it in time."

There are Koreans who resent this. They cannot defend their position very well. They know little of such technical terms as sound values and sight values, of pure phonetics, of silent letters, but they do know that this language is their own, which they have a right to as it is. It is easy for us to cry, "How obstinate! Absurd!" but the fact remains that to such a Korean the attempt on the part of a body of foreigners to reduce his written mother tongue to a dead level of phonetic sameness is not only unnecessary, but unwarrantable and unjustifiable from any standpoint of right and fairness. Some of the Koreans who feel in this way are deeply attached to us as missionaries, but there is no question that to press this proposed reform will endanger their affectionate regard for us, their confidence in our judgment and in our Christian humility. Brethren, there are some things of more importance to us as missionaries than mere ease in spelling.

O. W. W. K.

Editor Korea Review :—

Apropos of your excellent article on Spelling Reform, let me append two scraps of conversation picked up during the fall gatherings in Seoul. Anxious Inquirer. "But don't you find that books printed in the new spelling are a great deal harder to read?"

Enthusiastic Advocate of spelling reform. "Yes, I do."

Anxious Enquirer. "Then why do you want it?"

Enthusiastic Advocate. "Because I think it will be easier for the Korean."

[page 443] Keulsyei!

Anxious Enquirer again, to another Enthusiastic Advocate. "I've been trying to read a tract printed in this reformed spelling, and I can't make anything out of it."

Enthusiastic Advocate, cheerfully, "That's what Dr. Blank says, but if you just read it out loud and listen to it you won't have a bit of trouble!"

Further comment seems unnecessary.

Yours for slow motion, Axis,

The Educational Needs of Korea

The work of revolutionizing not only the entire method but the entire subject matter of the education of the young in any country must always be one of enormous difficulty. It would take too much space even to enumerate these obstacles but a statement of a few of them will help to elucidate the question of the educational needs of Korea.

In the first place what was the need of such a revolution? This question can be dismissed with brief mention. Education has always been, in Korea, merely literary and historical and there has been vastly more of

the study of China than of Korea. It included no practical grasp of the facts of today's life, gave no introduction to the secrets of nature, it never looked to the future. It never tended to show that today is the best time, so far as living men are concerned, but the whole tone of it was a lament over the departure of past glories. The Korean youth always walked into the battle of life backwards, waving a tearful adieu to the phantoms of past glories rather than resolutely facing the enemies to his present advancement and hailing the advent of better things than the past had to offer. The same thing is true in China, and we can explain it only on the ground that the whole system of society has tended to belittle the individual and magnify the clan. No Korean can look at a mountain and individualize it. He has [page 444] to think of it as simply a link in the great chain of mountains stretching from "Old White-head" down through the peninsula. Otherwise he would mentally be committing sacrilege in breaking the "Dragon's Back." His desire for offspring is mainly to keep the line of ancestral graves intact, and the death of a daughter, for instance, would be considered a slight calamity compared with the desecration of a great-grand-father's tomb.

If then, as we believe, education has for its legitimate purpose the developing of the individual mind and heart and the arming of it for a fight with the degenerating influences of a corrupt environment, the only way to make the crusade of education something more than an empty protest is to bring about a *volte-face* in the attitude of society itself; otherwise all our attempts, however strenuous and however well intended, will prove but a "forlorn hope" and we shall see only a sporadic and fragmentary result. If this is true the seriousness of work will be at once apparent. We are open to the charge here of arguing in a circle, for education is the only thing that will bring about such a revolution in popular sentiment, but that change can be accelerated in various ways. One of the most powerful agencies at work in this direction is the work of Christian Missions especially Protestant Missions. Christian evangelization has always claimed general education as her hand maiden and all over the country schools have been and are being opened by Christian Missionaries. But we are dealing now with the general education of the people as a whole, of whatever creed, and while the mission schools are powerful object-lessons they are but one of the several avenues of approach. The newspapers form another important argument in favor of education. They have opened up to the Korean a long vista of new and untried knowledge down which many Koreans are peering and to travel that trying to make up their minds whether it is worth while to travel that way.

When we come right down to facts the Koreans are fairly clear-headed and know what they want. No incentive to education can possibly move them that does [page 445] not offer substantial material advantages. They do not want and we cannot expect them to want education for its own sake. Education, like virtue, is its own reward but there are few people in Korea or anywhere else who do not demand that several other more material rewards should follow the expenditure of time and money in the acquisition of an education. This is only another way of saying that unless a modern education will give a Korean a better salary or a better social position, or both, he will have none of it. This is equally true of ninety-nine out of every hundred men in Europe or America; and it is not to be regretted, for the securing of those advantages cannot rob them of that more subtle and genuine enjoyment that follows upon the enlargement of the intellectual horizon.

For this reason the action of the Educational Department in Seoul in urging upon the heads of the different offices the employment of the graduates of the various schools of the capital is to be applauded. This is a distinct move in the right direction, and all foreigners in Korea could help in this line by emphasizing the fact that a good education will in itself be a good recommendation for a man to any responsible position. Unfortunately the notion has prevailed to some extent that an educated man, or a partly educated man, should be looked upon with a certain degree of suspicion. It is quite true that a little knowledge has proved a dangerous thing to some Koreans in that it has given them an undue opinion of their own attainments, but we must remember that every people has had to pass through that stage. Japan is only now beginning to emerge from it. But if we do not make allowances for them, if we expect them to enlarge their brains without enlarging their heads a little in the process we shall fail to give them the encouragement which they deserve. The only way to cure a man suffering from the educational swelled head is to adopt the homoeopathic plan and give a lot more of the very thing that caused the swelled head. I wish that about ten millions of this people were suffering from that same complaint. It is probable that about that number are [page 446] priding themselves that they have kept their skirts clear of the whole foreign education business and can placidly sit and drone over the Chinese classics while all the time the bright and energetic Japanese are preparing to absorb all the material benefits of the situation. In the end these self-satisfied intellectual mummies will awake to find themselves in outer darkness, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth.

A man comes to me and after ascertaining all the accessible facts as to my personal health and other allied subjects he says :

"Please get me a *position*." I reply in an interested tone "Would'nt you rather have a job?" He inclines his head sideways, looks up to the corner of the room and murmurs anxiously

"Job— job? I do not know that word." Nor does he.

I ask him what he is most capable of doing and he promptly answers:

“Anything” which means of course “nothing.”

I suggest digging gold out of the mines or cutting sugar-cane in Hawaii. He spreads out deprecating hands and begs me not to joke as it is a serious matter; as indeed it is, much more serious than he imagines.

I suddenly remember (or invent) a position somewhere far down in the country in some obscure provincial capital where even *yangbans* wear straw shoes and *saturi* lies thick upon the local tongue. He assumes a contemplative, judicial attitude, but at last confides to me the fact that his filial obligations will not allow him to leave the paternal roof to accept even so flattering a position as I offer.

I next probe him with a position with one of my friends who has some clerical work to be done and intimate that it is nice light clean work with the pen, from nine o'clock in the morning till about six in the afternoon. He nearly falls off his chair but recovers himself and after a vain attempt to turn the conversation he says that after all his elder brother is pretty sure of a clerkship in one of the government offices as soon as the [page 447] present minister resigns and then of course it will not be necessary to bother about a position. And with this Micawber-like decision he betakes himself away.

There you have the matter in a nutshell. He depended upon his slight friendship with me to secure him a position where he could get a good salary for next to nothing in exchange. It will be a great day in Korea when you can say to such an applicant “what diplomas can you show or what certificates from some reputable school?” and when no man will have the face to apply to you without having such papers to show. It should be the constant practice of every foreigner in Korea to impress upon the Koreans that the cash value of their services will depend very largely upon their education. Not that class-room work will make a man necessarily useful in practical work but because the grit and the perseverance that will carry a man through a course of study and bring him a diploma is in itself *prima facie* evidence that he has at least some of the qualities that will make him successful anywhere. And furthermore it demonstrates that he has broken away from the past and has chosen a path that lies parallel with modern ideas of enlightenment. His attitude is right whatever be his actual attainments.

And yet, while the student should be assured that his education has cash value, he should also be warned that too narrow and technical an education will defeat its own purpose; for though it may, and doubtless will, secure him steady employment it will not give him the breadth of mind that is necessary to enable him to rise to the head of any profession.

One of the great obstacles at the present time is the grievous lack of proper text books; and not this alone but the absence of any genuine literature along modern lines. These things have all to be made. Korea is in much the position that England was when the fashion of writing everything in Latin was just going out but there was as yet little or nothing in English. We smile when anyone suggests that a Korean should try to write a modern novel in his own tongue. It seems [page 448] incongruous and to some extent absurd, but it is not a whit more so than it was for Chaucer to take the giant of prejudice by the beard and defy him. The Koreans are charming story-tellers. Every foreigner in Korea should bend every energy to the task of convincing the Korean that his own vernacular is an immensely better medium of thought than the Chinese to which he has clung so long. There can be no naturalness, no vigor, no snap to Korean literature so long as they cling to the Chinese. One has but to note the clumsy manner in which a conversation is transcribed when put in Chinese characters. The Korean native writing has taken on much of this stilted style, but there is no reason why the Koreans may not break away from it and transcribe a conversation verbatim in quotation marks as we do. But the first need is text books. And in this connection it is encouraging to note that a society has been formed of foreigners and Koreans called the Korean Educational Association, and it has gone to work in the right manner by appointing a large number of committees on nomenclature. Each committee takes certain subjects and engages to make a tentative glossary of technical terms covering these subjects. These will be reported at a general meeting, discussed, revised and adopted as the standard to be used in all scientific works. This is a thorough, conservative and scientific plan and will prevent much confusion and waste of time and energy in the future. We cannot impress too strongly upon the foreign residents in Korea the adoption of the system that will be so evolved even though for a short time it may cause some slight disturbance in their previous methods and may not in every individual case appeal to their judgment, which is already biased by the use of their own system. This concession should be made in the interest of uniformity in nomenclature. The committees that have been appointed are so representative that there can be no difficulty arising from local prejudice. Their conclusions as revised by the society as a whole may be depended upon as being as near an approximation to an ideal standard as can be reasonably desired. Now that there is a prospect of our [page 449] having a competent adviser in the Educational Department in the person of a graduate of Tokyo University it may be definitely expected that the nomenclature adopted by this Educational Association will be used in all Government school books. This will give it a great impetus.

One of the gravest difficulties in the way is the lack of a perfect and universally accepted literary medium. The Korean alphabet is nearly perfect and is capable of expressing thought as well as the English alphabet, but a very large number of the terms that must be used in scientific works are not at present readily

recognized by their sounds. The Korean wants to see the ideogram before him, even in cases where it would seem to us that the context would clearly circumscribe the meaning and prevent all ambiguity. But we must not fall into the opposite error of fearing that this difficulty is insurmountable, for as a man deprived of sight will soon develop a new and marvelous delicacy of touch, so these people if once weaned away from the Chinese character will grasp the idea of phonetically expressed thought. Nor do I fear that this simile will be successfully exploited by those who would make the Koreans cling to the Chinese, for the day has gone by when anyone can hold that general education is possible under the old system. If there are such we have no common starting point for argument. They would agree with Charles Lamb that the only way to eat roast pork is to bum down your house to get it.

There will always be the cultured few who will want to know the Chinese, just as there are the cultured few in the West who study Greek and Latin. For these few we must provide in our schools, but as for the great mass of the people, the ninety-nine out of every hundred, they must have a purely native literature.

The vital question then arises. How are we to wean the people away from the Chinese to the pure Korean? The Chinese is the medium through which all literary ideas have flowed into this Peninsula. The existing religion of the people, or at least the recognized cult, [page 450] Confucianism, is embedded in Chinese. The ideograph and its study form the great barrier between the upper and lower classes, a barrier which the upper classes will be loath to see torn down. *There is one and only one way to attack this barrier and that is by giving the common people such a good literature in their own native character that the position will be reversed and it shall come to be acknowledged that genuine education lies with the many rather than with the few.* Pardon the italics but the supreme importance of this point warrants them. Works, written in the Korean can be made as fascinating and as stimulating as those written in Chinese, though in a different way. A wealthy young Arab once heard the diamond described, and his desire to possess one grew upon him so strongly that at last he sold all his land and houses and went in search of such a stone. After wandering all over that portion of the world and spending all his patrimony without securing the coveted object he came back home only to find that the man to whom he had sold his land had found a mine of diamonds in a spring on the place. So with the Koreans, the time will surely come when they will acknowledge that the failure to develop and use their alphabet has cost them — perhaps life itself; for with the enlightenment that must have come from general education they never would have found themselves in their present dilemma.

It cannot be too strongly urged upon all those who are interested in the intellectual growth of the Korean the need of hastening the preparation of good books of all kinds. Of course school text books will come first, but our ideas must not be limited to these. Koreans should be encouraged to write. There should be magazines in Korean to which the best writers should contribute and prizes should be offered for competitive material. They should be encouraged to embark upon the stormy sea of fiction, to make experiments, to explore the unknown continent of literary attainment.

The question, and a very pertinent one, arises as to what center all this should proceed from. Where will be the nucleus of it? Who will attend to its initiation? We cannot look to the Government for it. Nor can we [page 451] look to the Chinese scholars. It must grow up out of the middle classes and spread both down and up. It has been almost exclusively the Protestant missionaries who have interested themselves along this line and the publication of the New Testament in the native character cannot but be regarded as a most significant factor. As things are shaping themselves today it looks as if the movement here outlined would find its nucleus in that strong body of men who form the Christian Church in Korea. From one point of view this will be a misfortune and from another it will be a great benefit. Such a source will inevitably prejudice some people against it but on the other hand it will as inevitably attract others and bring them in contact with Christianity and only those that are wilfully blind can deny, after honest investigation, that the Protestant Christians of Korea include the brightest, the most progressive and the most loyal people of the land.

Those of us who have come in contact only with the official classes, which are characterized by a certain smug self-satisfaction and want nothing better, can hardly realize how hungry the Koreans are for education. This city simply swarms with young men who would be glad to study if some proper incentive were offered. They are uneasy and dissatisfied and hardly know themselves what it is they want. It will take a short campaign of education to brush away the cobwebs that obstruct their vision and crystalize their ideas of what they really want. This is one of the ways in which the newly opened Young Men's Christian Association will help. Courses of lectures have been arranged which will at least give a glimpse into some of the fields of knowledge which the Koreans have never cultivated, and will help to stimulate the imagination of the young Korean.

If the question is raised as to what direction the education of Koreans should take we would reply that provision should be made for what is generally denominated a liberal education, that is an intellectual expansion in all directions. But it seems to me that special emphasis should be laid upon those studies that will develop the [page 452] logical faculty. Books on natural science should call special attention to the great laws underlying all science rather than present a vast number of minutiae which in the present state of things would bring into

exercise only the already over-developed faculty of mere memory. Books on mathematics should emphasize the application of principles and call out the well-nigh atrophied faculty of original thought, intellectual initiative. It is simply marvelous the readiness with which Koreans will learn to work out the most difficult mathematical problem if you will explain just one example of that same kind to them first. For instance one of my classes learned in half an hour to solve any problem of the following kind though I doubt if they could have originated the solution in ten years: How many measures of oil at eighteen cents a measure must be mixed with thirty-eight measures at twenty-seven cents a measure so that if the mixture be sold at twenty-four cents there will be a gain of one and a half cents on each measure? They had not the remotest idea of how to attack the following problem: At what time after three o'clock will the two hands of a watch be together? But when the principle of the thing was once explained they recognized it immediately. It is not because they have not the mental power to think the thing out for themselves but because the very idea of applying themselves to the independent solution of such a problem seems to them absurd. They seem to think the teacher is as unreasonable to ask them to attack a knotty problem alone, as it would be to ask a blind man to go on the street without his stick. The way I deal with the situation—and I mention it as a mere suggestion—is to introduce slight changes in problems already explained and so lead them to exercise a slight degree of ingenuity, of original thought. In time they will learn to apply general principles to very diverse cases and so an intellectual stimulus will be given. This was fairly well proved in a class in algebra, about one half of which was finally able to take new and untried problems and throw them into the form of an equation and solve them. The Koreans have one excellent intellectual [page 453] quality. They want to know the reason why a thing is done thus or so. It is this thoroughness which enables them to do any problem of a specified kind after the principle has been explained to them. What they do not like is to be asked to feel after the principle themselves. (To be continued.)

The Foreign Cemetery.

On the 31st of October the annual meeting of the Western Foreign Residents of Seoul, for the purpose of discussing matters connected with the Foreign Cemetery, was held at the Seoul Union. Judging from the number present it was evident that the foreigners of Seoul are not much interested in cemeteries, in spite of the fact that we are all to go to one finally. But, seriously, would it not seem certain that the care of the Foreign Cemetery is a matter to which every foreigner should give at least one hour's thought a year? We feel sure that the feeling of the community was not reflected in the paucity of members at the meeting and we therefore offer no apology for laying before the public a general statement of the business that was transacted. An attempt is to be made to secure the piece of land which juts into the cemetery compound on the northeast corner and on which there stands a ruined shrine or tablet-house of some kind. This will add greatly to the appearance of the place and will make it possible to construct a better road to the top of the plateau by partly encircling it on the eastern side, instead of going straight up the hill as at present. This land probably could not be purchased, but it is not unlikely that the government might be made to see its way clear to making a free grant of it. At any rate a good committee was appointed to look into the matter.

The next question that engaged the attention of the meeting was that of the road leading from Seoul to the cemetery. It is a fairly good road in parts but it is spoiled by the existence, at two or three points, of short stretches of very bad road. These alone would render it [page 454] impossible to drive a carriage to the cemetery. It was therefore decided to make application to the government to have this road put in good shape and it is hoped that in this we may have the active support of Dr. J. McLeavy Brown whose name is so closely associated with good roads in and about Seoul.

It was announced that a new bier had been constructed and would be permanently housed at the Methodist Church in Chong-dong, opposite the Seoul Union. Arrangements were made to have it always accessible and orders were given for the making of simple and appropriate uniforms for use by the coolies who carry the casket to the cemetery. The former executive committee was continued in office for the ensuing year with the one exception that the name of M. Collin de Plancy was substituted for that of Alex. Kenmure, Esq., who is absent.

But the most important question discussed was the need of a rest-house which would also be used as a mortuary chapel in connection with the cemetery. It is very necessary not only for the convenience but also for the safety of those who attend funerals at the cemetery in bleak and inclement weather that there should be a room where a fire could be built and the ceremony could take place under less dangerous circumstances than at present. After the long cold ride to such a distant point it is positively dangerous to stand on that exposed plateau while the service is being read. This applies especially to ladies, and it becomes the duty of the community to provide some means whereby this danger may be obviated. We must note that this is for the living, not for the dead; and which one of us may not at any time be called upon to attend such a service and expose himself or

herself to this positive danger? The obligation weighs with equal pressure upon each one of us, and the attendants upon this meeting were of the unanimous opinion that such a building should be erected. There should be a central room twenty by sixteen feet, with retiring rooms on either side for ladies and gentlemen respectively. A modest substantial brick building of this size might cost from Yen 2,000 to 2,500. It is not improbable that, being built [page 455] for such a purpose, a contractor would engage to put it up for the minimum price consistent with good workmanship. It is at the request of the annual meeting that we bring the matter thus clearly before the public, and it is with the unanimous voice of that representative meeting that we urge the public to take the matter into practical consideration. As it is a matter of such universal interest a subscription paper would be honored by every foreign member of our community and it would take but a few dollars apiece to realize a sum that would carry the work through to a successful issue. Which one of us could not give, for instance, five per cent of one month's salary for this purpose? This together with about Yen 300 from the balance now in the treasury would be fully enough to carry the thing through, if each foreigner would guarantee that amount; for there are doubtless a goodly number in the outports who would be glad to aid in such a work as this. No one has been authorized to start a subscription paper for this purpose but if it were done we have no doubt the needed sum could be easily raised.

Treasurer's Report.

Receipts. Expenditure.

Balance in hand from previous Caretaker's wages for 12 years Yen 552.09 months . Yen 66.00 Subscriptions 175.00 New Year's present to Sale of grave sites 20.00 Caretaker 2.00 Interment fees 10.00 Digging Graves 18.00 Interest on deposit 17.17 Ricksha fares 8.26 Ropes 4.00 Total Yen 774.26 Bier 25.00 Petties 1.35 Deposit in Bank 641.78 Cash in hand 7.87

Total Yen 774.26

Funds in hand at the close of 1904, Yen 649.65. Seoul, October 31st, 1904. R. Brinckmbier,

Hon. Treasurer.

[page 456] Editorial Comment.

It is not greatly to the credit of the American public that the *New York Herald* deems it possible to stir up antipathy against Japan by such arguments as those which have been quoted so widely in Eastern papers. We do not wonder that the Japanese authorities forbear to bring pressure on foreign papers within her domains to stop the publication of such arguments, for they are so palpably absurd or else so palpably untrue that they are quite harmless. While we sympathise with the independent attitude of our Seoul contemporary we fail to see why these arguments are quoted at such length. Is it to show us what the *Herald* thinks, or is it to bring the pressure of those arguments upon us as well? If the former, it is unnecessary, for the whole world knows that the *Herald* has been extremely pro-Russian from the first, and if the latter, we fail to be impressed. The *Herald* is simply taking advantage of the natural reaction which was to have been expected after the truly American enthusiasm with which the first Japanese victories were hailed, a reaction that was perhaps partly caused by the grumblings of a few score disgruntled correspondents who failed to get to the front. But have the principles of this thing changed since then? Are the first words of these correspondents to be called fiction because of a change of mind due to personal disaffection? Not for a moment. The object for which Japan is fighting now is the same as at first. No one has discovered any change in it and the fact that Japan does not carry on this war to suit the foreign press does not impair the laudableness of that object.

In the first place the *Herald* speaks of the "Oriental trick by which the Russian navy was crippled before the declaration of war." Go back to the English and American papers of last February and count the instances they cite in which the same method has been adopted by European powers, and the authorities they quote to show that Japan was well within her rights.

[page 457] The *Herald* should be challenged to show an oriental precedent for Japan's action. There is none, Japan learned war from Europe.

Take the words straight from the pen of the Herald writer and imagine that we are talking about Russia for a moment. He says "They are insufferably overbearing and insolent. They implicitly believe their army and navy are invincible and give their views publicly in a manner which is galling. Their total disregard of the truth, their apparent inability to conceive that there is anything sacred about a promise or agreement, and the

barbarism which is so clearly apparent through their veneer of civilization has invited and alienated all who have come in contact with them. We submit that the dictionary does not contain words that more precisely describe the facts as to Russia. And we do not have to rely on the statements of "Army and navy officers from the Philippines" to show it. Which side has been bragging about its army and navy? Which side has broken its promises? Which side has broken the rules of civilized warfare? Why, this very day comes news that a foreign Minister at Peking has had to protest against the use of Manchu clothes by Russian troops.

The *Herald* must be in desperate straits for an argument if it tries to play upon the Southerner's antipathy to the blacks, in connection with this war. We do not doubt the seriousness of the race problem in the United States but the attempt to prejudice people against Japan by lugging in this wholly unrelated question is about as it would be for an Irish Catholic to refuse to eat oranges because of their color. The Japanese and the negro have nothing in common.

There is an element of wholly unintentional humor in the paragraph in which the *Herald* says that military men have a feeling that there is something uncanny about the Japanese soldier. Nothing could be truer, as the Russians are finding out. The dictionaries define uncanny as meaning *unsafe, strange, weird, ghostly*. Well, the Japanese have proved themselves rather unsafe for certain parties in the East and they have certainly been [page 458] strange compared with the other peoples Russia has run up against in this part of the world. As for the wierdness and the ghostliness of them, they seem to make very substantial spooks.

By the way, what high praise the *Herald* unconsciously and wholly unintentionally gives the Japanese when he says that they fear their officers more than any possible enemy. And we suppose the *Herald* would reverse the statement in the case of Russia. If so we find the solution of the whole question of Japan's superiority right here; but personally we do not think the Russian lacks in bravery. It was not until the battle of the Shaho that the military skill of the Japanese was definitely proved to be superior to that of the Russians, The latter were simply out-classed.

Then the statement that by committing suicide rather than fall into the hands of the enemy they are "not observing the rules that govern the sport" will hardly bear examination. Perhaps the *Herald* does not agree with the Spartan mother who told her son to return from battle with his spear or upon it. Perhaps it would say that the scores of sea-captains that voluntarily go down with their ships each year are not "playing the game." Such an attitude ought to be branded as utterly un-American and every citizen of the United States should repudiate it.

The Japanese have their faults just as every other people has. It would probably have been better if they had frankly said at the very first that war correspondents would not be allowed at the front. We believe that the Japanese have not lost in the estimation of the general foreign public by refusing to become responsible for the crowd of men whom the various papers wanted to send to the battle field to take snap-shots of the carnage that was inevitable. The public is better off without those pictures. The ethics of such things are essentially the same as those of the Spanish bull-fight, and no useful end could be served by it all. We should take General Sherman's word for it that in some aspects "War is Hell," and let it go at that.

[page 459] The latest that comes to hand is the attack of the Baltic Squadron on the English fishermen. We commend this to the *Herald* as a case of "playing the game."

The readers of the Review will notice how widespread is the disaffection in the country. To us it all looks very puerile for these men who rush to form a society have no such backing as would make their plans in any way successful; but at the same time it is not the part of wisdom to ignore the state of things existing in so many districts.

In the first place these people evidently believe the stability of the Korean Government, as an autonomous and sovereign power, is being undermined, and that there is danger of a serious and permanent impairment of Korean independence. We hardly need say that a perusal of the press of the East shows that these are not the only men who fear this.

In the second place these man evidently believe that the only way to obviate such a national catastrophe is to bring about radical reforms in Korea, Here again they are not alone. This belief of theirs is attested by the cutting of the hair, which, however puerile it may seem to outsiders, is a radical departure from one of the most honored and most distinctive customs of old Korea. The top knot is to the Korean what the toga was to the Roman, what the two swords were to the Japanese Samurai, what the beard was and is to the Jewish rabbi.

Furthermore, the ideas and proposals of these men are despicable only in the lack of power to carry them out. They want to uphold the independence of the country, protect the common people from indirection whether of Korean officials or Japanese subjects, and secure needed reforms in the administration of government. Why these things should seem laudable when proposed by foreign periodicals and nonsensical when proposed by Korean subjects we do not see, for it is very certain that the periodicals have no more power to bring about these desired objects than the members of the Chin-bo Society [page 460] have. We do not commend the methods adopted by this organization as being wise at the present time, but the mere protest may

have some effect on the public opinion and lead men to ask the question whether the present condition of affairs is wholly unexceptionable.

Judging from certain quotations from the *Japan Mail* which have come under our notice, it seems that the Editor of that journal has gauged the present status as regards Korea and Japan very accurately. If we interpret him correctly he recognizes two possible courses of action on the part of Japanese authorities. The first is to go one step further than they have gone and declare a protectorate over Korea in imitation of England and Egypt, and the other is to continue the present difficult and perplexing problem until Korea shall prove to the world the necessity of such a protectorate. He takes the reasonable ground that the promises that Japan has made in regard to Korean independence would lay her open to grave criticism if not active protest in case the former plan were adopted. But we think he falls short of stating the whole case for to his second alternative should be added the words *or that such a protectorate is unnecessary*.

As between Japan and Great Britain the understanding is clear enough, supposing, as we do of course, that the published terms of the alliance represent "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." The question of importance is — who will decide when the time has arrived, when Korea shall be declared incapable of attending to her own affairs? There seems to us to be one deciding factor. If the time arrives when it becomes plain that Korea is determinedly hostile to the *essential interests* of any one of the treaty Powers, among which she is nominally neutral, that Power will be justified in seeking to rectify the matter, whether the power be Japan or any other. A treaty of peace and friendship will hardly stand the strain of persistent efforts to injure or thwart legitimate interests. We have italicized the words *essential interest*, and upon what these words mean depends the [page 461] right of any Power to have recourse to armed intervention, all peaceful means having failed. By essential interests we mean those whose impairment strikes directly at the safety of the state. If, for instance, Korea should discriminate flagrantly in favor of Russia as against Japan by granting Russia bases of military or naval concentration, Japan would feel herself endangered and would naturally and rightly object, but the refusal of Korea to regulate her Government according to Japanese ideas or to grant concessions of any kind whatsoever or so to adjust her monetary system as to favor Japanese trade does not affect the essential interests of Japan in the sense that it strikes directly at the safety of the state and is therefore no more to be made the excuse for armed intervention than the high import duties into the United States could be made a *casus belli* by any European Power.

Of course the latest agreement between Korea and Japan insures the latter certain special temporary rights in the peninsula and makes it, in a sense, incumbent upon Korea at least to listen courteously to Japanese advice and adopt such of it as may seem mutually beneficial, but it does not give Japan the right to insist upon any privileges not specifically mentioned, much less to use armed force to secure such privileges. It is for this reason that we feel sure that Japan has no intention of declaring a protectorate over Korea, and will have none unless Korea succeeds in alienating the good will of those whose protests would be of some avail.

Ladies' Days.

For the convenience of the readers of the *Review* we have secured a list of the days upon which the different ladies in Seoul receive. There may be a few omissions but most of these are because these ladies have no day or else no special day.

Mrs. Avison Fridays, except last of the month Miss Barrett First and third Wednesdays. Mrs. Beck Monday. [page 462] Mrs. Bostwick Saturday. Mrs. Brinckmeier Thursday. Mrs. Bunker Wednesday. Miss Carroll Tuesday. Mrs. Elliot Wednesday. Mrs. English Tuesday. Mrs. Gillett Tuesday, except last of the month. Miss Guthapfel First and third Wednesdays, Mrs. Halifax Friday. Miss Harbaugh First and third Wednesday. Mrs. Hodge Friday. Miss Hounshell Tuesday. Mrs. Hulbert Wednesday. Mrs. Joly Friday. Mrs. McLellan Wednesday. Mrs. McGill Monday. Mrs. Mimashi Wednesday Mrs. F. S. Miller First and third Wednesdays Mrs. E. H. Miller First and third Wednesdays Mrs. Hugh Miller Monday. Mrs. Morris Wednesday. Mrs. Moose First and third Tuesdays. Mrs. Moose Fridays except last of month. Mrs. Reynolds First and third Wednesdays. Mrs. M. F. Scranton. Mondays, first excepted. Mrs. W. B. Scranton. Mondays, first excepted. Mrs. C. E. Sharp Fridays except last of month. Mrs. Underwood Friday. Mrs. Welbon Tuesday.

News Calendar.

The native paper of October 15 said that the Governor of Kongju wired that at Kang-gyong-i four or five thousand men gathered and cut their hair. Some of them rode in four-man chairs and some rode horse, and they

were on their way to Kong-ju. The Home Department replied that soldiers would be sent from Seoul to arrest the movement. In Yi-ch'an also several thousand men were rampant, calling themselves the Chin-bo Society and declaring their object to be the upholding [page 463] of the Independence of Korea, the discussion of ways and means to cleanse the government, to guard the people's lives and property, to diminish the number of soldiers in the army, to aid the Japanese troops in every way.

The prefect of Kim-song seems to have more of the genuine stuff in him than most prefects for instead of merely asking what he must do to combat the thousands of Chin-bo men who have gathered there he announced that he has arrested twelve of their leaders and incarcerated them.

The governor of South Ham-gyung announced the distressing fact that on September 26th there was a heavy frost which did enormous harm to the crops all through that section.

In Yi-Ch'on three tonghak leaders were arrested about the middle of October and were locked up. The rest of the tonghaks dispersed. But soon after hundreds of Chin-bo men gathered and refused to disperse.

In Kwak-san some Korean coolies were trying to carry some heavy drainage tile across a river in a boat for use on the Seoul Wiju Railway, but the boat capsized and two of the coolies were drowned.

On the seventeenth of October the Governors of the various provinces telegraphed to Seoul that large numbers of the people had gathered in a seditious manner and had decided to cut off their hair, without receiving orders from the central Government and the Governors say that if they do not desist and disperse when ordered to do so it will be necessary to send soldiers to handle them.

On the 15th of October at noon a telegram came from the Governor of Kongju saying that the Chin-bo people had put up placards stating that they were for freedom and that they were going to oppose the selling off of the land to foreigners. At two o'clock the same day news came from Im-p'i that a crowd of these men had gone to Kang-gyung-i and that the agitation was rapidly spreading. Also from No-song came news that hundreds had gathered there and were making speeches saying that it was untrue that they were against the Government and that they ought not to be called bad men since their object was to help the country.

In Ka-ch'on in the North several hundred tonghak arose and gathered at the prefectural town and began making speeches, the tenor of them being to the effect that they were going to protect the foreign missionaries and that they were going to guard every village against unwarranted acts of foreign soldiers who are prone to commit excesses. They declared that if any prefect or Governor should try to make them disperse they would tell them that they had congregated in the interests of the Government. They further decided to use lanterns instead of flags as the Society's emblem, because in foreign countries flags were not used for such a purpose.

Marshall Hasegawa left Seoul for Wonsan on the nineteenth of October.

[page 464] On Oct. 5th the Governor of South Ham-Kyung Province announced that 1,200 Russians were at Puk-ch'ung with 1,500 horses.

The Superintendent of Trade at Masanpo claims that the Japanese on the island of Ko-je have put up notices in various places forbidding certain things and that when the ignorant people fail to follow these directions they are executed whether their offense be a grave one or a light one

It is said that a man of Kang-won Province came up to Seoul and brought some dynamite cartridges for catching foxes but the Japanese took them away from him. The *modus operandi* is as follows. They smear the cartridge with grease and put it where they think foxes pass and when the animal bites the cartridge he just naturally goes off his head.

The Japanese authorities have demanded an indemnity for the lives of the Japanese killed in the riot at Si-heung last month.

The prefect of Ham-heung announced on the eleventh inst. that about 1,000 men gathered at Yong-heung and had a big meeting. They had books in which the writing was much like that of the tonghaks of 1894. So 110 of them were seized and locked up and the rest dispersed, but they will probably meet again.

The Governor of Chunju announced that several thousand tonghak had gathered in Ham-yul and had cut their hair and he asks what he shall do to stop it. The Governor of South Kyung-sang also states that the *tonghak* thereabouts were changing their name to *chin-bo* and that there were hundreds of them even in the provincial capital, and that even when ordered to go they went only ten li and met again. Soldiers and police were sent to disperse them.

On the 13th of October Marshall Hasegawa arrived in Seoul. He was driven from the station in a fourwheeled carriage drawn by a spirited horse. The road had been specially prepared and the entrance into the city was made in style. He proceeded straight to the Ta-gwanjung.

There seems to have been a specially stubborn lot of Chin-bo people in T'a-chun in the north. The native account of the trouble there is as follows. A crowd of these people assembled and held a meeting in the room over the town gate, as many as could crowd in. The Japanese gendarmes warned them to go home and attend to their legitimate business but they refused and began throwing stones. The Japanese and the Korean police at last fired over the heads of the crowd but without hurting anyone. Some dispersed but many stood their ground and said they would die rather than obey. Those were arrested and locked up. That night an immense crowd gathered and threatened to burn the town and kill the Japanese and the Korean police. The Koreans flourished a great flag and yelled at the top of their voices. Then the Japanese fired in earnest and four Koreans were killed and six fell into the water and drowned and one other was wounded. The people said that if it had not been for the Japanese they would have suffered severely.

[page 465] KOREAN HISTORY.

Thus it will be seen that in spite of all domestic political complications and discouragements the country was making definite advance along some lines. The heaven had begun to work and no conservatism on the part of the public leaders could stop the ferment.

Chapter XXIV.

Russian tactics murder of An Kyung-su the Boxer troubles. . . . evidences of advancement the career of Kim Yong-jin the rise of Yi Yong-ik. . . . his methods of collecting money. . . . sale of Roze Island to Japanese attempt to remove J. McLeavy Brown establishment of Greek Church Mission French interests in Korea growing the French Loan Yi Yong-ik makes a nickel currency. . . . the famine of 1901 the import of Annam rice. . . . tension between Russia and Japan increasing material advances of 1901 deterioration Buddhism on the increase the centralization of all power the use of special tax commissioners . . . the Russo-Korean agreement about Masanpo useless employees.

The return to Seoul of M. Pavlow on Jan. 15, 1900, marked the definite beginning of that train of events which led up to the declaration of war by the Japanese in 1904, The Russians had been induced, two years previously, to remove the heavy pressure which they had brought to bear upon the government, but it was only a change of method. They were now to adopt a policy of pure intrigue and by holding in power Koreans who were hostile to the Japanese to harass and injure Japanese interests in every way possible.

At this same time we see a clear indication of the trend of events in the return to Korea of An Kyung-su and Kwan Yong-jin, two of the best men that late years had developed in Korea. They had been charged with connection with the plot to compass the abdication of His Majesty, and had taken [page 466] refuge in Japan. Now on the promise of the government that they should have a perfectly fair trial and on the guarantee of protection by the Japanese they returned boldly to Korea and presented themselves for trial. They were strong men and they had to be reckoned with. They strongly favored Japanese influence and the reforms that that influence was supposed to embody. In fact they were thoroughly in sympathy with the best motives of the defunct Independence Club. An Kyung-su returned on January fifteenth and was held in detention until May sixteenth when Kwan Yong-jin returned. They were to stand a fair trial, but on the night of the twenty-seventh of May they were both strangled secretly in the prison. No more dastardly crime ever stained the annals of this or any other government. Induced to return on the promise of a fair trial they were trapped and murdered. The reactionists looked upon this as a signal victory, and indeed it was such, for it indicated clearly that a man was not safe even when he had the guarantee of the Japanese authorities. Nor would it be difficult to indicate the source from which the government obtained the courage thus to flout the Japanese.

As the summer came on, all interest in things Korean was held in suspension while the great uprising

in China swelled to such monstrous proportions and the investment of Peking and the siege of the foreign legations there left the world no time to care for or think of other things. There were fears that the boxer movement would be contagious and that it would spread to Korea. Indeed it was reported in the middle of July that the infection had reached northern Korea; but fortunately this proved false.

In spite of the reactionary policy of the government progress continued to be made on certain lines, just as the momentum of a railway train cannot be checked the moment the brakes are applied. A distinguished French legalist was employed as adviser to the Law Department; mining concessions were granted to British, French and Japanese syndicates; the Government Middle School was established; the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway was formally opened; A French teacher was engaged to open a School of Mines; a representative was sent to the great Paris Exposition.

[page 467] This year 1900 was the heyday of another parvenu in the person of Kim Yung-jun. He was a man without any backing except his own colossal effrontery. He had acquired influence by his ability to get together considerable sums of money irrespective of the methods employed. Scores of wealthy men were haled to prison on one pretext or another and were released only upon the payment of a heavy sum. He was a man of considerable force of character but like so many adventurers in Korea he was lured by his successes into a false feeling of security and he forgot that the history of this country is full of just such cases and that they inevitably end in violent death. Even the fate of Kim Hong-nyuk did not deter him, though his case was almost the counterpart of that victim of his own overweening ambitions. Against Kim Yung-jun was ranged the whole nobility of the country who waited with what patience they could until his power to extort money began to wane, and then fell upon him like wolves upon a belated traveler at night. But it was not until the opening of the new year 1901 that he was deposed, tried and killed in a most horrible manner. After excruciating tortures he was at last strangled to death.

But even as this act was perpetrated and the fate of all such adventurers was again illustrated, another man of the same ilk was pressing to the fore. This was Yi Yong-ik, who had once been the major domo of one of the high officials and in that capacity had learned how to do all sorts of interesting, if unscrupulous, things. He was prominent in a felonious attempt to cheat the ginseng farmers of Song-do out of thousands, back in the eighties. He was an ignorant boor and even when rolling in opulence failed to make himself presentable in dress or manner. He was praised by some for his scorn of luxury and because he made no attempt to hoard the money that he bled from the veins of the people. The reason he did not hoard it was the same that makes the farmer sow his seed, that he may reap a hundred-fold. Yi Yong-ik sowed his golden seed in fertile soil and it yielded him a thousandfold.

One of his favorite methods of obtaining money for his patron was to cause the arrest of shoals of former prefects who for one cause or another had failed to turn into the public [page 468] treasury the complete amount nominally levied upon their respective districts. These arrears went back several years and many of them were for cause. Either famine or flood or some other calamity had made it impossible for the people to pay the entire amount of their taxes. There were many cases, without doubt, in which it was right to demand the money from the ex-prefects, for they had "eaten" it themselves; but there were also many cases in which it was a genuine hardship. Literally hundreds of men were haled before a court and made to pay over large sums of money, in default of which their property was seized as well as that of their relatives. In exact proportion as the huge sums thus extorted paved his way to favor in high places, in that same proportion it drove the people to desperation. The taking off of Kim Yung-jun, so far from warning this man, only opened a larger door for the exercise of his peculiar abilities, and it may be said that the official career of Yi Yong-ik began with the opening of 1901.

In March a Japanese resident of Chemulpo claimed to have purchased the whole of Roze Island in the harbor of Chemulpo. The matter made a great stir, for it was plain that someone had assumed the responsibility of selling the island to the Japanese. This was the signal for a sweeping investigation which was so manipulated by powerful parties that the real perpetrators of the outrage were dismissed as guiltless, but a side-issue which arose in regard to certain threatening letters that were sent to the foreign legations was made a peg upon which to hang the seizure, trial and execution of Kim Yong-jun as before mentioned. Min Yongju was the man who sold the island to the Japanese and he finally had to put down Y35,00 and buy it back,

Russia made steady advances toward her ultimate goal during the year 1901. In the Spring some buildings in connection with the palace were to be erected and the Chief Commissioner of Customs, J. McLeavy Brown, C. M. G was ordered to vacate his house on the customs compound at short notice. Soldiers even forced their way into his house. This affront was a serious one and one that the Koreans would never have dared to give had they not felt that they had behind them a power that would see them through. [page 469] The British authorities soon convinced the government that such tactics could be easily met and it had to retreat with some loss of dignity.

The Russian Church established itself in Seoul at this time and took active steps to start a propaganda in Korea. Considerable disturbance was caused in the Southern provinces by Koreans who had become Russian

subjects pretending to be agents of the Russian church and collecting from the people large sums of money by intimidation. For many months the Russians tried to induce the Koreans to allow the Korean telegraph lines in the North-east to be connected with the Russian line from Vladivostock. Why this should not be done we cannot see but evidently the Koreans considered it a national danger and, try as they might, the Russians never really succeeded in making the connection.

The Russians and French were naturally working together in the peninsula and when Russia adopted the principle of withdrawing her military instructors from Korea she so manipulated the wires that the government threw many positions into the hands of the French. For the next three years the French population of Seoul increased manifold. Many of the French gentlemen employed by the government were thoroughly competent and rendered good service but their presence tended to add to the tension between Japan and Russia, for it was quite plain that all their influence would be thrown in the scale on Russia's side. The attempt to loan the Korean Government ¥5,000,000 was pushed with desperate vigor for many months by the French, but divided counsels prevented the final consummation of the loan and the French thus failed to secure the strong leverage which a heavy loan always gives to the creditor. Yi Yongik who had become more or less of a Russian tool was pointedly accused by the Japanese of being in favor of the French loan but he vigorously denied it. It is generally admitted that Yi Yong-ik was something of a mystery even to his most intimate acquaintances and just how far he really favored the Russian side will never be known, but it is certain that he assumed a more and more hostile attitude toward the Japanese as the months went by, an attitude which brought him into violent conflict with them, as we shall see.

[page 470] Yi Yong-ik posed as a master in finance, whatever else he may or may not have been, and in 1901 he began the minting of the Korean nickel piece. No greater monetary disaster ever overtook this country. Even the desperate measures taken by the Regent thirty years before had not shaken the monetary system as this did. The Regent introduced the wretched five-cash piece which did enormous harm but that five-cash piece was of too small face value to be worth counterfeiting. The nickel was the ideal coin to tempt the counterfeiter, for its intrinsic value was not so great as to require the employment of a large amount of capital and yet its face value was sufficient to pay for the labor and time expended. The effects of this departure will be noted in their place.

In the summer of 1901 Yi Yong-ik performed one act that, in the eyes of the people, covered a multitude of other sins. It was a year of great scarcity. The Korean farmers raised barely enough grain for domestic consumption and in order to prevent this grain from being taken out of the country the government proclaimed an embargo on its export. In spite of the fact that Japan was enjoying an unusually good crop and did not really need the Korean product, the Japanese authorities, in the interest of the Japanese exporters in Korea, brought pressure to bear upon the Korean government to raise the embargo, utterly regardless of the interests of the Korean people. As it turned out however, the enhanced price in Korea due to the famine and the cutting of a full crop in Japan prevented the export of rice. But Yi Yong-ik saw that there would inevitably be a shortage in Seoul and with much forethought he sent and imported a large amount of Annam rice and put it on the market at a price so reasonable that the people were highly gratified. From that time on whenever the mistakes of Yi Yong-ik were cited there was always someone to offer the extenuation of that Annam rice. It was a most clever and successful appeal to popular favor.

All through this year 1901 were heard the distant rumblings of that storm that was to break three years later. Every movement of the Russians by land or sea was watched with a fascinated attention and every proposition of the Japan, ese was closely scrutinized. As a fact the war was already in [page 471] existence, only it had not been declared. Even then Japan, ese agents were swarming all over Manchuria gaining exact information of its geography and products and Japan was hastening the preparation of her navy for the struggle that she felt to be inevitable.

As the year 1901 came to a close the tension was beginning to be felt. People were asking how much longer Japan would acquiesce in the insolent encroachments of Russia. But the time was not yet. As for material advances the year had seen not a few. Seoul had been supplied with electric light. The Seoul-Fusan Railway had been begun. Plans for the Seoul-Wiju Railway had been drawn up. Mokpo had been supplied with a splendid sea-wall. Building had gone on apace in the capital and even a scheme for a system of waterworks for the city had been worked out and had received the sanction of the government. Education had gone from bad to worse and at one time when retrenchment seemed necessary it was even suggested to close some of the schools, but better counsels prevailed and this form of suicide was rejected.

With the opening of the year 1902 there were several indications that the general morale of the government was deteriorating. The first was a very determined attempt to revive the Buddhist cult. The Emperor consented to the establishment of a great central monastery for the whole country in the vicinity of Seoul, and in it was installed a Buddhist High Priest in Chief who was to control the whole Buddhist Church in the land. It was a ludicrous attempt, for Buddhism in Korea is dead so far as any genuine influence is concerned. Mixed with the native spirit-worship it has its millions of devotees, but so far as becoming a fashionable cult is

concerned nothing is more unlikely. But it has been the case for over a thousand years that when things have gone badly in the government there has been a harking back to the old Buddhist mummery, to fortune-tellers, geomancers and the like, and the only significance of this attempt was to prove that there was something "rotten in Denmark."

Another evidence was the constant and successful attempt to centralize the power of the Government in the hands, of the Emperor. The overthrow of the Independence Party, [page 472] whose main tenet was curtailment of the Imperial prerogative, gave a new impulse to the enlargement of that prerogative so that in the year 1901 we find almost all the government business transacted in the Palace itself. The various ministers of state could do nothing on their own initiative. Everything was centered in the throne and in two or three favorites who stood near the throne. Of these Yi Yong-ik was the most prominent.

A third evidence of deterioration was the methods adopted to fill the coffers of the Household treasury. The previous year had been a bad one. Out of a possible twelve million dollars of revenue only seven million could be collected. There was great distress all over the country and the pinch was felt in the palace. Special inspectors and agents were therefore sent to the country armed with authority from the Emperor to collect money for the Household treasury. These men adopted any and every means to accomplish their work and this added very materially to the discontent of the people. The prefects were very loath to forego a fraction of the taxation, because they saw how previous prefects were being mulcted because of failure to collect the full amount, and so between the prefect and the special agents the people seemed to be promised a rather bad time. In fact it caused such an outcry on every side that the government at last reluctantly recalled the special agents.

Early in the year the fact was made public that Korea had entered into an agreement with Russia whereby it was guaranteed that no land at Masanpo or on the island of Ko-je at its entrance should ever be sold or permanently leased to any foreign Power. Russia had already secured a coaling station there and it was generally understood, the world over, that Russia had special interest in that remarkably fine harbor. Avowedly this was merely for pacific purposes, but the pains which Russia took to make a secret agreement with Korea, debarring other Powers from privileges similar to those which she had acquired, naturally aroused the suspicions of the Japanese and of the Koreans themselves, those of them that had not been in the secret; and this step, inimical to Japan as it undoubtedly was, probably helped to hasten the [page 473] final catastrophe. Meanwhile Russian subjects were taking advantage of the influential position of their Government in Seoul and through ministerial influence some glass-makers, iron-workers and weavers were employed by the Government without the smallest probability of their ever doing anything in any of these lines.. In fact at about this time the Government was induced to take on quite a large number of Russians and Russian sympathisers who never were able to render any service whatever in lieu of their pay. In many cases the most cursory investigation would have shown that such would inevitably be the result. It is difficult to evade the conclusion that the Government was deliberately exploited.

It was in the spring of this year that the project began to be seriously discussed in Japan of colonizing portions of Korea with Japanese, and a society or company was formed in Tokyo with this as its avowed purpose. This naturally evoked a good deal of feeling in Korea where the Japanese were not at the time enjoying any considerable influence at court. The fact then came out for the first time, and has been further emphasized since, that the Korean, whatever he may feel for his Government, is passionately attached to the soil.

But at this time another and a far greater surprise was in store for the world. It was the announcement of a defensive alliance between Japan and Great Britain. By the terms of this agreement Japan and Great Britain guaranteed to insure the independence of Korea and the integrity of the Chinese Empire. The tremendous influence of this historic document was felt at once in every capital of Europe and in every capital, port and village of the Far East. It stung the lethargic to life and it caused the rashly enthusiastic to stop and think. There can be no manner of doubt that this alliance was one of the necessary steps in preparing for the war which Japan already foresaw on the horizon. It indicated clearly to Russia that her continued occupation of Manchuria and her continued encroachments upon Korea would be called in question at some not distant day. But she was blind to the warning. This convention bound Great Britain to aid Japan in defensive operations and to work with her to the preservation of [page 474] Korean independence and the integrity of China. It will be seen, therefore, that Japan gave up once and for all any thought that she might previously have had of impairing the independence of this country and any move in that direction would absolve Great Britain from all obligations due to the signing of the agreement.

The year had but just begun when the operations of counterfeiters of nickel coins became so flagrant as to demand the attention of all who were interested in trade in the peninsula. Japan had most at stake and Russia had least, and this explains why the Russian authorities applauded the work of Yi Yong-ik and encouraged him to continue and increase the issue of such coinage. In March matters had come to such a pass that the foreign representatives, irrespective of partisan lines, met and discussed ways and means for overcoming the difficulty. After careful deliberation they framed a set of recommendations which were sent to the Government. These urged the discontinuance of this nickel coinage, the withdrawal from circulation of

spurious coins and stringent laws against counterfeiting. But this was of little or no avail. The Government was making a five cent coin at a cost of less than two cents and consequently the counterfeiters with good tools could make as good a coin as the Government and still realize enormously on the operation. It was impossible to detect the counterfeited coins, in many cases, and so there was no possibility of withdrawing them from circulation. The heavy drop in exchange was not due so much to the counterfeiting as to the fact that the intrinsic value of the coin was nothing like as much as the face value, and by an immutable law of finance as well as of human nature it fell to a ruinous discount. But even this would not have worked havoc with trade if, having fallen, the discredited coinage would stay fallen, but it had the curious trick of rising and falling with such sudden fluctuations that business became a mere gamble, and the heavy interests of Japanese and Chinese merchants were nearly at a standstill.

[page 475] Chapter XXV.

Tae Japanese Bank issues notes . . . Independence Club scare . . . lighthouses . . . Opening of work on Seoul-Wiju R.R . . . combination against Yi Yong-ik . . . he is accused and degraded . . . rescued by Russian guard . . . protest of the Japanese against his return . . . Yi Keun-t'ak . . . Russian complacency . . . Russian policy in the Far East . . . contrast between Russians and Japan's aims.

At this point the First Bank of Japan, called the Dai Ichi Ginko, brought up a scheme for putting out an issue of special bank notes that would not circulate outside of Korea. Korea was importing much more than she exported and the balance of trade being against her it was impossible to keep Japanese paper in the country in sufficient quantities to carry on ordinary local trade. For this reason the bank received the sanction of the Korean Government to put out this issue of bank paper which could not be sent abroad but would be extremely useful as a local currency. This was done and it was found to work admirably. The Koreans had confidence in this money and it circulated freely. It had two advantages not enjoyed by any form of Korean currency, namely, it was a stable currency and suffered no fluctuations and it was in large enough denominations to make it possible to transfer a thousand dollars from one man's pocket to that of another without employing a string of pack-ponies to carry the stuff.

But we must retrace our steps and note some other events of interest that happened in the spring months. One of these was the scare in government circles over the reported revival of the Independence Club under the encouragement of a so-called Korean Party in Tokyo, to which it was believed some Korean political refugees belonged. A great stir was made in Seoul and several men were arrested, but there was no evidence that would pay sifting, and though it was evident that the government would have been glad to find a true bill against some of the men who were arrested it was forced by lack of evidence to let them go. The incident was of importance only as showing the extreme sensitiveness of the government on the point, and its determination, [page 476] now that the Independence Party was down, to keep it down.

The one important material improvement of the year was the adoption of a plan for the building of some thirty light-houses on the coast of Korea. Ever since the opening up of foreign trade the lack of proper lights especially on the western coast had been a matter of growing concern to shipping companies. This concern was warranted by the dangerous nature of the coast where high tides, a perfect network of islands and oft-prevailing fogs made navigation a most difficult and dangerous matter. The fact that lighthouses ought to have been built ten years ago does not detract from the merit of those who at last took the matter in hand and pushed it to an issue

The month of May witnessed a spectacular event in the ceremony of the formal opening of work on the Seoul-Wiju Railway. The spirit was willing but the flesh was weak. Neither French nor Russian money was forthcoming to push the work, and so the Korean government was invited to finance the scheme. Yi Yong-ik was made president of the company and if there had been a few thousand more exprefects to mulct he might have raised enough money to carry the road a few miles; but it is much to be feared that his financial ability, so tenderly touched upon by the Japanese Minister in his speech on that "auspicious occasion," was scarcely sufficient for the work, and the plan was not completed. There is much reason to believe that this whole operation was mainly a scheme on the part of the Russians to preempt the ground in order to keep the Japanese out.

As the year wore toward its close the usurpation of numerous offices by Yi Yong-ik and his assumption of complete control in the palace bore its legitimate fruit in the intense hatred of four-fifths of the entire official class. He was looked upon as but one more victim destined to the same fate which had overtaken Kim Hong-nyuk and Kim Yungjun. But in his case the difficulties were much greater. Yi Yong-ik had put away in some safe place an enormous amount of Government money and he held it as a hostage for his personal safety. Until that money was safely in the [page 477] Imperial treasury even the revenge would not be sweet enough to make it worth the loss. Not only so but the whole finances of the Household were in his hands and his sudden

taking off would leave the accounts in such shape that no one could make them out and enormous sums due the department would be lost. Yi Yong-ik had fixed himself so that his life was better worth than his death however much that might be desired. But the officary at large cared little for this. There was no doubt that the one person who should accomplish the overthrow of the favorite and thus bring embarrassment to the Imperial purse would suffer for it, but Korean intrigue was quite capable of coping with a little difficulty like this. The result must be brought about by a combination so strong and so unanimous that no one would ever know who the prime mover was. This at least is a plausible theory and the only one that adequately explains how and why the scheme miscarried. The whole course of the intrigue is so characteristically Korean and includes so many elements of genuine humor, in spite of its object, that we will narrate it briefly. It must of course be understood that the officials were keenly on the lookout for an opportunity to get the hated favorite on the hip and in such a manner that even his financial value to the Emperor would not avail him.

One day, while in conversation with Lady Om, the Emperor's favorite concubine who has been mistress of the palace since the death of the Queen, Yi Yong-ik compared her to Yang Kwi-bi a concubine of the last Emperor of the Tang dynasty in China. He intended this as a compliment but as his education is very limited he was not aware that he could have said nothing more insulting; for Kwi-bi by her meretricious arts is believed to have brought about the destruction of the Tang dynasty. At the time Lady Om herself was unaware that anything derogatory had been said and she received the supposed compliment with complacency; but her nephew who was present, not understanding the reference, went and asked someone else about it and learned the truth of the matter. He doubtless knew that Yi Yong-ik was not aware of his *gaucherie* and so held his peace for a time, but in some way the Prime Minister and the Foreign [page 478] Minister heard a rumor that something insulting had been said. They called up the nephew of Lady Om and from him learned the damning facts. They also knew well enough that no insult had been intended but here was a "case" to be worked to its fullest capacity. The most sanguine could not hope that the hated favorite would give them a better hold upon him than this: for the position of Lady Om was a very delicate one and there had been a dispute on for years between the Emperor's counsellors as to the advisability of raising her to the position of Empress. A word against her was a most serious matter.

Everything was now ready for the grand coup and on the 27th of November fourteen of the highest officials memorialized the throne declaring that Yi Yong-ik was a traitor and must be condemned and executed at once. His Majesty suggested a little delay but on the evening of the same day the same men presented a second memorial couched in still stronger language, and they followed it up the next morning with a third. To their urgent advice was added that of Lady Om herself and of many other of the officials. A crowd of officials gathered at the palace gate and on their knees awaited the decision of the Emperor. There was not a single soul of all that crowd but knew that the charge was a mere excuse and yet it was nominally valid. It was the will of that powerful company against the will of the Emperor. The tension was two great and His Majesty at last reluctantly consented, or at least expressed consent; but he first ordered the accused to be stripped of all his honors and to render all his accounts. This was nominally as reasonable as was the charge against the man. It was a case of "diamond cut diamond" in which the astuteness of the Emperor won. The accusers could not object to having the accused disgorge before being executed but it was at this very point that they were foiled. Yi Yong-ik's accounts were purposely in such shape that it would have taken a month to examine them, for he alone held the key. Nothing can exceed the desperate coolness of the man under the awful ordeal. At one point, just after the acquiescence of the Emperor, the written sentence of death is said to have gone forth but was recalled just as it was to have gone out of the palace gates, after which there would [page 479] have been no recall. No man ever escaped by a narrower margin. When Yi Yong-ik presented his accounts the Emperor announced that it would take some days to straighten matters out since the accused was the only man to unravel the skein. Here was probably the crucial point in the intrigue. If the white heat of the day before had been maintained and the officials had demanded instant punishment, accounts or no accounts, the thing would have been done, but as it happened the consciousness of having won relaxed the tension to such a degree that the accused gained time. This time was utilized by calling in a Russian guard and spiriting the accused away to the Russian Legation. This accomplished His Majesty suavely announced that the case would be considered, but that meanwhile the officials must disperse. There were further memorials, resignations en masse, passionate recriminations until at last two or three officials who had held their peace saw that the game was up and, in order to curry favor themselves, offered a counter memorial charging Yi Yong-ik's accusers with indirection. This was listened to and the Prime Minister was deprived of his official rank. This made possible a compromise whereby both Yi Yong-ik and the Prime Minister were restored to all their former honors and all went "merry as a marriage bell." But it was thought best to let Yi Yong-ik travel for his own and his country's good, so he was made Commissioner to Buy Annam Rice, which was itself a pretty piece of diplomacy since it recalled prominently to the people the one phase of the injured man's career which they could unhesitatingly applaud. He was taken off in a Russian cruiser to Port Arthur — to buy Annam rice!

When he returned to Seoul a few weeks later the Japanese lodged a strong protest against his return to

political power but the Russian authorities made a counter-proposition urging that he was the only man capable of handling the finances of the country. Under existing circumstances the very protest of the Japanese was an argument in his favor and he came back into power on the flood tide, backed, as he had never been before, by the full favor of the Russian party. They naturally expected substantial payment for having saved him, and so far as he was able he liquidated the debt.

[page 480] Meanwhile another man, Yi Keun-t'ak, had risen to power through servile adherence to Russian interests. The somewhat enigmatical character of Yi Yong-ik made him to a certain extent an unknown quantity. Not even the Japanese considered him wholly given over to Russia; but this new man was definitely committed to Russian interests and with his rise to important position it became evident for the first time that the Korean Government had decided to rely upon Russia and to reject the aid or the advice of Japan. The end of the year 1902 may be said to have been the approximate time when Japan first realized that all hope of a peaceful solution of the Korean problem was gone. One naturally asks why Korea took this step, and, while we are still too near the event to secure an entirely dispassionate estimate or opinion, there seems to be little doubt that it was because Russia made no pretensions, and expressed no desire, to reform the administration of the Government. She was perfectly content to let things go along in the old way in the peninsula, knowing that this would constantly and increasingly jeopardize the interests of Japan while she herself had practically no commercial interests to suffer.

The immemorial policy of Russia in Asia sufficiently accounts for her work in Korea. Her policy of gradual absorption of native tribes has never held within its purview the civilizing or the strengthening of those tribes, until they have been gathered under her aegis. On the other hand, until that has been accomplished she has either waited patiently for the disintegration of the native tribes or has actually aided in such disintegration. History shows no case in which Russia has strengthened the hands of another people for the sake of profiting by the larger market that would be opened up; for until very recently the commercial side of the question has scarcely been considered, and even now the commercial interests of Russia depend upon an exclusive market. So that in any case a dominant political influence is the very first step in every move of Russia in the East. Why then should Russia have advised administrative or monetary or any other reform, since such action would inevitably form a bar to the success of her own ultimate plans?

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The Educational Needs of Korea.

SECOND PAPER,

We have mentioned some of the difficulties in the way of the spread of education in Korea and some of the needs that must be supplied. We have here the public which needs educating and the society which proposes to supply the necessary text-books but there remains the great and important question as to the methods by which the contents of these text-books shall be gotten into the minds of the people. One thing is certain, foreigners are neither numerous enough nor have they the leisure to do the teaching. It must be done if at all through the medium of the natives themselves. Before any great progress can be made there must be found a body of capable and enthusiastic teachers from among the Koreans.

According to Korean custom and tradition any man who knows Chinese fairly well can become a teacher. There is no such thing as a science of teaching, and the general average of instruction is wretchedly poor. The teacher gets only his deserts, which are extremely small. The traditional Korean school teacher, while receiving some small degree of social consideration because of his knowledge of the Chinese characters, is looked upon as more or less of a mendicant. Only the poorest will engage in this work, and they do it on a pittance which just keeps them above the starvation line. It has been [page 482] ingrained in the Korean character to reckon the profession of pedagogy as a mere makeshift which is only better than actual beggary. One of the most difficult things before us is to combat this feeling and to impress upon the people the fact that the true teacher is worth a better wage than the mere coolie. If you examine the pay list even of the Government schools you will find that the ordinary wage is about thirty Korean dollars, This means about fifteen yen a month, and is almost precisely the amount that an ordinary coolie receives. Of course there are other things to take into consideration. The teacher has far shorter hours than the coolie and does not work on Sunday but the actual amount received each month as a living wage is the same. This wretchedly low estimate of the value of a teacher's services debauches the whole system. The men who hold these positions are doing so because nothing better has turned up, and they get their revenge for the inadequacy of the salary by shirking their work as much as possible. The fact is that the salary is not actually inadequate considering the quality of the man who does the work, but a minimum wage will never spur a man on to do his best or to improve the quality of the service he renders.

Before the best results can be obtained there must be an opportunity for normal instruction where men can be properly qualified for the profession of pedagogy, and the impression must be made gradually to prevail that this profession is worthy of as much consideration as any other. This can be done only by making it actually worthy of such consideration. How the traditional contempt of teachers can be speedily overcome we do not see, but even though it requires years of effort it must be done. One method will be by foreigners preparing men and giving them positions in the schools governed by foreigners, under adequate salaries and under such direction that they shall render the full equivalent for the money invested. The products of such schools must inevitably be far superior to that of schools in which the teachers are poorly qualified and under-paid. In time the superior school will become a standard of excellence [page 483] for its graduates will command better positions than those of other schools, and a spirit of emulation will be aroused. The other schools will be obliged in very self defence to raise their standard.

But here again we meet the same difficulty as before. Who is to found such a school? It is the policy of the different missions at the present time to operate their schools strictly along denominational lines and to give instruction only to adherents or their children. For this they are not to be blamed, since their appropriations for such purposes are limited and their first duty is to the children of Christian natives. The need of raising up an educated native ministry also, and very rightly, engages the special attention of the missionary. Christian missions cannot be expected or asked to furnish secular education free to all comers, but there can be no question that Christianity develops an instant and pressing demand for liberal education. This was shown very plainly in the case of the little sea-side village of Sorai in Whang-hae Province, Almost simultaneous with the erection of a Christian church a school-house was provided wholly at native expense and for years the Christian children of that village have been studying the elementary branches as taught in common schools in America and England. So while we cannot look to missionary societies to provide the means and the men to push the distinctive work of secular education we can and do look to the results of mission work to give an incentive to education and to set the pace in its pursuit. It is a question that has been seriously asked, whether the desire for an education has not pushed many a Korean to a verbal profession of belief in Christianity in order that he might

secure a place in a school. For such people we have the utmost sympathy, the same that we have for the man who cannot find employment and steals bread wherewith to feed his starving family. The theft is wrong but there is something still more wrong in the conditions which drive him to the crime. Even so in this case, the means employed to secure the opportunity are wrong but there is something still worse in [page 484] the condition of affairs which drives him to the questionable expedient.

In the second place we do not see how the government can be made to realize the importance of this work. When no protest is made against the appropriation of a paltry 60,000 dollars a year for education as compared with 4,000,000 dollars for the Korean Army (!) there is little use in expecting a change in the near future. The government could do nothing better than reverse these figures, but the age of miracles is past.

Before suggesting a possible solution of the question we should note with some care what is at present being done to provide young men with an education. There are the seven or eight primary schools in Seoul with a possible attendance of forty boys in each. This means a good deal less than 500 boys in this city of over 200,000 people, including the immediate suburbs. At the lowest estimate there ought to be 6,000 boys in school between the ages of ten and sixteen. Practically nothing is being done. As for intermediate education there is the Middle School with a corps of eight teachers and an average attendance of about thirty boys. The building, the apparatus and the teaching staff would suffice for 400 students. There are several foreign language schools with an attendance of anywhere from twenty to eighty each and they are fairly successful, but the study of a foreign language can never form part of a scheme for a general national education. Then there are the various private schools, almost every one of which is in a languishing condition. A Korean will start a private school on the least provocation. It runs a few months and then closes nobody being the wiser, though some be sadder. When we come to reckon up the total number of young Koreans who are pursuing a regular course of instruction along modern lines we find that they represent only a fraction of one per cent of the men who ought, and easily might be doing so. It is the opinion of those Koreans who are in a position to know, that since the general discontinuance of the study of Chinese because of the stopping of the national examination or *kwaga* and the [page 485] failure of the present system of education to interest the people, the young men of Seoul have been rapidly deteriorating in character. Freed from the restraints imposed by the close study of the Chinese classics they seem to be giving themselves over to all the vagaries and excesses that youth is prone to. We foreigners perhaps do not see it, but the Korean who keeps his eyes open cannot but mark the difference. These young men are not vicious for the sake of vice but because they have nothing to do. Their own houses are dull and uncongenial; there are no meeting-places, clubs or social rendezvous, except those which are vicious in their tendencies and the natural results follow. We suggest that the foreigner in passing along the street some fine day note the crowd of young men between sixteen and twenty-two years old that are slouching along the street with nothing to do, evidently, but kill time. These young men ought to be in school and they would be there if there were the proper facilities; anything to waken their enthusiasm or kindle their interest. The whole range of School Life delights has yet to be revealed to them. Their whole idea of school is a dirty, dim, dreary and unsanitary Korean room with its unpainted and torturesome benches, a battered blackboard and a teacher who knows just enough about the matter he is teaching to reveal its difficulties without arousing any interest in their solution. What we would emphasize is the dangers attending a continued and widening hiatus between the old system and some new one. When Japan threw off the old garment of feudalism she instantly donned the new one and threw herself into the work of mastering the modern system with an intensity and fervor that was almost fanatical, but Korea has been induced to throw off the old without donning the new and she is in danger of suffering from intellectual frost-bite in the interval. It would be better to go back to the old *Kwaga* system with all its anachronisms than to shuffle along in the present raw manner, like a snake that has cast its skin without arranging for a new one.

We see no hope of the Koreans taking the initiative [page 486] in any plan for the breaking of this intellectual dead-lock. They have schemes enough and they can plan to a dot what is needed but, like the lofty ideals of Confucius, the fruit, though tempting, hangs so high that they stand beneath the tree and praise it without having the energy to climb the tree and pluck it. They need the spur of sympathetic foreign leadership. This will be a guarantee of the genuineness of the work done, of the continuity of the system and of the gradual victory of the new ideal over the old. But who is prepared to do this work? The foreigners now resident in Korea are all too busy to give time to such matters, but a plan has been broached which offers at least the beginning of a solution. We have not space in this number to discuss it but in the next issue we shall lay the matter before the public. (To be continued .)

The Severance Hospital.

The present Severance Hospital is the direct successor to the Royal Korean Hospital which was established by Dr. H. N. Allen in 1884 under the patronage of His Majesty the King. For some years it was supported by His

Majesty but the fund were increasingly diverted to other purposes until 1895, when the cost of the work was undertaken by the Presbyterian Mission. At that time the medical work for the Korean people was divided amongst the Presbyterian, Methodist and English Church Missions, none of whom had anything but the most inferior plants. This condition of things obtained up to 1899 when Dr. Avison who had been for nearly 6 years in charge of the Royal Korean Hospital returned to America on furlough with the great need for a proper hospital plant weighing heavily on his mind and also in the firm conviction that it was a very unwise use of men and money to place so many physicians in Seoul in so many different hospitals all with poor buildings, poor equipment, insufficient manning and very inadequate support.

[page 487] It fell to Dr. Avison's lot while in America to read a paper before the great Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York in the Spring of 1900, the subject assigned him being one which lay very close to his thought viz: "Comity in Medical Missions." Dr. Avison in this paper referred to the conditions in Seoul mentioned above, viz: Seven physicians working separately in seven different hospitals and dispensaries, none of them having either buildings, equipment, manning or support at all commensurate with their needs, and he expressed the opinion that half the number of physicians placed in one good hospital could do the medical work of Seoul with greater ease and efficiency and at less actual cost than was then done by so many men and women. He pled for the extension of the plain business principle of comity into this feature of the Missionary enterprise, expressing the hope that the various Missions at work in Seoul might unite in the establishment and support of one good, well equipped and well supported hospital.

At the close of his address Dr. Avison was summoned to meet Mr. L. H. Severance, of Cleveland, Ohio, who was present at the meeting.

Mr. Severance expressed his cordial agreement with the views set forth in the paper and introduced the question of the cost of erecting a hospital in Seoul. He was told that \$10,000 U. S. gold would probably be required. Later on Mr. Severance conferred with the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in New York on the subject and as an outcome offered to donate \$10,000 for the purpose. When Dr. Avison returned to Korea he expected to erect the new hospital on the site of the old building near the center of the city, but circumstances prevented this. His Majesty the Emperor had expressed his intention of donating a site but his purpose was frustrated and the want of a site blocked the way for the erection of the building. The matter having been reported to Mr. Severance he generously donated another \$5,000. gold for the purchase of a site, and with this the present beautiful site outside the South Gate was bought and the work actually begun in the summer of 1902, the [page 488] corner stone being laid on the afternoon of Thanksgiving Day by His Excellency, Dr. H. N. Allen, U.S. Minister, in the presence of a large gathering of the foreign community and Korean officials.

The opening of the war and other causes contributed to increase the actual cost very materially above the estimated cost, but Mr. Severance realised the conditions and generously allowed the expenditure of the amount necessary to complete and equip the hospital in good shape, and by the time the adjunct buildings are completed at least \$20,000 U. S. gold will have been spent.

The result is, however, that Seoul has now a modern hospital in which all kinds of cases can be treated in accordance with modern scientific methods.

The main building is about 40 by 80 ft., consists of two stories and a basement, but the basement having high ceilings and being well lighted and well finished practically adds another story to the building.

The basement contains the public dispensary, consisting of two waiting rooms, a consultation room, a laboratory and a pharmacy; a store room for medicines; furnace and coal room; kitchen and laundry with a modern drying room attached to the laundry. The first floor contains physician's office with a room off it supplied with electrical apparatus to which an X-ray outfit will be at once added, steam bath cabinet, dry hot air apparatus for the treatment of joints, compressed air apparatus for the treatment of nose, throat, etc., and other special forms of apparatus, three medical wards for men, linen closet, bath room and W.C. for men, four wards for women with linen closet, bath room and W. C. for women, and a general meeting room.

The second floor is entirely devoted to surgical work for men, and here is located the operating room with wash room for the operators and sterilising room opening off it. This room is 16 by 16 ft. with ceiling 14 ft. high, the exposure is N.E. and that side is almost all glass which in addition to a large skylight gives good reflected light, no shadows interfering with the work of the operators. [page 489] This room is fitted up with white enamelled steel operating furniture and water-sterilizing apparatus, and is well adapted for the work to be done in it.

This floor has seven wards, linen closet, bath room and W.C., nurse's room and minor operating room, and like the first floor has a diet kitchen which communicates with the basement kitchen by means of a dumb-waiter, for the distribution of food.

The physician's office communicates by means of speaking tube with all parts of the building, while a private telephone connects the hospital with the doctor's residence.

For the convenience of foreign patients it is intended to connect the hospital with the general telephone system of the city.

The whole interior of the building, including walls and ceilings, is painted in mild colors so that it can be washed and kept clean, and this feature of cleanliness is also facilitated by the rounding of all corners so as to prevent the lodgment of dust. Several private wards have been fitted up for the accommodation of those who wish to have a room to themselves, and these are suitable also for the use of foreign patients. The baths, W.C.'s, and wash-basins are all fitted up in a modern way and properly plumbed and supplied with hot and cold water.

The entire building is heated by a hot water system, so that neither smoke, coal dust nor ashes are present in the rooms, and an equable temperature can be kept in all parts.

Electric lighting throughout is a great help, too, in preventing the contamination of the wards with foul gases.

Ventilation has been well thought out and arranged for both by transoms placed over the doors and by a system of incoming and outgoing flues by which warmed fresh air is introduced into the wards and the fouled air carried off, so that the air of the wards is being constantly renewed even though doors and windows are closely shut, and that without noticeable drafts.

[page 490] The laboratory is fitted up with modern apparatus for the examination of blood, urine, faeces, sputum, etc.

A rabbit pen has been fitted up and a fully equipped, a Pasteur Institute will soon be in operation, so that those who are so unfortunate as to be bitten by a rabid dog may get prompt treatment according to the Pasteur method. The many accidents of this kind which have happened emphasize the great need of such an institution in our midst.

Plans are now out for the erection of an Isolation Building for the reception of contagious diseases. This will be built as soon as Spring opens. Other adjunct buildings such as mortuary storehouse etc. are to be added; and several houses for assistants and servants grouped around the main buildings combine to make a plant complete in almost every particular.

Keeping in mind the fact that all forms of mission work must be only temporary and looking forward to the time when even hospital work must be done by native physicians, a strong effort has been made to give systematic medical instruction to a small number of young men, and this effort has meant special language study on the part of the doctor and much time spent in the preparation of text-books. The task altogether was found too heavy for one man to continue to do, and do it well, and again Mr. Severance opened his heart and purse and at his own expense sent out a second physician, Dr. J. W. Hirst to be associated with Dr. Avison in the work so that now all departments of the hospital can be carried on with greater vigor and more care, and the training of Korean young men and women as physicians and nurses will form a more prominent feature, while at the same time a series of medical text-books in the native language and script will result.

As might be expected in a country where the principles of sanitation are so constantly violated tuberculosis is rampant, a large proportion of those who apply for treatment being sufferers from some form of this disease.

It is the hope of those in charge to erect a tent or [page 491] other building suitable for the modern treatment of tuberculosis, which has proven so effective in Europe and America.

The building which has just been erected is planned to accommodate about 30 to 35 patients, but beds can be placed for 40 in case of need, and the isolation ward will have beds for about 6. The number of patients treated daily averages about 30, or about 10,000 in a year, but it is likely that a larger number will be treated at the new hospital as its advantages become more widely known.

To do this work well will mean the expenditure yearly of a considerable sum of money, a careful estimate putting this sum at Yen 7,500.00 exclusive of physician's salaries.

Towards meeting this there is an estimated income from various sources of say Yen 4,500.00 leaving a deficit of Yen 3,000.00 per year, and this sum those in charge hope to obtain from within the bounds of Korea. This looks like a goodly sum to expect yearly, but it is not a large sum for the successful diplomats, the business men and others to put into a benevolent work which promises so much definite and tangible good to the poor and suffering people who are so numerous. In many communities the cost of plant and the entire current expenditure is being given by the community but here in Seoul everything has been supplied and less than half of the current expenditure is being asked from the community at large.

A very important point to be borne in mind is that while the plant is owned and managed by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions yet it is entirely undenominational in the scope of its work, and while it has been built and is being carried on largely by American enterprise it is entirely without national bias in the distribution of its benefits. The sick of any religion or no religion and those of any nationality are admitted and given the best treatment its facilities will afford.

And while it is the avowed and definite aim of the Mission and those in charge to give religious instruction to all who come within its sphere of influence and so far [page 492] as possible to influence them in favor of Christianity yet no compulsion is used, and no persuasion other than the presentation to all of Christ as their Savior, and no effort is made to influence Christians of other denominations in favor of Presbyterianism. In

the case of Methodists or Roman Catholics becoming patients in the hospital, the Methodist pastor or the Roman Catholic priest is as free to visit them as are the Presbyterian pastors, and so with any denomination whatsoever.

So long as there were several denominational hospitals in Seoul no effort was made to obtain local financial support, but now that the Methodist and English Churches have given up their general medical work (only the Methodist women's hospital being now carried on on behalf of Korean women) it is felt that a part of the support of the work may well be looked for from the general community.

The cost of food and medicines for a general ward patient for a year is estimated at Yen 100, and several persons have already offered to support beds to be named as they may direct.

The general surgical ward of ten beds could be supported by the payment of Yen 1,000 per year, or any bed in it for Yen 100.

Then there are several wards with three beds in each which could be supported with 300 yen per year.

The Pasteur Institute is not directly part of the Severance Hospital, the only donation thus far being that of Yen 100 by the guard of the Italian Legation, which was used in the erection of the rabbit pen. To properly establish this Institute will require the purchase of the apparatus for the manipulation of the virus and its storage. The work must be carried on under the strictest antiseptic precautions, and special apparatus is required. The cost of this will probably be about Yen 250, and the donation of this by some one would be a beneficent act.

Further than this a room about 12-16 feet is needed in which to keep the inoculated rabbits, and the erection of this will cost about Yen 100 to 125. [page 493] After the Institute has been thus started, whether there are patients or not the supply of fresh virus must be kept up constantly, and this will necessitate the using up of a large number of rabbits each month. It is calculated that at the Nagasaki Institute about 30 rabbits are used each month. The cost of maintaining the Institute therefore will not be small, as it will require almost all the time of one assistant to look after the rabbits, see that they are kept healthy, and especially watch over and care for those that have been inoculated. The sum of Yen 400 to 500 yearly will probably be needed for the upkeep of the Institute, and this offers a good opportunity for an exhibition of generosity.

Stock is offered in the Pasteur Institute at Yen 50 per share, and for each Yen 50 advanced the donor will be entitled to a full treatment at the Institute or to command the treatment of one other person, the same being a foreigner or well-to-do Korean, or to send for treatment four Koreans of the poor class for whom the cost of treatment will be reduced to Yen 12.50.

The treatment consists of 21 inoculations, and covers a period of 21 consecutive days.

Another direction in which generosity may be well placed is in the support of some bright young man as a medical student. This can be done at a cost of about Yen 100 per year.

Probably, however, the most urgent need at the present time is the support of beds in the hospital. Can Seoul not take up at least 20 of these at Yen 100 each per year and thus provide for the cure and relief of many of the sick and suffering poor in our midst?

Supporters of beds may choose a name for their beds and have them placed over them and each year a report will be rendered of the cases treated in them.

O. R. Avison.

[page 494] Opening of the Severance Memorial Hospital. Wednesday, November 16th, 1904,

The weather and everything else combined to make the opening of the new Hospital in Seoul, known as the Severance Memorial Hospital, an auspicious event. The foreign community of Seoul, together with several of the native Korean officials, gathered in the large upstairs room, to hear something of the history of the Hospital; and also to be shown over the now completed building.

Dr. H. N. Allen, the United States Minister, whose name has from the start been so intimately associated with the beginnings of medical work in this land, and whose skill in 1884 opened a wide door for medicine and surgery, made the address of the afternoon, and pointed out clearly the need that exists in Korea for medicine and surgery; showed how an attempt had been made to supply the need with the poor facilities at hand; touched upon the notable success that had attended work with even poorer facilities; and heartily congratulated Dr. Avison, the foreign community, and the citizens of Seoul, on the magnificent plant that had been procured through the kindness and generosity of Mr. Louis H. Severance, of Cleveland, Ohio, U. S. A. His Excellency, Youn Chi Ho, of the Foreign Office, after addressing a few words to the Koreans who were present, in his inimitable way, referred to what foreign medicine might do in Korea; and, in the name of his country, thanked the foreign residents, and especially the Presbyterian Mission, for the fully equipped institution that was thrown open to the public on that day. Dr. Avison followed, giving in a concise way, the history of the development of the plans for the present Hospital and enlarged upon the generosity of the donor in providing

such a complete outfit for Seoul.

The company were then escorted round the Hospital, [page 495] and soon saw there had been provided a comparatively small but perfectly equipped Hospital. It was said that one of Japan's leading officials had remarked that there were larger institutions in Japan but none better equipped than the one just opened.

The generosity of an outsider, one who has never seen Seoul or Korea, has brought to our doors the means by which the people of this city can secure for their sick, rich and poor alike, the advantages of the best and latest researches in medical science and surgery. Much as we who are out here in the East may sympathize with and pity the sufferers of this land, it would have been absolutely beyond our reach to provide such an institution. It has now been bestowed upon us, and the least that we can do will be to take our share in furnishing the means for the running of the same.

In the hospital department there are some forty odd beds, and Doctor Avison told us that one hundred yen would pay for the keep of a patient in one bed throughout the year. Thus one hundred yen invested here, will, in all probability, give health and strength to an average of from eight to ten Koreans each year. Several have taken this into consideration and are purposing to provide the yearly sustenance for one bed; and, I should think that in Seoul, at least forty persons ought to be found who would be willing thus to endow a bed, which can then be named after the donor, if so desired. The dispensary department where some 10,000 or more patients are treated every year, cannot possibly pay its expenses, as necessarily a large number of the patients have to be provided with medicine free. Here is a way in which those who do not care to endow a bed can do something to help support the sick in Seoul.

While the institution has been provided through the generosity of a Christian gentleman in America, and has been placed by him under the care of the Presbyterian Board of Mission, as was said at this gathering, it is intended to care for all nationalities, all classes, all creeds, all religions, and as such commends itself most heartily to all those who have the interest of their fellow man at [page 496] heart. Is there not a responsibility resting especially upon those of us who have had the advantages of civilization to take our share in the alleviation of the suffering around us; and does not this institution offer us an opportunity of doing the same?

In our comfortable homes we do not have much chance of seeing the condition of the natives of this land; but any of us can easily imagine what it would be, had we no physicians, and had we to rely upon poor quackery with its acupuncture and blistering, crudely administered by so-called doctors who are entirely ignorant of human anatomy. After the obnoxious, filthy and foul decoctions that these people prepare and administer, very little hope remains for the patient.

When an American gentleman reaches out arms of love and mercy from the other side of the globe to the destitute and suffering of this nation, we cannot afford to allow ourselves to be hindered from giving at least a little of what Providence has so bountifully given us; and, thereby, offer a few crumbs from our table to those who, like Lazarus, lie at our doors.

H. G. Underwood.

The New Hospital

The ideal form of philanthropic giving is the personal kind, where the giver comes into personal contact with the individual to whom he gives. Shakespeare says that mercy is twice blessed because it blesses him who gives and him who receives. But aid that is given at second hand or through an agent loses at least a portion of the reflex half of its beneficent power.

And yet it is manifestly impossible for all people to engage to any considerable extent in the work of personal distribution of their benefactions. Wise giving requires a careful examination of the condition and needs of the recipient, and such examination takes far more time than the mere handing over of the money. The [page 497] great majority of people, therefore, find it wiser to put their money into the hands of those whose business it is to learn the conditions and who for this reason can make the most worthy disposal of the funds. Nor is this always done simply to save bother and relieve the donor of the onus of personal investigation and contact with uncongenial surroundings. Many people are actually afraid of the expressions of thankfulness and love which their kindness often elicits and give their money through others rather to hide from their left hand what the right hand does than to salve the conscience merely.

In such a land as this, where extreme poverty and lack of any considerable moral restraints render poor people very susceptible to the temptation to impose upon the generosity of the well-to-do, it is a great question how to give without doing more harm than good. Ignorance of the language makes it impossible to do the work personally and yet there is no man of right feeling who is willing to go on year after year without doing something to relieve the suffering which evidently exists.

In a general way it may be said that there is no object which appeals to all men so commonly as a free

hospital. To those who are actuated by the distinctively religious side of the question it represents a continuation of the personal work of Jesus Christ who paid special attention to bodily ailments. To those who are actuated simply by humanitarian motives it must appear as the most definite and genuine of mediums through which to aid suffering humanity. There is the least possible danger of money being misapplied or of helping people that do not need help. A sick man is manifestly unable to earn a living; and who of us does not know that not one Korean in a thousand has any available funds to fall back upon in case of temporary disability?

The Severance Hospital is the only thoroughly organized and properly equipped institution of the kind in Seoul or its vicinity. The building is free of debt, the salaries of its medical staff are guaranteed and therefore every cent which you give will be used directly in the relieving of [page 498] suffering. The man of broad views will recognize that money given even for a subsidiary purpose such as fuel, lights and office expenses is as genuinely useful as that given directly in the care of the sick, but in this case even such a slight objection as this is wanting. Every dollar invested is applied directly to the providing of the actual wants of the patients. Some members of the foreign community have already seen fit to assume the support of individual beds in the wards of this hospital at the comparatively trifling expense of about one hundred yen a year and it would seem to be a matter of little difficulty to secure forty such guarantees from among a community such as this.

If it be objected that when a man builds a hospital to be called after his name he should also endow it, we must remember that Mr. Severance has already practically endowed the institution with the equivalent of Yen 35,000, for the sum which he annually donates amounts at a minimum estimate to the interest on the above sum, reckoned at five per cent. It would seem, then, that Mr. Severance has done all that could reasonably be expected toward the running expenses of the institution. But is it not true that such an enterprise must exert a greater influence over the community both direct and reflex if it engages the active financial support of the people among whom it is placed? Where the treasure is, there the heart is also, and if you have a little treasure invested in this enterprise it will do something toward helping you to remember that the physical sufferings of this people are beyond your wildest imagination and thus keep you true to your moral obligations to them.

There is every reason to believe that well-to-do Koreans will be unwilling to have all this work done with foreign money and will demand a share in the work. Already an attempt has been made in the Seoul Young Men's Christian Association to endow a bed in the Severance Hospital, with Korean funds. Mr. T. H. Yun, Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs made a telling appeal at the Y. M. C. A. rooms the other night and there was an [page 499] instant response. One man pledged \$100 and others smaller sums, so that the required amount was raised.

We wish to bring this matter very plainly before the attention of the foreign community and urge that each individual settle with himself the question whether this is not the very best and safest medium through which to give expression to his sympathy for the Koreans. To the man without sympathy any appeal is vain but we do not believe there exists such a person in our community. Many of us are receiving a monthly stipend from the Korean government and is it not eminently fitting that a moiety of this sum should revert to the direct relief of Korean suffering?

The Ghost of a Ghost.

It was a curious combination of justice and chicanery and illustrated to a dot the Korean ideal of official rectitude. But the reader must judge for himself.

A Korean country gentleman, Kim for convenience, had become a widower with a small son on his hands, and as this threw his domestic arrangements into confusion he looked about for a number two to share his joys and sorrows and incidentally to cook his *pap*. In this quest he was successful and in time another son was born. But by this time the first-born had grown into a young man and had developed a violent dislike to his step-mother and his little half-brother, and a person even less astute than the father could not fail to foresee that upon his demise the elder son would show small favor to the wife and the child.

For this reason the old gentleman upon his death-bed gave to his wife a piece of paper on which was drawn a picture of a man and his son, and told her to keep it with great care and when the time came that she could no longer make ends meet she should take the picture to the local magistrate and ask redress. He unhesitatingly affirmed that justice would thus be done her.

[page 500] Not long after this he breathed his last, and it was but a month or two later that the elder son began to show his teeth. The property was all taken from the widow and no provision whatever was made for her support. She had only one small box in which she preserved the picture. The little boy plead with his big brother to help his mother, but was driven from the door with blows. Finally the unhappy woman reached the point of destitution which her husband had foreseen, and taking the picture she went to the office of the prefect and told her story.

The prefect looked long and intently at the piece of paper, studied it from every point of view, but said

at last that he could make nothing out of it. The enigma was too deep for him. He told her to leave the picture with him over night and he would think it over. As he pondered the matter he concluded there must be some solution and was piqued at his own inability to find it. Late into the night he sat and thought about it but the more he thought the more insoluble became the riddle. About midnight he called his servant and ordered a bowl of water. After drinking a little he set the bowl down, but in doing so a portion of the water was spilled upon the picture which lay on the floor beside him. He was startled, for this might injure the picture and render the solution wholly impossible; so he picked up the paper carefully and held it near the candle flame to dry it, when lo! the riddle solved itself. The porous paper was made semi-transparent by the water, and the light, shining through, revealed a written communication concealed between the two thicknesses of paper which formed the substance of the picture. He glanced around to see whether his servant had noticed it and was relieved to find that he alone was the possessor of the secret. His first act was to destroy the picture, after which he retired as usual.

In the morning when the ajuns came to pay their respects he ordered one of them to go down to the house of the man who had treated his step-mother so badly and announce that the prefect would call there at two in the [page 501] afternoon. This created something of a sensation and when the prefect arrived he found the place swept and garnished. Quite a crowd of the towns-people had gathered out of curiosity to see what this visit might portend.

As the prefect entered the gate he saw the master of the house and the others gathered about the steps of the sarang or reception room but on the left the yard was empty. The host came forward to greet him but strange to say he waved him aside and looked intently to the left. Then folding the front part of his coat about him as the Korean does in the presence of a superior he advanced a few steps toward the left, bent forward in a deferential manner and said:

Yes, certainly no, never before without doubt . . . Oh no, no I could not think of it . . . yes quite sure . . . no difficulty whatever . . . It shall be done at once . . . Indeed I shall not forget.

All this in reply to apparently unheard questions of an unseen interlocutor! The people stood open-mouthed with wonder. Had the prefect indeed gone mad? But the play was not yet finished. The prefect went toward the gate as if taking leave of some one, said good-by with the utmost deference and then came back to the amazed group of spectators and said:

“Who was that man?” They hesitated but at last one of them made bold to answer :

“There was no one there.”

“What; that man I was just talking to and who has just gone? You didn’t see him?”

“No, we saw no one nor did we hear anything but your words.”

“Amazing! Wonderful! Astounding! I saw an elderly gentleman standing there and he had the air of a great official. He spoke to me and said that in this town his widow and her little boy were suffering because the grown-up son had defrauded them of their rights. He told me he had foreseen this and had buried beneath the floor of that deserted house, over there, three caskets of silver and two of gold for the use of his widow. He told [page 502] me to take two of the silver caskets and give the rest to his widow. And you never saw him! Well, well, it was a singular hallucination. Let us think no more about it.”

But what company of people would rest satisfied with this? They protested that there must be some reason behind the vision and urged the prefect to dig for the treasure. He demurred and said it was foolish but was finally persuaded. Mattocks were secured and they all hastened to the deserted house where, sure enough, the caskets were unearthed. Instead of thinking the prefect was crazy they now concluded that he was inspired. He took it very modestly, and calling the widow and her son turned over the valuable treasure to them.

“The old gentleman told me to keep two of the silver caskets for myself, but I am going to venture to disobey him and keep only one.”

A murmur of admiration went around the company and they, and the woman, begged him to take two, but he protested that even the fear of the spirits’ anger would not induce him to take more than one.

Thus the woman was vindicated, the prefect enveloped in the odor of sanctity and his exchequer replenished; for the writing in the picture had only revealed the position of the buried treasure but had made no provision for the prefect’s squeeze.

COREA: THE HERMIT NATION.

PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH EDITION.

When in October, 1882, the publishers of “Corea the Hermit Nation” presented this work to the public of English-speaking nations, they wrote :

“Corea stands much the same relation to the traveller that the region of the pole does to the explorer, and menaces with the same penalty the too inquisitive tourist who ventures to penetrate its inhospitable borders.”

[page 503] For twenty-two years, this book, besides enjoying popular favor, has been made good use of by writers and students, in Europe and America, and has also served even in Korea itself as the first book of general information to be read by missionaries and other new comers. In this seventh edition, I have added to the original text ending with Chapter XLVIII (September, 1882), four fresh chapters : on The Economic Condition of Korea; Internal Politics: Chinese and Japanese; The War of 1894: Korea aa Empire; and Japan and Russia in Conflict; bringing the history down to the autumn of 1904.

Within the brief period of time treated in these new chapters, the centre of the world's politics has shifted from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean to the waters surrounding Korea, the strange anomaly of dual sovereignty over the peninsular state has been eliminated, and the military reputation of China ruined. The rise of Japan, within a half century of immediate contact with the West, to the position of a modern state, able first to humiliate China and then to grapple with Russia, has vitally affected Korea, on behalf of whose independence Japan has a second time gone to war with a Power vastly greater in natural resources than herself. In this period, also, the United States of America has become one of the great Powers interested in the politics of Asia, and with which the would-be conquerors of Asiatic peoples must reckon.

In again sending forth a work that has been so heartily welcomed, I reiterate gladly my great obligations to the scholars, native and foreign, who have so generously aided me by their conversation, correspondence, criticism, and publications, and the members of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, who have honored me with membership in their honorable body. My special obligations are due to our American Minister, H. N. Allen, for printed documents and illustrative matter; to Professor Homer B. Hulbert, Editor of *The Korea Review*, from the pages of which I have drawn liberally; and to Professor Asakawa of Dartmouth College, author [page 504] of “The Early Institutional Life of Japan.” I call attention also to the additions made upon the map at the end of the volume.

I beg again the indulgence of my readers, especially of those who by long residence on the soil, while so thoroughly able to criticize, have been so profuse in their expressions of appreciation. From both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific have come these gratifying tokens, and to them as well as to my publishers I make glad acknowledgments in sending forth this seventh edition.

Ithaca, N.Y., September 22, 1904.

Wm. Elliot Griffis.

Review.

Corea e Coreani by Lieut. Carlo Rossetti, Cr 8° pp300 Rome, 1904. Illustrated.

We have received from the author a copy of the above mentioned book and in spite of one sad deficiency in knowledge of the Italian language we have taken pains to examine with some care the contents of the volume. It is a large crown octavo in flexible covers and is an excellent example of typographical and artistic skill. It is *par excellence* a book of illustrations and shows the exceptional skill and taste of the author, who took most of the photographs himself. An examination of the letter press will convince anyone that the author confined his remarks to things which he had personally verified, and made no pretense to an intimate knowledge of, or an authoritative voice in, matter which can be known only after a long and thorough acquaintance with the Korean people. Even a brief account of things that one knows at first hand is worth more than long chapters of generalizations and inductions, and the author is to be congratulated upon the stamp of verisimilitude which is impressed upon every page of this book.

[page 505] A New Book on Japan

We have received from the Japanese authorities a neat volume entitled *Japan in the Beginning of the 20th Century*. It is published by the Imperial Japanese Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and contains some 800 pages. After all the descriptive and sentimental books on Japan based upon a partial or onesided observation it is indeed pleasant to take up a book that is simply crammed with facts, well authenticated facts. In one sense it is dry but in another it is most interesting reading. We want to know what

Japan has back of her as genuine resource from which to draw in this her time of life and death struggle. Nowhere else can these facts be found so succinctly stated, so clearly exposed and so scientifically grouped as in this work. It has all one wants to know about the geography, population, administrative system, agriculture, forestry, mines, fisheries, manufactures, foreign and domestic trade, finances, army and navy, communication, transportation and education. Under each of these heads there are numerous subdivisions which take one right down to the bed rock of Japanese institutions and life, and to one who wants serious and exact knowledge of the country we know of no book nearly so satisfactory. This is the kind of book that will some time be written about Korea, giving not mere sketches here and there but telling us the facts in their proper proportions and bearings. The Japanese authorities are to be highly complimented upon the neat and attractive get-up of the book, its unexceptionable English and its entire adequacy to fill the requirements of the case.

Mr. Kennan on Seoul.

Mr. Geo. Kennan has a very readable article on Seoul in the October number of the *Outlook*. He is a keen [page 506] observer and describes things in a very dramatic way. The results of some of the extravagant praises which Mr. Hamilton lavished upon Seoul are evident in this article, for Mr. Kennan had been given to expect so much that his disappointment drove him to the other extreme and he could see very little in Seoul worth seeing. For instance his description of the natural scenery about Seoul does not imply that Seoul is the most picturesquely situated city in the Far East with the single exception of Hongkong. Mr. Kennan leaps from the extreme laudation of Mr. Hamilton to the other extreme when he says that Seoul is much more truthfully set forth in the doggerel verses of "a former resident of Seoul" who was in fact a U. S. Naval officer whose acquaintance with Korea was but one degree more complete than that of Mr. Kennan. We must demur at the impression left by the writer's reference to semi-nude women on the street. Any resident of Seoul will agree that while a few slave women go about with the breasts exposed this is not a characteristic of Korean women on the streets, generally. The term "semi-nude" implies a far more objectionable state of things than actually exists. To have been fair Mr. Kennan should have added a contrast between the Japanese and Koreans in the matter of nudity, to his other comparisons. What we fail to get in any of these passing notices of Seoul is a fair comparison.

Mr. Kennan makes much of the filth and the smells of the Capital but we would have it clearly understood that something more than a passing observation of this and other cities of the East will show that Seoul is less objectionable in the matter of offensive odors than any native town in the open ports of China. It is notorious that the native towns of Tientsin, Chefoo, Shanghai, Suchow and hundreds of others are incomparably worse than those of Seoul. Mr. Kennan must have seen some of these other places, but one would gather from his article that Seoul stands preeminent in this matter. We have been in Tokyo many times and have never failed to be more annoyed by evil odors in that city than in Seoul.

[page 507] "There seem to be no scavenger birds in Korea." This amazing statement shows conclusively that Mr. Kennan kept his eyes on the ground, for one of the conspicuous things about Seoul is the immense numbers of large hawks that soar about the city all day long catching up any stray bits of garbage. There are simply thousands of them, and when the little boys find a dead mouse they amuse themselves by throwing it up in the air for the hawks to swoop down upon and seize before it reaches the ground.

Many of Mr. Kennan's statements are true to fact and those that fall short of this are due to incomplete or imperfect observation. This much may be said, that for a visit of such short duration and such limited range it shows a marvelous power of concentration and quick appreciation of salient features.

Of course there is this to be said, that those who have lived here some time get used to conditions as they are and are in a sense hardened to them but if we are not mistaken it is the general opinion of people who have lived in Chinese cities that Seoul is far preferable to them. And as for sanitation, we should think that Korean methods are far preferable to the Chinese, Mr. Kennan doubtless knows that an open ditch with the sun shining into it all day, though more repulsive to the eye, is far less unhealthful than a ditch indifferently boarded over so that the sun cannot get at the germs. It is said that diphtheria was practically unknown in Tokyo until they covered over the ditches.

In Seoul there are ten miles of street that are wide as many of the streets in New York City and the lay of the land is such that every good rain sweeps the sewers fairly clean for an Eastern city. The night soil is all carried out by men who make this a special business. Mr. Kennan unfortunately did not have time to learn what the interesting sights in and about Seoul are. Someone ought to compile a good guide book to the capital and vicinity so that travellers will not go away and say they cannot find things of interest here.

[page 508] Editorial Comment.

This number of the Review may properly be called the *Hospital Edition*. We have given a full account of the beginnings of the new Severance Hospital and have added some words by different people as to the value of this work and the duty of foreigners in Seoul and Korea generally to rally to the support of this institution. It needs no other words to commend it to the public, and we feel sure that there will be a generous response to the appeal. Since the articles were in press we have learned that two Korean merchants in the vicinity of the hospital joined in guaranteeing the support of one of the beds.

We have decided to suspend the publication of the Korea Review with the end of this year. It was begun four years ago as a "Medium of communication between those who are interested in Korean matters," an ideal which has not been realized. Foreigners in Korea who are competent to handle questions of history, folklore, language, sociology, religion and other topics have been too much engaged in other matters to spend time in writing, the consequence being that the entire work has fallen upon the shoulders of a single individual. One third of the space has been filled with a detailed history of Korea from the earliest beginnings to the present hour. That being now completed the work of supplying material for the magazine will be increased by fifty per cent. There is abundance of material at hand to continue the publication of this magazine indefinitely, and while the management acknowledges no difficulty in securing interesting matter we think that a magazine like this ought to be filled with articles from many pens rather than from one alone. We should probably have stopped sooner had we not felt in duty bound to keep on until the history was completed, but now we feel at liberty to say our work is done and if the public is [page 509] to have a magazine it must be the product of a common effort. It has been suggested that there are many who would write for the magazine if they were solicited for material, but we do not care to ask any favors. If people are not interested enough in the interchange of information about Korea to submit material of their own accord no amount of solicitation would be of use.

We are far from granting that the magazine has not been a success. The list of subscribers has grown continually and every month sees new names upon the mailing list from America and Europe. The Review circulates in America, Canada, England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Russia, Italy, Morocco, South Africa, India, Annam, Australia, China, Japan and Korea. So far as we can learn there is no diminution of interest in the periodical and we are constantly receiving letters from abroad expressing interest in this publication. Financially the Review has been as successful as we ever expected it would be, in that it has paid for itself and more. The sole reason for discontinuing is that the mere manual labor of preparing the manuscript, reading proof and attending to the business interests of the magazine leave so little time for other and, as we believe, more important work.

We would be pleased to receive from any subscriber his views as to the utility of continuing publication and suggestions as to the way in which this can be done without letting the entire burden of it fall upon a single individual. We still hold to the opinion that there ought to be a magazine of some kind published in Korea. It should be of a general nature and take up at least as wide a range of subjects as the Review. It may be that some other individual would be willing to shoulder the responsibility and the work alone. It may be that a joint committee or company could be found whereby the work would be divided up. The present management would gladly co-operate with any such committee or body or would turn the whole thing over to them in the interests of the public.

As the matter stands, therefore, the Korea Review as [page 510] now operated, will suspend publication on the thirtyfirst of December 1904. If there are any who desire to complete their file of the Review, we have on hand a certain number of odd copies of many of the issues and these can be obtained upon application.

If there are any who have odd numbers of the first volume, 1901, we will be glad to purchase them, paying the full amount that they originally cost. And for full sets of the 1901 Review we will pay five yen.

We have already indicated by circular that the History of Korea in two volumes, with copious indexes, appendices and chronological, geographical and other tables will be issued about the end of the year, bound in halfleather. Our purpose was primarily to furnish a few sets of the history alone for libraries at home, but there has been some little demand for it here so that we have reserved a few sets for the local trade. The readers of the Review already have the subject matter of the history serially in the four years of the magazine but it is evident that the general index for the history itself will not apply to the history as printed serially, because of the difference in paging. The various sketch maps of Korea at various stages of her history, some seven in number, will appear in the history proper. The considerable expense connected with their publication makes it impossible to furnish them free in connection with the Review, as we would like to have done.

News Calendar.

It is with great regret that we have to record the death, on Oct. 18th, of Joseph Allen Kearns, the infant son of Rev. and Mrs. Kearns, of Sun-ch'un at the age of seventeen months.

We learn from the far north that “ever since the gathering of the tongkak in all the county-seats of North Pyeng-yang Province on Oct. 8th they have been having a hard time of it. They have been searched for by the ‘hunter police’ in a most relentless way, and all for the sake of ‘squeeze’. It has gotten to such a state that in some sections the country houses are deserted, and everywhere, as a result of tonghak persecution and forced labor on the railroad, harvesting has [page 511] been much delayed. The work on the railway all the way up from Seoul, wherever I saw it on my overland trip, is well advanced and with the exception of the bridges over the big streams I should think they could have it operating to Pyeng-yang this winter as they claim. The grades in some places are tremendous, especially over one hill in ChungWha. The labor question is a bad one, however, and the Japanese have won the most universal and bitter hatred of the Koreans. The policy seems to differ every few miles according to the whim of the man in charge. In many places there is no pay and in others only a very small wage. The worst thing I have heard of the Japanese doing was the burning of a whole village of eighteen houses near Wiju as the result of a small fight caused by the unjust demands of one of the villainous Korean interpreters. Only four or five of the owners were involved in the trouble. Three or four hundred troops were sent over from Wuntung to burn the village. This seizing of large sections of land for their new ports, notably on the East bank of the Ta-dong River above Chinnampo. also thirty li from An-ju and thirty li from Pak-ch’un with absolutely no pay for the land is nothing better than common stealing.”

It is unfortunately evident that while the underlying principle of Japanese action may be all right, the methods they use to carry them out are sometimes open to grave questions.

A very painful incident occurred last month near Fusan. Some Japanese coolies were making trouble at the house of a Korean attached to Rev. G. Engel. The latter went to the Korean’s support and succeeded in driving the Japanese away. Thereupon the Korean who was naturally rather excited called to them saying that they could not ride rough-shod over his rights since he had a foreigner to defend him. Thereupon the Japanese came back and attacked Mr. Engle with great ferocity and after rendering him insensible tied him to two posts, head to one and feet to another and left him. The matter was referred to Seoul and became the subject of diplomatic communication. The Japanese authorities recognize the lawless character of many of their nationals in Korea and it is greatly to be wished that these men might be held in check in some way. It is a heavy strain upon the good will which Americans and British have had and still try to have for the Japanese in their struggle.

The completion of the Seoul-Fusan Railway marks an epoch in the material progress of Korea. It is a great work and deserving of praise though in the construction of it the Koreans have been made to fear that the Japanese people have small respect for their rights. This feeling may wear away as the Koreans come to see the great benefits that it may bring them if rightly used.

Yi Seung-man who was imprisoned for five or six years on account of his connection with the Independence Club and who has but recently been liberated, has gone to America to take a course of study. He is a man of exceptional ability and breadth of view and the future should have in store for him a very useful career.

[page 512] An attempt has been made to secure a rough estimate of the numbers of Il-chin and Chin-bo followers in the country and it is found that there can hardly be less than 50,000 of them in all.

The Crown Princess of Korea died on the sixth of November after a lingering illness. This sad event threw the court and the people into double mourning and extended the period of mourning one year beyond that for the late Queen Dowager. The funeral expenses were put at \$1 000,000 but the Adviser to the Finance Department demurred and advised that the sum be cut in two.

The Japanese authorities complain that stones are put on the track of the Seoul-Fusan Railway, and threaten to take the matter of bringing these people to justice into their own hands unless the government attends to it.

A man in Mapo dressed up two little boys in women’s clothes and sold them as slaves. The purchaser discovered the fraud and the seller was arrested. There is no such thing as male slavery in Korea, hence the illegality of the act, aside from its otherwise fraudulent character.

The American Legation guard has been relieved and twenty-eight new men have been stationed in Seoul in their place. On the whole the men feel that they have had a pretty good time here, though rather quiet. One of the new arrivals said very feelingly that “It is good to get into a place where people shake hands with a fellow.” The American residents of Seoul have taken special pains to organize different forms of entertainment for the

“boys” and this is much appreciated. We trust that this effort will be continued and enlarged during the present winter and that the genuine democracy of the American people will be demonstrated in acts of social courtesy to these young men.

The Minister of Education Yi Chi-geuk returned from Japan via the Seoul-Fusan Railway arriving in Seoul on the First of December. He was met at the station by hundreds of the school boys of Seoul with lanterns and received quite an ovation. It is much to be hoped that his experiences in Japan will pave the way to radical and far-reaching reforms in the system, or lack of system, of education in this country. The Japanese was eminently right who advised that hereafter money should be diverted from the army estimates to those of education. The Korean army will never amount to anything until popular education results in that enlightened public sentiment called patriotism.

A daughter was born to Rev. and Mrs. C. E. Sharp of Seoul on Nov. 15th.

A woman of Nam-po came up to Seoul and threw herself on the ground in front of the Palace gate and cried to the Emperor for help. When asked what the trouble was she said that she evidently had been born with a very unfortunate P'al-cha (at an unlucky time) for her husband died and left her with a young son and the questionable legacy of a mother-in-law. The uncle of her husband charged her with a serious offence against morals and drove her away and seized all her household effects. She had applied to magistrates and governors without avail and at last in desperation she determined to throw herself at the feet of her sovereign for redress. The Emperor sent word to her to apply to the Law Office and she proceeded to present her claim there.

[page 513] KOREAN HISTORY.

The historian of the future, taking his stand above and out of the smoke of battle, will take a dispassionate view of the whole situation. Then and not till then will it be possible to tell whether the present recorders of events are right in asserting that while the policies of both Powers are essentially selfish the success of Russia's policy involves the disintegration and national ruin of the peoples she comes in contact with while the success of Japan's policy demands the rehabilitation of the Far East,

Much depended upon the attitude which Korea should finally assume toward these two mutually antagonistic policies. If she had sided with Japan and had shown a fixed determination to resist the encroachments of Russia by adopting a policy of internal renovation which would enlist the interest and command the admiration of the world, the present war might have been indefinitely postponed. Whether it could have been finally avoided would depend largely upon the changes that are taking place in Russia herself where in spite of all repressive agencies education and enlightenment are filtering in and causing a gradual change. Here again the future historian may be able to say with confidence that it was better that the war came when it did in that it confirmed Japan in her course of commercial, industrial and intellectual expansion, guaranteed China against disintegration and opened the eyes of the Russians themselves to their need of radical internal reform. And he may be able to say that the temporary suspension of Korean autonomy was but a small price to pay for these enormous benefits to the Far East and to the world at large.

Chapter XXVI.

Return of Yi Yong-ik. . . . Attack on Japanese Bank Government backs down Roman Catholic troubles in Whang-ha Province trials at Hi-ju difficulty settled Korean students to be sent to [page 514] Russia. . . . The Russian timber concession. . . . Russia enters Yongampo. . . . Korean prophecies. . . . Japan, England and America urge the opening of Yonganipo. . . . Russia prevents it. . . . Russians exceed limits of concession Japanese protest Port Nicholas. . . . Japanese suspend business in Seoul. . . . Korean pawn brokers stop business Legation guards government protest against them fears of popular uprising native press incendiary. . . . fears of trouble in the country. . . . Foreigner threatened

The year 1903 beheld the rapid culmination of the difficulties between Japan and Russia, It had already become almost sure that war alone would cut the Gordian knot, and if any more proof was necessary this year supplied it.

Yi Yong-ik in Port Arthur received assurance from the Emperor that if he returned he would be given a powerful guard, and in this he was doubtless seconded by the Russians who could use him to better advantage in Seoul than in Port Arthur. He telegraphed for 15/300 bags of Annam rice and arrived in Chemulpo on the very day the rice came. It formed a sort of peace offering which, in the temporary scarcity, was very agreeable to the

people. His return was the signal for a vigorous attack upon Japanese interests. On the eleventh of the preceding September the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs had issued an order prohibiting the use of the Japanese bank notes, alleging that since they were not government notes they were unsafe. This was a direct breach of faith, because as we have seen the Japanese Bank had already obtained the full consent of the government to issue and circulate these notes. It is almost inconceivable that any man of ministerial rank would be so devoid of ordinary common sense as to attempt such a thing as this. Of course there was an instant and peremptory protest on the part of the Japanese authorities and the government had to stultify itself by taking it all back. The promise was made that the governors of the provinces would be instructed to remove all objections to the circulation of the notes, but the promise was never kept. Now on the seventeenth of January Yi Yong-ik, who had but just returned, made a fierce attack upon the Japanese bank and a note was sent from the Finance Department to that of Foreign Affairs demanding by what right the latter had ventured to interfere in the finances of [page 515] the country, Cho Pyong-sik who had reinstated the Japanese notes was dismissed from the Foreign Office and everything fell into the hands of Yi Yong-ik. A few days later the Mayor of Seoul posted a circular forbidding the use of these notes on pain of severe punishment. This went all over the country and there was an immediate run on the bank, which was tided over with the greatest difficulty. Of course the Japanese were in a position to make reprisals, and after a little pointed talk the bluster of the favorite subsided to a weak whisper, and the authorities apologized in the most abject manner. It should be noted that the Russians gave no help to Yi Yong-ik when it came to the point of an actual breach with Japan.

For some time there had been great unrest throughout the province of Whang-ha owing to the lawless acts of the Roman Catholic adherents there. The matter was brought clearly before the notice of the Government through American Protestant missionaries because many of the Protestant native Christians had been involved in those troubles and had been imprisoned, beaten, tortured and robbed by those who were avowedly members of the Roman Church. A number of these lawless acts were committed under the sign and seal of the Church itself. When the matter became too notorious to escape action on the part of the Government a native official named Yi Eung-ik was appointed as a special Commissioner to go to Ha-ju, the capital the province, and investigate the matter thoroughly. Foreign representatives of both the Roman Catholics and of the Protestants were present and the trial was instituted in a perfectly fair and impartial manner. It was clear that the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth was to be elicited by this trial and after vain attempts to quash the indictment one of the French Catholic priests left the place accompanied and followed by a considerable number of those against whom there were most serious charges. These people gathered at a certain town and assumed a threatening attitude toward the Korean Government, but though all the foreign Roman Catholic representatives refused to attend the trial of the dozen or more of their adherents who had been arrested, the trial continued and charge after charge of the [page 516] most grievous nature was proved, one man being convicted of murder. During the trial various attempts were made to discredit the Commissioner but before the end of the trials his power was greatly increased. The result was to put an end to the difficulties and though those responsible for the outrages were never adequately punished it is probable that the Korean Government sufficiently demonstrated its purpose to deal with such matters in a strictly impartial manner.

The great preponderance of Russian influence was manifested early in 1903 by the decision on the part of the Government to send a number of young Koreans to Russia to study, but when it came to the point of selecting the men it was found that there was no desire on the part of the students to go. This was due in part to the feeling that Korean students abroad are not looked after very carefully by the authorities and there are long delays in, if not complete cessation of, transmission of money for their support.

Early in the year it transpired that the Russians had obtained from the Korean Emperor a concession to cut timber along the Yalu River. The thing was done secretly and irregularly and the government never received a tithe of the value of the concession. By this act the government dispossessed itself of one of its finest sources of wealth and sacrificed future millions for a few paltry thousand in hand, and a promise to pay a share of the profits, though no provision was made for giving the government an opportunity of watching the work in its own interests. Soon after the Russians had begun to work the concession they began to make advances for the obtaining of harbor facilities in connection with it. The port of Yongampo was decided upon and the Korean government was asked to allow the Russians the use of it for this purpose. This created a very profound impression upon Japan and upon the world at large. It was felt that this was giving Russia a foothold upon the soil of Korea, and Russia's history shows that, once gained, the point would never be given up. The activity of Russia in the north gave rise to the notion that Japanese influence was predominant in the southern half of the peninsula and Russian in the northern half. This gave birth to all sorts of rumors among the Korean people and the ancient books were ransacked for prophecies [page 517] that would fit the situation. One of these is worth repeating since it illustrates very perfectly the Korean tendency to consult some oracle in times of national peril. This particular prophecy is supposed to say that "when white pine-trees grow in Korea the northern half of the peninsula will go to the Tartar and the southern half to the Shrimp." Japan, from its shape, is said to resemble a shrimp, while Tartar covers the Muscovite. The people interpreted the "white pines" to refer to the telegraph

poles! And thus the prophecy was considered to mean that when Korea is opened to foreign intercourse it will be divided between Russia and Japan. It cannot be said that this caused any considerable stir among the people and its only value lies in the certain indication that it afforded of the general unrest and suspicion among them. As a whole the attitude of the Korean has always been a rational and consistent one as between Russia and Japan. He has a greater personal antipathy for the latter because they have come into closer contact, but there is a mysterious dread in his heart which warns him of the Russian. He will never say which he would rather have in power here, but always says, "I pray to be delivered from them both."

Japan began to urge upon the government the necessity of opening Yongampo to foreign trade, but Russia, of course, opposed this with all her powers of persuasion. Great Britain and the United States joined in urging the opening of the port. The United States had already arranged for the opening of the port of Antung just opposite Yongampo, and for the sake of trade it was highly desirable that a port on the Korean side of the Yalu should be opened. It had no special reference to the Russian occupation of the port, but as pressure was being brought to bear upon the government to throw open the port it was considered an opportune time to join forces in pushing for this desired end. And it was more for the interest of Korea to do this than for any of the powers that were urging it. Such an act would have been a check to Russian aggression and would have rendered nugatory any ulterior plan she might have as regards Korea. But the Russian power in Seoul was too great. It had not upheld the cause of Yi Yong-ik in vain, and the government, while using very specious language, withstood [page 518] every attempt to secure the opening of the port. At last the American Government modified its request and asked that Wiju be opened, but to this Russia objected almost as strongly as to the other. There can be little doubt that this uncompromising attitude of Russia on the Korean border confirmed Japan in the position she had doubtless already assumed. It was quite evident that the force of arms was the only thing that would make Russia retire from Korean soil.

All through the summer complaints came in from the north that the Russians were working their own will along the northern border and taking every advantage of the loose language in which the agreement had been worded. Again and again information came up to Seoul that the Russian agents were going outside the limits specified in the bond but there was no one to check it. It was impossible to police the territory encroached upon and there is reason to believe that the Government chafed under the imposition. At least the telegraph lines which the Russians erected entirely without warrant were repeatedly torn down by emissaries of the Government and apparently without check from the central authorities.

In the Summer when the text of the proposed Agreement between Russia and Korea anent Yongampo became public the Japanese Government made a strong protest. She probably knew that this was a mere form but she owed it to herself to file a protest against such suicidal action on the part of Korea. The insolence of the Russians swelled to the point of renaming Yongampo Port Nicholas.

In October the Japanese merchants in Seoul and other commercial centers began calling in all outstanding moneys, with the evident expectation of war. All brokers and loan associations closed their accounts and refused to make further loans. It is more than probable that they had received the hint that it might be well to suspend operations for the time being. From this time until war was declared the people of Korea waited in utmost suspense. They knew war only as a Universal desolation. They had no notion of any of the comparative amenities of modern warfare or the immunities of noncombatants. War meant to them the breaking up of the [page 519] very foundations of society, and many a time the anxious inquiry was put as to whether the war would probably be fought on Korean soil or in Manchuria. Once more Korea found herself the "Shrimp between two whales" and doubly afflicted in that whichever one should win she would in all probability form part of the booty of the victor.

The year 1904, which will be recorded in history as one of the most momentous in all the annals of the Far East, opened upon a very unsatisfactory state of things in Korea. It had become as certain as any future event can be that Japan and Russia would soon be at swords points. The negotiations between these two powers were being carried on in St. Petersburg and, as published later, were of the most unsatisfactory nature. Japan was completing her arrangements for striking the blow which fell on February the ninth. Of course these plans were not made public but there was conflict in the very air and all men were bracing themselves for the shock that they felt must soon come. The action of Japanese moneylenders in suspending operations was followed in January by the Korean pawn brokers and at a season when such action inflicted the greatest possible harm upon the poor people of the capital, who find it impossible to live without temporarily hypothecating a portion of their personal effects. This together with the excessive cold aroused a spirit of unrest which came near assuming dangerous proportions. Some of the native papers were so unwise as to fan the embers by dilating upon the hard conditions under which the Koreans labored. Their sharpest comments were directed at the Government but their tendency was to incite the populace against foreigners.

All through the month the various foreign legations were bringing in guards to protect their legations and their respective nationals and this very natural and entirely justifiable action was resented by the Government. It protested time and again against the presence of foreign troops, as if their coming were in some

way an insult to Korea. The officials in charge thereby showed their utter incompetence to diagnose the situation correctly. It was well known that the disaffection among the Korean troops in Seoul was great and that the dangerous element known as the Peddlars Guild was [page 520] capable of any excesses. The unfriendly attitude of Yi Yong-ik and Yi Keun-tak towards western foreigners, excepting Russians and French, together with their more or less close connection with the Peddlars was sufficient reason for the precautionary measures that were adopted. But the native papers made matters worse by ridiculing both the government and the army. At one time there was considerable solicitude on the part of foreigners, not lest the Korean populace itself would break into open revolt but lest some violent faction would be encouraged by the authorities to make trouble; so little confidence had they in the good sense of the court favorite. It was fairly evident that in case of trouble the Japanese would very soon hold the capital and it was feared that the violently pro-Russian officials, despairing of protection at the hands of Russia, would cause a general insurrection, hoping in the tumult to make good their escape. It was felt that great precautions should be taken by foreigners not to give any excuse for a popular uprising. The electric cars diminished their speed so as to obviate the possibility of any accident, for even the smallest casualty might form the match which would set the people on fire.

But popular unrest was not confined to Seoul. A serious movement was begun in the two southern provinces where, it was reported, hundreds of the ajuns or prefectural constables were preparing to lead a formidable insurrection. The firm hold that these men have upon the people made it not unlikely that it would prove much more serious than the Tonghak insurrection of 1894. From the north, as well, persistent reports came of the banding together of the disaffected people, and foreign residents in those parts affirmed that they had never before seen such a state of affairs. One of them was driven from a country village and threatened with death if he should ever return. The Korean soldiers who formed the garrison of Pyeng-yang joined the police in breaking into the houses of wealthy natives and stealing money and goods. The authorities remonstrated, but without effect. By the twentieth of January the tension became so great in Seoul that a considerable number of the wealthy natives began removing their families and their valuables to the country. About the 20th of January the report circulated that Russia [page 521] had proposed that northern Korea be made a neutral zone and that Japan exercise predominant influence in the south. This was only an echo of the negotiations which were nearing the breaking point in St Petersburg, and it confirmed those who knew Japan in their opinion that war alone could settle the matter. On the following day the Korean Government issued its proclamation of neutrality as between Russia and Japan. This curious action, taken before any declaration of war or any act of hostility, was a pretty demonstration of Russian tactics. It was evident that in case of war Japan would be the first in the field and Korea would naturally be the road by which she would attack Russia. Therefore while the two were technically at peace with each other Korea was evidently induced by Russia to put forth a premature declaration of neutrality in order to anticipate any use of Korean territory by Japanese troops. At the time this was done the Foreign Office was shorn of all real power and was only the mouth-piece through which these friends of Russia spoke in order to make their pronouncements official. It was already known that two of the most powerful Koreans at court had strongly urged that Russia be asked to send troops to guard the imperial palace in Seoul and the Japanese were keenly on the lookout for evidences of bad faith in the matter of this declared neutrality. When, therefore, they picked up a boat on the Yellow Sea a few days later and found on it a Korean bearing a letter to Port Arthur asking for troops, and that, while unofficial in form, it came from the very officials who had promulgated the declaration of neutrality, it became abundantly clear that the spirit of neutrality was non-existent. It must be left to the future historian to declare whether the Japanese were justified in impairing a declared neutrality that existed only in name and under cover of which the Korean officials were proved to be acting in a manner distinctly hostile to the interests of Japan. All through January the Japanese were busy making military stations every fifteen miles between Fusan and Seoul. All along the line small buildings were erected, sufficiently large to house twenty or thirty men. On January 22nd Gen. Ijichi arrived in Seoul as military attaché of the Japanese Legation. The appointment of a man of such [page 522] rank as this was most significant and should have aroused the Russians to a realizing sense of their danger, but it did not do so. Four days later this general made a final appeal to the Korean Government, asking for some definite statement as to its attitude toward Russia and Japan. The Foreign Office answered that the government was entirely neutral. Two days later the Japanese landed a large amount of barley at the port of Kunsan, a few hours' run south of Chemulpo, and a light railway of the Decauville type was also landed in the same place. On the 29th all Korean students were recalled from Japan.

On February the first the Russians appeared to be the only ones who did not realize that trouble was brewing, otherwise why should they have stored 1,500 tons of coal and a quantity of barley in their godown on Roze Island in Chemulpo Harbor on the second of that month? On the seventh the government received a dispatch from Wiju saying that several thousand Russian troops were approaching the border and that the Japanese merchants and others were preparing to retire from that place. The same day the Foreign Office sent to all the open ports ordering that news should be immediately telegraphed of any important movements.

On the eighth day of February the Japanese posted notices in Seoul and vicinity that what Japan was

about to do was dictated by motives of right and justice and that the property and personal rights of Koreans would be respected. Koreans were urged to report any cases of ill-treatment to the Japanese authorities and immediate justice was promised. From this day the port of Chemulpo was practically blockaded by the Japanese and only by their consent could vessels enter or clear.

Having arrived at the point of actual rupture between Japan and Russia, it is necessary before entering into any details of the struggle to indicate the precise bearing of it upon Korea. Japan has always looked upon Korea as a land whose political status and affinities are of vital interest to herself, just as England once looked upon the Cinque ports, namely as a possible base of hostile action, and therefore to be carefully watched. One of two things have therefore been deemed essential, either that Korea should be thoroughly independent [page 533] or that she should be under a Japanese protectorate. These two ideas have animated different parties in Japan, and have led to occasional troubles. There is one radical faction which has consistently and persistently demanded that Japan's suzerainty over Korea should be established and maintained, and it was the unwillingness of the Japanese authorities to adopt strong measures in the Peninsula which led to the Satsuma Rebellion. Another large fraction of the Japanese, of more moderate and rational view, are committed to the policy of simply holding to the independence of Korea, arguing very rightly that if such independence is maintained and the resources of the country are gradually developed Japan will reap all the material advantages of the situation without shouldering the burden of the Korean administration or meeting the violent opposition of the Koreans which such a step would inevitably entail. It is this latter policy which has prevailed and according to which Japan has attempted to work during the past three decades. It is this which actuated her during the period of China's active claim to suzerainty and finally caused the war of 1894 which finally settled the question of Korea's independence. But following upon this came the encroachments of Russia in Manchuria and the adoption of a vigorous policy in Korea. Japan's efforts to preserve the intrinsic autonomy of Korea were rendered abortive partly through mistakes which her own representatives and agents made but still more through the supineness and venality of Korean officials. The subjects of the Czar at the capital of Korea made use of the most corrupt officials at court and through them opposed Japanese interests at every point. Furthermore they made demands for exclusive rights in different Korean ports and succeeded in encroaching upon Korean sovereignty in Yongampo. The evident policy of Russia was to supplant Japan in the peninsula, and no reasonable person can fail to see that it was their ultimate plan to add Korea to the map of Russia. The cause of the war was, therefore, the necessity laid upon Japan of safe-guarding her vital interests, nay her very existence, by checking the encroachments of Russia upon Korean territory.

But before submitting the matter to the arbitrament of the sword Japan exerted every effort to make Russia define [page 524] her intentions in the Far East. With a patience that elicited the admiration of the world she kept plying Russia with pertinent questions until at last it was revealed that Russia intended to deal with Manchuria as she wished and would concede Japanese interests in Southern Korea only and even then only as Japan would engage not to act in that sphere as Russia was acting in Manchuria.

All this time the Japanese people were clamoring for war. They wanted to get at the throat of their manifest foe; but their Government, in a masterly way, held them in check, kept its own secrets so inviolable as to astonish the most astute diplomatists of the day, and at last, when the hour struck, she declared for war without having weakened the enthusiasm of her people and without giving occasion to adverse critics to say that she had yielded to popular importunity. When she communicated to Russia her irreducible minimum one would think that even the blind could see that war was certain to follow soon. But even then, if there is any truth in direct evidence, the great majority of the Russians laughed the matter aside as impossible. The moderation and self-control of Japan was counted to her for hesitation, so that when the moment for action came and Japan sprang upon her like a tigress robbed of her whelps, Russia cried aloud that she had been wronged.. It was on the morning of the seventh that Baron Rosen's credentials had been handed back to him in Tokyo. The evening before this the Japanese Minister had left St. Petersburg. This in itself was a declaration of war but forty hours elapsed before Japan struck the first blow. During those hours Russia had ample time in which to withdraw her boats from Chemulpo even though the Japanese refused to transmit telegrams to Seoul. A fast boat from Port Arthur could easily have brought the message.

It was on the sixth and seventh that reports circulated in Seoul that the Japanese were landing large bodies of troops at Kunsan or Asan or both. These rumors turned out to be false, but beneath them was the fact that a fleet was approaching Chemulpo. The question has been insistently asked why the Russian Minister did not inform the commanders of these Russian vessels and see to it that they were clear of the harbor before these rumors were realized. The [page 525] answer as given is that the Russian Minister had no control over these boats. They had their orders to remain in Chemulpo and they must stay. One would think that there would be at least enough *raport* between the civil and military (or naval) authorities to use the one in forwarding the interests of the other.

Even yet the Russians did not appreciate the seriousness of the situation, but they decided that it was time to send notice to their authorities in Port Arthur of what was rumored at Chemulpo. So the small gunboat

Koryetz made ready to move out. Her captain, Belaieff, proposed to the Russian Consul that the Russian steamship *Sungari*, which was in port, should go with the *Koryetz* and thus enjoy her protection, but the agent of the company which owned the steamship strongly objected to her leaving the neutral port at such a time. He evidently realized in part the acuteness of the situation. So the *Sungari* remained at her anchorage and the *Koryetz* steamed out of port at two o'clock in the afternoon. Now, the harbor of Chemulpo is a somewhat peculiar one, for in one sense it is land-locked and in another it is not. It is formed by islands between which there are many openings to the open sea, but most of these are so shallow that ships of medium draught do not dare attempt them. There is but one recognized entrance and that is from the southwest, or between that and the south. This entrance is several miles wide and in the center of it lies Round Island. When the *Koryetz* arrived at the exit of the harbor she suddenly found herself surrounded by torpedo-boats. The only witnesses of what occurred at this point are the Japanese and the Russians and we can only give their accounts. The Russians say that the Japanese launched four torpedoes at the *Koryetz* and when within ten feet of her side they sank. Another statement is that a shot was fired on board the *Koryetz* but it was a mere accident! The Japanese claim that the *Koryetz* fired first. If we try to weigh the probabilities it seems impossible that the torpedoes of the Japanese should have missed the *Koryetz* if the torpedo-boats were as near as the Russians claim. On the other hand the admission on the part of a single Russian that the first gun was fired on the *Koryetz*, even though by accident, is rather damaging, for it is more [page 526] than singular that an accident should have happened at that precise time. It is a tax on the credulity of the public to give this lame excuse.

In any case it makes little difference who began the firing. The Japanese had already seized the Russian steamer *Mukden* in the harbor of Fusan and the war had begun. The Japanese doubtless held with Polonius, that if it is necessary to fight the man who strikes first and hardest will have the advantage. The *Koryetz* turned back to her anchorage and the Russians became aware of the extreme precariousness of their position. Whatever attitude one may take toward the general situation it is impossible not to extend a large degree of sympathy to these Russians personally. Through no fault of their own they were trapped in the harbor and found too late that they must engage in a hopeless fight in order to uphold the honor of the Russian flag. But even yet it was not sure that the neutrality of the port would be ignored by the Japanese. Lying at anchor among neutral vessels in a neutral harbor, there was more or less reason to believe that they were safe for the time being.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of February eighth, which fell on Monday, three Japanese transports entered Chemulpo harbor from the south, convoyed by cruisers and torpedo-boats. They seemingly took no notice of the two Russian boats lying at anchor and were evidently sure that the Russians would not fire upon the transports. It would be interesting to know whether the Japanese were relying upon the declared neutrality of the port in thus venturing or whether they felt sure that their own superior strength would keep the Russians still, or whether, again, they were certain that the Russians had orders not to fire the first gun. But it is bootless to ask questions that can never be answered. Here is where the assailant has the advantage. He can choose the time and method of his attack. We may surmise that had the Russians divined the intentions of the Japanese and had foreseen the outcome they would have acted differently, but divination of Japanese intentions does not seem to be Russians' strong point.

As soon as the Japanese came to anchor preparations were made for the immediate landing of the troops, and the [page 527] cruisers and torpedo-boats, that had convoyed them in, left the port and joined the fleet outside. This fleet consisted of six cruisers and several torpedo-boats. The *Asama* and the *Chiyoda* were the most powerful of the cruisers, the former being nearly half as large again as the *Variak*.

Night came on, and throughout its long hours the Japanese troops, by the light of huge fires burning on the jetty, were landed and marched up into the town. When morning came everyone was in a state of expectancy. If there was a Japanese fleet outside they doubtless had other work on hand than simply watching two Russian boats. Nor could they leave them behind, for one of them was Russia's fastest cruiser and might steam out of the harbor at any time and destroy Japanese transports. Knowing, as we do now, that an immediate attack on Port Arthur had been decided upon we see it was impossible to leave these Russian boats in the rear. Japan had never recognized the neutrality of Korea, for she knew that the declaration was merely a Russian move to embarrass her, and she never hesitated a moment to break the thin shell of pretense.

About ten o'clock a sealed letter was handed to Captain Rudnieff of the *Variak*. It was from the Japanese Admiral and had been sent through the Russian Consulate. It was delivered on board the *Variak* by the hand of Mr. N. Krell, a Russian resident of the port. This letter informed the Russian commander that unless both Russian boats should leave the anchorage and steam out of the bay before twelve o'clock the Japanese would come in at four o'clock and attack them where they lay. Captain Rudnieff immediately communicated the startling intelligence to Captain Belaieff of the *Koryetz* and to the commanders of the British, American, French and Italian war-vessels. We are informed that a conference of the various commanders took place and that the Russians were advised to lie where they were. The British commander was deputed to confer with the Japanese. This was done by signal and it is said a protest was made against the proposed violation of neutrality of the port, and that the neutral boats refused to shift their anchorage. But all complications of this nature were avoided by

the determination of the Russians to accept the challenge. This they deemed [page 528] to be due their flag. It is not improbable that they now foresaw that the neutrality of the port would not avail them against the enemy. By remaining at anchor they could only succeed in involving France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States, and there would be sure to be those who would charge the Russians with cowardice. If this was to begin the war it must at least prove the dauntless courage of the servants of the Czar. So the commander of the *Variak* ordered the decks cleared for action. It has been stated that he would have preferred to have the *Koryetz* stay at her anchorage, for by a quick dash it was just possible that the swift *Variak* alone might be able to evade the Japanese and run the gauntlet successfully. But the commander of the *Koryetz* refused to listen to any such proposition. If the only honor to be gotten out of the affair was by a desperate attack he was not going to forego his share of it. He would go out and sink with the *Variak*. So the *Koryetz* also cleared for action. It was done in such haste that all moveables that were unnecessary were thrown overboard, a topmast that would not come down in the usual manner was hewn down with an axe and by half past eleven the two vessels were ready to go out to their doom. It was an almost hopeless task — an entirely hopeless one unless the Japanese should change their minds or should make some grave mistake, and neither of these things was at all probable. The Russians were going to certain destruction. Some call it rashness, not bravery, but they say not well. The boats were doomed in any case and it was the duty of their officers and crews to go forth and in dying inflict what injury they could upon the enemy. To go into battle with chances equal is the act of a brave man, but to walk into the jaws of death with nothing but defeat in prospect is the act of a hero, and the Japanese would be the last to detract from the noble record that the Russians made. Time has not yet lent its glamor to this event, we are too near it to see it in proper proportions, but if the six hundred heroes of Balaclava, veterans of many a fight, gained undying honor for the desperate charge they made how shall not the future crown these men who, having never been in action before, made such a gallant dash at the foe?

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Retrospect of 1904.

It takes no prophetic eye to see that the year of grace 1904 will prove to have been one of the most momentous in the history of this country. This surmise is based on the following historical proposition. We need not go further back than the beginning of our era. About that time three kingdoms arose in the peninsula, Sil-la, Pak-je and Koguryu. The general characteristics of these three were that Silla, the farthest from China, was pro-Chinese, Pak-je, on the opposite side of the peninsula from Japan, was pro-Japanese, and Koguryu in the north was neither pro-Japanese nor pro-Chinese. This general attitude may be said to have brought about a sort of equilibrium. In the seventh century Sil-la obtained control of nearly the whole of Korea and began that marvelous absorption of Chinese ideas which has left such indelible impress upon her. But at the same time her intercourse with Japan began to be more close. China made no effort to enforce her commands here and this may be called the golden age of Korea. But like all golden ages it fell into corrupt ways and early in the tenth century it was overthrown by Wang-gon, who founded the Koryu dynasty. The five centuries during which this dynasty flourished were the palmy days of Buddhism. This cult had come from India by way of China, but the mysticism of it had appealed far less to the hard-headed Chinese than to the more idealistic Japanese, the result being that on this score there was [page 530] greater rapport between Korea and Japan than between Korea and China. This helped to preserve the equilibrium until the rise of the Mongols. They, of course, swept everything before them and held Korea firmly in their grip for a century and more. But it was purely political. The Koreans learned nothing from the northern savages nor was any definite impression made upon Korean life or institutions by their temporary usurpations. Soon after the Mongols retreated from Peking to their native wilds in the middle of the thirteenth century the Koryu dynasty, utterly corrupt, fell before the sword of Yi T'a-jo and the present dynasty arose.

The Mings of China held Korea with the gentle grasp of a parent rather than of a suzerain, and at the same time trade relations were resumed with Japan, which had been interrupted by the long series of Japanese freebooting expeditions. For two hundred years Korea was quite independent but at last the great struggle came when the Japanese Hideyoshi tried to make Korea a stepping stone to the conquest of China. After eight years of war this was put down, but the mutual attitude of Japan and China was henceforth that of jealousy over Korea. Early in the seventeenth century the Japanese trading post in Fusan grew to great proportions and brought Korea and Japan into profitable relations with each other. The victorious Manchus swept over Korea again in the middle of that century and made Korea politically their vassal, though their actual influence on Korea was no greater than that of the Mongols had been. When they retired Japan offered to take the field with Korea to break the bond which the Manchus had forged but Korea wisely declined the offer. From that time until 1876 Korea remained practically free, for China looked upon her hermit condition with complacency. The awakening of Japan put a new face upon everything. The independence of Korea was made the main plank in Japan's eastern policy and China weakly accepted the fact and waived her claim to suzerainty until too late, for treaties with several western powers were an argument hard to get behind. China had been caught napping. [page 531] She tried to regain the lost ground but in so doing brought upon herself the war of 1894. The equilibrium had been violently disturbed but it was resumed when Russia stepped in and faced Japan. From that time until the opening of the present war Korea remained practically independent.

In summing it all up we may say (1) that China is permanently out of the reckoning. She will never claim nor obtain paramount influence in Korea, And (2) as for Russia and Japan there is much reason for believing that the unstable equilibrium of former times can never be resumed. Whichever side wins Korea will be very much under the wing of the winning party. Should Russia merely reoccupy the whole of Manchuria, Japan would make a final stand in Korea and as long as she was there Korea would be "in her sleeve." If Russia should drive Japan out, Korea would be Russian territory. There is some talk about other Powers having a say as to the disposition of Korea, but this may be set aside as mere sentiment. Great Britain is Japan's ally and she will not interfere in Japan's plans, nor could she well interfere if Japan suffered reverses and lost her control of Korea, France is Russia's ally and for like reasons she will not interfere in either case. There remains the United States and Germany, neither of which will lift a finger except to insure an open door for trade.

The proposition therefore upon which we base the statement that this is a most momentous year for Korea is that the equilibrium which has existed off and on for 2,000 years has been definitively broken and Korea will never again be able to pit one enemy against the other. She must find some other ground on which to base her independence. It stands to reason therefore that in her absolute lack of physical power her only resource is to comport herself in such a way that the Power which stands able to compel her shall find it more to its own

advantage to leave her independent than to impair her independence. This could not be done if Russia were paramount, for the very idea of independence is repugnant to her feelings and her policy. The murder of Finland [page 532] shows this. The very existence of the spirit of freedom in Finland was a menace to Muscovite institutions. It would be the same anywhere. What would happen if Russia and the United States were contiguous countries. They would have to put a wide strip of neutral territory between them or build a wall a mile high — or there would be the dogs to pay! But supposing that things remain as they are, then Korea has a chance to preserve her independence only by proving to Japan that such independence will be of greater value to Japan herself than the absorption of Korea will be. We see no other way out of the dilemma.

In what way then can the independence of Korea be made of greater value to Japan than the annexation of the peninsula would be? This can be answered only by discovering what Japan wants of Korea. After such a decimating war as the one in progress we doubt whether there will be a large demand for room in which to expand the population of Japan. The war is not yet over and even if it results in Japanese success Japan will need all the men she can muster within her own borders to build again the broken fabric of her state. Besides, the territory of Manchuria and the Ussuri will give ample room for such expansion without absorbing Korea. No, what Japan wants of Korea is that she should be thoroughly loyal to the pledge of mutual helpfulness that she has taken and that the resources of the country be opened up in an adequate manner. Now, if these things can be effected without throwing upon Japan the onus of the actual administration of affairs in Korea we are convinced that Korea's autonomy would remain unimpaired; but if there is to be the constant fear lest Korea betray Japan to her enemies or if in a spirit of stubborn conservatism Korea refuses to effect much needed reforms, then we say it looks exceedingly doubtful. All sentimental considerations aside, we may depend upon it that in case of victory Japan will do with Korea what she pleases, and Korea has it in her power so to act that Japan will please to preserve the independence and autonomy of the country.

[page 533] In making a retrospect of the past year we have to ask whether Korea has taken steps to insure this much desired object. If we are forced to answer in the negative the fault lies not solely with Korea herself. If Japan had promptly instituted needed reforms and given an impetus to a new movement for which the Koreans were entirely prepared and indeed eagerly awaiting, the present situation would have been much more cheering. In our opinion the effort to make individual profit out of Korea's helpless condition should have been sharply checked by Japan, and the prejudices of the people should have been soothed by a conciliatory and helpful attitude. This accomplished, Japan could have gone much further along the line of Korean internal development than she will now be able to do.

But as the year drew to a close the Japanese seemed to have put aside the more selfish considerations and begun with some sane suggestions as to a reorganization of the government which would do away with much unnecessary expense and would leave the government with funds in hand whereby to strengthen some of her weak points. Education has come to the fore and it looks as if steps were being taken to make a great advance along this line. It is to be hoped so. On the whole the year closes with much brighter prospects than were to be hoped for earlier in the year.

The Educational Needs of Korea.

THIRD PAPER

We intimated in a former paper that there is a way out of the educational *impasse* which this people has reached. The solution is a double one and must be a combination of government and private effort. We have asked where the teachers are to come from to teach the common schools throughout the country. If we were to wait until enough teachers were carefully trained for these positions we should never have them. The work [page 534] must be a gradual and steady one. This does not mean that we must begin with a few schools and increase the number as fast as teachers are ready. There is a far better way. There are many young men of good parts who are capable of teaching the Chinese character together with Korean history and geography. Let us suppose that schools are started in every district with these three branches in the curriculum. The teachers are not as yet competent to teach arithmetic or general geography or any of the natural sciences, but one object will have been achieved, namely the getting of the boys into schools. Suppose now that these schools are operated eight months in the year and that during the remaining four months the teachers congregate at their provincial capitals and study under the direction of a first-class man sent down from Seoul for the purpose. Enough men of the proper kind could be found who would spend the summer months in this way on a good salary. During those four months the teachers could learn more than enough to teach their schools the following school year. For each summer school that they attended they would receive a certificate. It is quite certain that after four or five years of such work a thoroughly good body of teachers could be worked up. Of course some would be weeded out but the average would probably be fairly satisfactory. Their study during the summer would be based on text books

that were prepared at Seoul and these would be supplied to all the country schools.

It should not be understood that these teachers are to be Seoul men. Each district could supply the teacher for its school and in this way the dissatisfaction which always attends a change of residence in Korea would be avoided.

As for the financing of these schools, the government should authorize each prefect to deduct from the government revenue the amount necessary to run the school; or better still would be the plan to lower the government tax by this amount and levy the difference on the people as a direct local tax for the specific purpose of [page 535] education. This in itself would be beneficial in impressing the fact that the people are themselves directly responsible for local schools. In time it will be found that each district will need more than one school, in fact some will need a dozen, but at its inception this would be impossible because the vast number of teachers could not be handled in the summer schools to good advantage. But after say four years the best of the teachers could be selected to carry on summer schools for teachers in their districts, and so the system would spread to the smaller villages. The salaries of the teachers would vary according to the attainments they had made as vouched for in their credentials received each year from the summer schools.

We venture to say that such a scheme as this could be carried out without difficulty and without the government feeling the burden of the expense. The whole thing could be done with a fraction of the money now wasted on the army. There are some 360 districts. Let us suppose the teacher's salary is \$20 to start with. This would call for \$86,400 a year. Fuel, superintendence etc. would double this. As the teacher would receive this salary twelve months in the year he would be able to pay his own expenses at the summer school. The whole thing could be done on something less than \$250,000 a year. This is less than one sixteenth the amount spent on the army! Supposing it cost even double the amount here specified, the government could well afford to do it.

So far as text books are concerned the cost to the government should be reduced to nothing, for each scholar could afford to pay at least the cost price of his books.

Such is a rough outline of a plan that appears to me to be not ideal but workable and as near the ideal as we can hope to get at the beginning. There may be some who will object to beginning with the Chinese character. No one is more anxious than I to see the Chinese character take its place where it belongs alongside the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but this cannot be done at a single bound. We should advocate only such a knowledge of [page 536] the ideographs as would enable a boy to read the daily papers and such other things as are printed in the mixed script. This will not do him much harm but meanwhile we will have schools. That is the main thing. The study of Chinese is better than nothing and country schools would mean this or nothing. We must not forget the intense prejudice of the people in favor of Chinese. If it were dropped from the curriculum not one boy in ten in the country would care to go to school. The point is to give him gradually something besides the Chinese and, as time goes by, increase the ratio of these new branches. There is no question that the practical studies will soon wean the student away from his present absorption in the Chinese and the way will be opened to drop the latter altogether. Meanwhile books on interesting topics should be printed in the pure native character and the student encouraged to read and discover the meaning even though it be difficult at first.

So much for the general system, but there still remains the important question of a good school of high grade for Seoul.

There are hundreds of half educated boys in this city who have graduated from various schools or have left before graduating. No provision has been made for higher education excepting in exclusive mission schools. How can a good school be established? We believe there is only one way. There must be an endowed institution under competent foreign direction. This institution must be in the hands of a board of trustees composed of men who know how and men who will be a guarantee of the continuity of the system. One thinks naturally of the Doshisha in Kyoto. A school founded on similar principles would be still surer of a consistent history than that one has had. We say the institution must be an endowed one, for the vicissitudes of government administration would not be a guarantee of unhindered operation. It should be put above and beyond the manipulation of politicians. Its professorships should not figure in the list of place for political preferment. It must be entirely outside the spoils system. It should be entirely [page 537] unsectarian, but the study of science along western lines would inevitably give it an impetus at least toward the ethics of Christianity. It would unfailingly raise the question of the relative merits of Christianity and the eastern cults. We do not hesitate to say that in our opinion the teaching force in such a school should be at least not hostile to Christianity. If I am taken to task in this as being narrow I have but to answer that there is no evidence anywhere that Buddhism or Shintoism or Mohammedanism is in vital sympathy with the higher levels of education or of intellectual independence. Beyrout and Roberts colleges form the high water mark of education in Turkey. The Imperial University of Tokyo offers no incentive toward Buddhism but on the other hand it enlightens men beyond the possibility of belief in the pessimisms of that cult. Buddhism answers no questions. The Doshisha stands as high, intrinsically, as Tokyo University, but what has Buddhism done for popular education in Japan? We affirm that Protestant Christianity is the only religion in the world that is not afraid of the very broadest and deepest and most untrammelled education. Agnosticism and atheism are not afraid of broad education but they

lack the vital element of sympathy. They give no warmth, no vitality, because they dare not go beyond the dead wall of physical matter or propose any satisfactory answer to the question as to the final reason for all this. We say this much only to give the reason why we believe such a school should be at least not hostile to Christianity.

As to the endowment for such a school we think it should come largely from Koreans. As to the ability of Koreans to do this there is no manner of question, but it is quite certain that they would not give money if the control of the institution and its funds were to be in the hands of Koreans. This is a harsh truth, but truth nevertheless. The kind of men who would recognize the value of such a school enough to give generously to it are the ones who realize how far short their countrymen have yet come of the ability to handle a trust sum permanently according to a fixed standard. The ups and [page 538] downs of political life would make it impossible to place this power in the hands of any body of Koreans. It should be in the hands of those who are entirely separate from possible politics, who have deep sympathy with the Koreans, who are permanent residents of Korea. I know of no such body of men outside the missionary body. Diplomatic people are not permanent fixtures. Government employees are here to-day and to-morrow they are gone. All these may come and these may go but the missionary goes on forever. In other words the school should be a second Doshisha. Its standard should be high and its graduates should command the respect and the esteem of the government. They would step into positions of importance and exert a powerful influence in the destiny of the country.

We believe that most of the readers of this Review wish to see the continuation of an autonomous Korean government and an independent people. If the Koreans would wake up to the necessities of the case and show signs of a determination to follow the line of development marked out by Japan we are confident that the government of the latter country would be better satisfied than by any other solution of the problem. Can this be done otherwise than by a campaign of education? If not, what does this people need most, if it be not a genuinely and thoroughly good school as an object lesson, a school of which the whole nation can be proud? If so, again, is there any possibility of their evolving such a school themselves? If not, upon whom does the duty devolve? It devolves upon those who can do it without there ever being the possible breath of suspicion that the institution was or could be partisan in its politics or that it could be manipulated for partisan purposes.

We have no suggestions to make as to what steps could be taken to put such a plan on foot; we simply state what ought to be done and what might be done. There are those who say that Christian missionaries are interested in education only as it directly affects the adherents of the church, but we contend that Christianity and general education are allies and not enemies and that [page 539] the spread of general education would surely work in the interests of Christianity. Not that missionary workers should be diverted from their specific work; this would hardly do, but they could take the lead in the matter of working up such a school and the actual workers in the institution could be secured from abroad, perhaps under the auspices of the Student Volunteer Movement,

Spelling Reform.

To THE EDITOR KOREA REVIEW.

Dear Sir :—

Your October number contained several letters on spelling reform from the side of the conservatives with their battle cry of “go slow” well in evidence, and the old bogie about forcing a change on the Korean people by foreigners again held up to frighten the timid hearted. They have now also a new thing to say about the new spelling. It is the work of a “Pied piper of Hamlin” who has hypnotized a number of foolish followers by a weird pipe he blows, and is “leading” them to destruction. To this I would reply that it would be far more profitable to discuss the principles of orthography, and the effects of the adoption of a scientific phonetic system upon the language than to analyze the psychical phenomena manifested in the advocates of simplification. Dr. Gale did pipe a lot of useless characters out of the Korean alphabet, and has had as little thanks as that one did who got the rats out of the granaries. And to judge from the apparent balance of opinion in Seoul when the question was discussed, his winsome pipe has had its effect on human intellects as well. But it was no credit to the town councillors of Hamlin that they were not subject to the piper's pipe; it only proved that they did not know or appreciate melody as much as the rats or the children. That Dr. Gale has no followers from the part of the country where ** is *, and * is *— the land of *** and *** etc., only shows that the citizens [page 540] there have not sufficient ear for music to follow Orpheus himself. Browning's parable was no doubt meant to show the thankless task that the reformer has set himself. So it has always been. “It must needs be that reforms come, but woe unto that man by whom they come.”

One of the correspondents of your October number tries to be facetious at the expense of an

“enthusiastic reformer” who was candid enough to admit the difficulty which his eye experienced in getting used to orthographic change. He leaves the inference to be drawn that if the change were temporarily embarrassing to a foreigner who had studied Korean spelling as he had his English, it would be equally embarrassing to the Korean people as a whole. But if he (or she) were as candid in his turn as the “reformer” he would admit that such is not the case. Not one Korean in ten thousand can spell correctly. When the committee of the Presbyterian Council on spelling reform was meeting it was maintained that there were Koreans who pay attention to spelling, and can spell correctly. Indeed one of the Koreans present was mentioned as being a very good speller according to the old system. A “reformer” present turned to the Korean scriptures and taking the first word that his eye met for a test asked him to write the word ***. He wrote it wrongly two different ways before he at last hit on the way it goes in the book. The fact of the matter is that as far as writing goes all Koreans write phonetically. The trouble is that there are so many different signs for one sound that the area of choice is too wide, so that for example while each is writing phonetically they will write for the same word one * one * and one *. And Koreans are as elastic in their reading as in their writing; that is to say: — they are so used to reading various styles of spelling that it doesn’t jar them to see a word spelt a little differently from the approved model. That no doubt was the reason for the apparently contradictory position of the “Enthusiastic Advocate.”

Now that spelling reform is before us I would like to draw attention to still more radical changes that need to be made in writing the native script. This was [page 541] brought to my mind on reading an article in the Christian News where a Latin quotation was introduced. Since Korean is written in vertical and Latin in horizontal lines, it was impossible to print the quotation in the original language and it was transliterated into Enmun so as to conform to the vertical direction of the lines, and in that form was with difficulty understood by me. This raised the question, what will we do when Korean literature, as it inevitably must, comes into contact with the outside world of thought, and when terms and names and translations and quotations in other dialects must be introduced into the Korean text. It can only be done with perfection by beginning from the present time to educate the Korean eye to horizontal writing from left to right. This should not be difficult. The individual characters of both Hanmun and Enmun are all written from left to right so that the real current even of these eastern language is in a right, horizontal direction. Why the original writers did not keep on writing to the right but persisted in going down vertically endangering their sleeves by beginning at the top of the next line before the bottom of the previous one is dry, I cannot imagine. When foreign “sized” paper and steel pens come into use with slowly drying ink, vertical writing beginning from the right must become very disagreeable, or necessitate the use of the blotter for every line.

Then again will modern conditions permit the Enmun printer’s type to go on in its present complicated form, requiring so much expense for type-making and type-setting. Not being in close touch with Korean printing I do not know how many different pieces are needed to form a full set of Enmun type, but the number must be very large and it must make the compositor dizzy to have so many cases round him. When the type setting machine and the type-writer become, as they will, as imperatively necessary in Korea as in America, must we not have a smaller alphabet? And yet have we not a smaller .alphabet in Enmun after all if we write it in its elementary form ***** only 25 in all or [page 542] cutting out the useless * only 24. With such a simple alphabet at hand, the subsequent complication of matters by making them up into syllables is discreditable to the wonderful skill of the inventor of the script, shows that they did not anticipate the advent of typesetting and proves the power of the Chinese syllabic ideograph. Why should we not then even at this late date try to get the Enmun back to its old simplicity by using separately the 24 letters of the alphabet only. Then combining this recurrence to first principle with dextro-horizontal writing we would have something like the following :— *****This looks a little strange to the eye, resembling Greek type at first glance but a few days use would enable one to read as readily as in the present syllabic form.

I expect that the “go-slow” party will be horrified at the iconoclastic suggestion herein embodied, or laughingly regard it as the *Reductio ad absurdum* of spelling reform gone mad. Nevertheless I would submit these considerations to them and to all who care for Korea’s preparation for a future close relationship with the horizontal writing nations, and the welding together of the literatures of the East and West. Yours etc.,

Argos.

A Case of Who’s Who,

The young man Kim was the son of a wealthy country gentleman who was locally notorious for his adherence to

the theory that if you look after the pennies the pounds will look after themselves. His granaries were always full and the constant accumulation threatened to drive him to the expense of new store houses, but the bottom bags of rice rotted away or were consumed by rats, so that things had not as yet reached that pass. The old gentleman winced when the time came for putting [page 543] down the money for his sons' wedding, but he did it at last and the happy event came off with sufficient eclat.

After the festivities were over the bride and groom retired to their own apartments which had been specially fitted up for them. But before closing up for the night the bridegroom made his way to the kitchen to get a drink of water. On returning to the nuptial apartment he was greatly surprised, not to say dumbfounded, to see another man putting his foot over the threshold of the private apartments. He leaped forward and seized the intruder by the shoulder and whirled him around. The latter turned and by the light of the moon the young man saw that the face was the exact counterpart of his own, feature for feature, as if he were looking into a glass, the resemblance was complete down to the minutest particular.

"What do you mean by trying to enter my private room in this manner?" he exclaimed angrily. The man shook the hand off his shoulder and replied:

"What are you doing here? you mean. I am the son of the master of this house, and have only today been married, and now you try to prevent my entering my own room." The real Kim was furious. This pretender was actually claiming the position of bridegroom. They began a violent dispute, in the midst of which the bride herself appeared upon the scene and made matters worse as being wholly unable to determine which man was indeed her husband.

Finally the real Kim proposed that they lay the matter before his father. There surely must be some way to find out the truth. To this the other readily consented. They had some difficulty in arousing the old man from his beauty sleep but at last they made him aware that something serious was on the tapis and he came forth grumbling. The real son stated the case, while the old gentleman looked from one face to the other in utter bewilderment.

"Now if this other fellow is your son," said the genuine article, "he will be able to answer certain questions about [page 544] our house, our family history and our domestic arrangements, which no one but an intimate of the family circle could know."

"Surely," said the parvenu, "put your questions and do it in a hurry too, for I want to get back to bed."

"Well then, give the names of our family genealogy back for twelve hundred years." This would sorely prove a "sticker" but no, the counterfeit bridegroom rattled off the long list as glibly as you please. The other listened open mouthed.

"But tell me in what the family wealth consists and the sources of its revenue item for item." This was also done without hesitation and the figures poured forth correct to the fraction of a copper cash. The genuine son swallowed hard and made one more attempt.

"Tell me the words of the conversation that passed between my father and myself yesterday when none else was about." The interloper took up the tale and repeated the conversation word for word, and when he was done he turned to the old gentleman and said.

"Father, how long has this thing got to be kept up? You see I am the the real son and this fellow, though he looks much like me, is a rascal." What could the old gentleman do but agree that this was so and order his own son off the place under threat of severe legal penalties?

Was there ever such an unkind fate? He went forth penniless upon the road. He felt of himself and pulled his ears till they tingled, to make sure he was not dreaming. There was no doubt about it, but that some baneful influence was at work there could be no question. And so he wandered on until morning broke and he cast himself upon a bank beside the road a prey to the most miserable feelings. As he sadly mused over the unkindness of fortune a Buddhist monk came shuffling by. He started as he saw the young man and looked at his face long and curiously. A sort of dark intelligence slowly gathered in his eye and he said :

"Young man, you are in trouble and I can help you go to the Diamond mountains and study at the great [page 545] monastery. Ingratiate yourself with the monks and in some way induce them to lend you the golden cat which sits before the great Buddha. Take it to your home and thus you will recover all that you have lost," With this he shuffled on without waiting for any answer at all.

The more the young man thought it over the more clearly he saw that there was no better plan open to him, though of what use a golden cat would be to him was a black mystery. In time he reached the monastery and such was his brightness and capacity to learn that he won his way to all hearts. For three years he remained there and by that time he had secured a position in the esteem of the monks that made almost any request sure of their consent. When he deemed the time ripe for action he hinted that he must be off, but they entreated him to stay. He was firm however and when they saw he was determined to go they insisted upon making him a present to make him remember them. They asked him what he would like but he said:

"I will not accept any gift from you, but if you could loan me the golden cat that sits before the great Buddha I will promise to bring it back in a few weeks."

They all looked grave, for this was a very serious thing to do, but they said they would plead with the great Buddha for him.

Now the Great Buddha was a living personage, a sacred being who had attained a place but one remove from the coveted nirvana. They appointed a committee to wait upon that awesome personage and happily they succeeded in bringing away the golden cat. The young man was overjoyed and thanked them profusely. He slipped the priceless trophy in his sleeve and turned his feet toward home. He tramped the weary miles with growing impatience and excitement. At last he would be even with his enemy.

He climbed the last hill and looked down upon the ancestral estates which had been in the family for over a thousand years. They would be his again, thanks to the contents of his sleeve; but how? As he neared the house it seemed to have deteriorated greatly in the [page 546] interval of his absence. It had a dilapidated appearance as if it had been poorly tended and the lively throng of servants were conspicuously lacking. But the noise of drums and tomtoms and pipes came from the interior and showed him that there was still life there. He entered the court and asked what all the noise was about. A sad eyed servitor explained that the son of the master had long been ill and that the mudangs were trying to exorcise the evil spirits of disease. He found his father sitting in a dejected attitude and evidently aging fast. He introduced himself as a distant relative and entered into conversation with the old gentleman.

“The trouble is that my son refuses to see a doctor or take any medicine but makes me pay out all my money for these miserable mountebanks and sorceresses who do no good at all but eat up my wealth. I shall be beggered soon.”

“Let me see your son,” said the young man, “I am something of a physician myself and might be able to prescribe. As a member of the family, though distant, I am much interested in this son of yours.” The old man was pleased and went to ask the sick man if he would see the new-comer but the patient passionately refused and adjured his father not to let the man come near him. This message the old man sadly delivered.

“But when a man is ill he ought not to be consulted. Let me only see his face and I will tell you what must be done to cure him.” As a last resort the father consented and told the supposed physician to go to the sick room unannounced. The young man approached the door, opened it slightly and thrust in his hand and sleeve. The Golden Cat gave a leap and landed in the room. The young man drew the door shut and fastened it. Inside there was a terrible uproar. There were squealings and growlings and scratchings and spittings. The furniture seemed to be undergoing complete destruction but at last all was still again.

The young man again opened the door a crack and thrust in his hand and instantly the cat leaped into his sleeve and turned to gold again. Without looking into [page 547] the room the young man hurried to his father and told him to enter the sick chamber. The door was opened and a curious sight met their eyes. The room was strewn with broken fragments of furniture and in the midst of them lay the body of an enormous rat but the sick man was gone. The son threw himself at his fathers feet. “Don’t you know me, Father? I am your real son. This horrible vermin with his impish power assumed my shape and deceived you. As a constant infester of the house he had learned its secrets and so was able to answer the questions. The Golden Cat has done the work,” and he drew it forth from his sleeve and showed it to the wondering old man

Of course there was nothing to do but strangle the bride, and after this was done the house resumed its old time respectability.

Correspondence.

Ham Hung, November 28th, 1904,

Editor of Korea Review, Dear Sir:—

Affairs in the whole region South of Ham Hung are very quiet. Nothing is heard now of the Chin-po Society who are probably sorry now that their hair is short in the cold weather. Since my last visit to Ham Hung the roads and the bridges have been fixed in the same way as between Seoul and Wonsan i.e. wide with level crossing and an easy grade.

The only thing new in Wonsan is the new railroad terminus business. The engineers have marked out a large tract including the whole water front of the Korean town, half of the Korean village and a large part of the valley up as far as Dr. Hardie’s house. They have included a field of Mr. Fenwick’s and part of Dr. Hardie’s and have issued notice that none of the land in the [page 548] district so staked off can be bought, sold, or improved without permission of the military authorities.

Here in Ham Hung the city is still deserted, many of the people having fled recently as a result of a new scare. The necromancers prophesied on account of a study of the character * that on the 10th month the

Russians would come and fight a big battle here. The town is like a plague city, hardly a person to be met on the streets. The Russians while not residing in force in Hong Won send a large patrol daily from Puk Chung direction to visit that city and have lately marked out a lot of houses that they intend to commandeer for residence of soldiers. They are also said to be extending their telegraph to Hong Won. Junks with bread and supplies from Vladivostok now come as far south as Sin Ch'ang. The Christians here are all feeling secure since Mr. M — is here now, living in his new house.

A messenger recently from Song Chin said that the Russians finding their tents too cold, have folded them "like the Arabs" but not "silently stolen away." They have turned in on the warm Korean floors, and as the Korean settlement in Song Chin is so small it makes close quarters. One Korean teacher has ten in his little house. The authorities seized the Mission Church over a month ago and made it a residence for their Red Cross people probably because of the Red Cross Church flag which was flown over it by the Christians. They also ordered the Korean who is watching Mr. R — 's house to put his things away in one room as they were going to occupy that house. As the messenger left the next day he did not know whether they had entered it or not. I heard just before leaving Wonsan that 500 Russian foot soldiers had arrived in Song Chin but whether true or not I cannot say.

Last year's good crops have made food plenty and prices cheap but for some reason the exchange for cash has been very high in N. E. Korea, a yen bringing only about 460 cash to 500 cash for the past few months making living very costly for people whose salary is in Yen.

[page 549] Editorial Comment.

In our last issue we said that it would be impossible to carry on this magazine on the lines already laid down, but our subscribers were invited to suggest ways and means by which it could be continued. We intimated at the time that the only difficulty in the way was the paucity of contributors. Since that issue went forth we have been in receipt of numerous protests against the discontinuance of the Review and of offers of aid in the matter of contributions. S. A. Beck, the Manager of the Methodist Publishing House, has agreed to assume the business management of the Review, and thus relieve the editor of a great deal of office work in connection with it.

Under these circumstances and with the apparent demand that exists for this or some similar periodical we hardly feel justified in withdrawing from the field. We therefore solicit the continued interest and patronage of the general public.

The general policy of the Review will be the same as it has been, its main object being the discussion of any and every matter pertaining to the history, the language, the social condition, the religions, the folk-lore or the politics of the Korean people. The business management will have control of the News Calendar, which will be enlarged and made more efficient than has heretofore been possible with the forces at our command. We aim to make a greater specialty of the physical and industrial aspects of Korea, and shall try to publish interesting and valuable itineraries of main lines of travel not covered by the railways that are under construction or are in contemplation.

As we have said before, it is necessary to consult many tastes in a paper of this kind, and few if any of our readers will be equally interested in all the lines of investigation that will be touched upon, but our readers may rest assured that we shall deal strictly with Korean topics and no space will be given up to outside matters. [page 550] Our main purpose is to make the magazine a benefit to Korea and the Koreans by giving as correct an impression as possible of the facts in regard to this people. Adulation would be as harmful as wholesale condemnation and we should steer a middle course. We will gladly consider any comments which our subscribers shall send in, the only requisite being that, whether palatable or otherwise, such comment shall be sympathetic.

We claim no ability to hold a neutral position as between the Japanese and Russians, as between liberalism and conservatism, as between Christianity and Confucianism, as between progress and retrogression, but on any and all of these points we hope to be able to give, (as we ask our contributors to give) a reason for the faith that is in us. There is a broad way and a narrow way to look at all great public questions; there are those who condemn the Crusades as a horrible blunder in that they failed to accomplish their ostensible and avowed purpose, forgetting that in reality they formed one of the longest steps in the evolution of modern civilization. So it is today; there is no cause that is propagated with infallible wisdom and without the alloy of mistake; but let us not judge great causes in the light of Shakespeare's aphorism

Their virtues else be they as pure as grace
As infinite as man may undergo
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault.

But if we are unable to forgive the error and condone the fault let us at least make Burns our commentator on Shakespeare's immortal lines and remember that

A man's a man for a' that.

But even though in the case of an individual a single fault may utterly disqualify him yet the same cannot be said of a nation. It is necessary to determine the resultant of the forces which are working in it. Some people condemn America on the score of yellow journalism or of local municipal corruption or some other cause. Some people condemn Great Britain on the score of the opium traffic, Russia on the score of popular repression, Japan on the score of her failure to hold in check [page 551] certain lawless characteristics of the lower stratum of society. Is it fair to estimate a whole people thus or to condemn a national policy because of certain excrescences which are not essential to it but rather hinder it? We might as well say that all ships should be anchored permanently because barnacles grow on them. dAn be it noted that barnacles grow on the ocean greyhound as readily as on the tramp steamer.

The whole question lies in the willingness of any nation or power to recognize its weak points and to make an effort to correct them. It is quite plain that the fate of Korea is closely linked with that of Japan. This is a fact that must be faced. It will be faced willingly by those who believe that Japan has it in her to learn how to handle an alien people, as Great Britain does, in such a way as to be to the mutual advantage of both. Others will have to face it the best they can. The fact remains. For those, then, who sympathize with Koreans and desire to be of service to them what is the most reasonable line of conduct? Surely not to stand and merely exclaim against any and every encroachment upon what we deem to be Korea's rights, unless there is to be some practical result of such exclamation. There are very few of us that would deny that Japan has an opportunity to do Korea a great service and at the same time to do herself a great service. The reasonable course then is for each individual to use his influence so far as he may to make both Japanese and Koreans see that the success of both depends upon the building up of a genuine friendship between them. On the one hand the Japanese must overcome the tendency to look down upon the Korean as unworthy of consideration, and on the other hand the Korean must be encouraged to put away his inborn prejudice against the Japanese. We have nothing to say about the ease or the difficulty with which these results may be accomplished. It may be hard, it may be impossible, but would it be more reasonable to stir up strife between the two which could restltonly in the complete submergence of the Koreans?

In our efforts to be of service to the Koreans, therefore, [page 552] we should strive to give the Koreans and the Japanese a higher estimate of each other. But this seems to be an impossible task. The Japanese consider the Koreans far below themselves in general culture, while the Koreans believe that with the exception of a few of the upper classes of Japanese the balance of civilization is with Korea. It is this social deadlock which must be broken before there can be any hope of bettering the situation. It is our business then to inquire how this can be accomplished, if at all. We do not hesitate to say that there is but one way to do it and that is by a process of education. It will be slow and tedious and before it is accomplished other events may have intervened which will overthrow all plans and hopes for the future. But this does not free us from the obligation of doing what we can to bring about the needed change in sentiment. General education will work in two ways to accomplish this object. It will raise the Korean in the estimation of the Japanese and it will bring the Korean to a point where he can appreciate what Japan has accomplished in the way of general advancement. In this way these two peoples will build up a genuine respect for each other, a respect that is now conspicuously lacking. There are two things that command respect in Japan, physical power and intellectual power. The soldier and the literaius are the ideals of the Japanese as they always have been and they respect these two things in others. Can we doubt that it was the combination of university education and militarism that attracted Japan so strongly toward Germany? Korea can never command respect on the score of physical power, and it is for this reason that we say that general education and a manifest determination to take advantage of modern learning is the only thing that will make the Japanese respect the Koreans

Would we be wrong in saying that the secret of successful colonization or the successful handling of alien peoples depends upon the ability of the teacher to respect the pupil? Much has been said on the opposite side of the question but this side needs emphasizing. If England [page 553] has had any success in handling India it is because those in whose hands the goiremment of that peninsula lies recognize that beneath all the moral and intellectual incubi which the long centuries have imposed, beneath the bigotry of caste, beneath the cowardice evolved by millenniums of indirection and oppression— that beneath all these things there ties a genuine man capable of becoming in time and under proper tutelage an honor to his race. He who charges the Anglo-Saxon with lack of imagination will have to reckon with this unique power to see in the unheewn marble a possible work of consummate art. This recognition on the part of the English of intrinsic manhood in the Indian has done more than any other one thing to engender self-respect and personal ambition in that people; and it will be the same the world over. Unless the Japanese find something to respect in the Korean the latter is doomed.

Now there is something to respect in the Korean just as there was something to respect in the Indian, and Japan has an opportunity of showing the fundamental quality of her civilization, as England showed her's, by recognizing beneath all the superimposed prejudices and follies of the Korean the genuine man, capable of indefinite improvement.

We print in this number a forceful article by "Argos" on the reform spelling. We are sorry to say that we could hardly do justice to his sample of what the new style would be. Our font of type is not quite capable of effecting it but the reader will see that the idea is to separate consonants and vowels as we do in English so as to reduce the font of type to less than we have in an English font. His suggestion is a startling one and one that is sure to bring out some discussion.

We must take exception to the implication that Dr. Gale, the proposer of a reform spelling, has been shabbily treated or that people do not appreciate the work he has put on it. Such a momentous theme is surely worthy of full discussion and we are sure that "Argos" himself would not say that failure to agree with Dr. [page 554] Gale and adopt the new system carries with it any lack of appreciation of the good which he certainly intended to do. This discussion is carried on in the best of humor and the personal element has been conspicuously lacking. We want to know whether a change would be a good thing for the Koreans. The lack of unanimity grows out of no narrow considerations whatever but out of reasons which appear to each side to be fundamental. The Review stands ready to place before its readers any and every argument bearing on either side of the question, for it is one that vitally affects the whole future of Korean literature. The advocates of the reform say we have no standard of spelling. If so the sooner a standard is made the better. The question remains whether such a standard can be made to order or whether it has to grow up out of common usage. It will not do to say that with the pure phonetic system words will spell themselves, for they will not. The differences in pronunciation throughout the country makes this impossible. We have nothing to say at this point either for or against the new system, but whether the change is made or not there will be need of a fixed standard of some kind in printed form.

The opening of the Seoul-Fusan Railroad induces a reminiscent frame of mind. The older residents of Seoul remember well the "good" old days when we had to plow our way through mud and water over the bridle-path to Chemulpo. Then came the river steamers which made it a rule rather than the exception to rest for five or six hours on some sand bank each trip. Then all this was brushed away and the winter of our discontent was made glorious summer by the completion of the Seoul-Chemulpo Railway. And to think that we shall never have to pick our way again around that tide-swept, foginfested southwestern point of Korea! It seems almost too good to be true.

The first time we came to Korea, away back in the eighties, old Capt. Hussey was master of the *Tsuruga* and the way he would crawl up to an island in the fog [page 555] and nose it with the prow of his ship until he could see which island it might be was a caution to land-lubbers, especially to those who did not know what he was up to. Which one of us does not know the delights of anchoring in the fog for twenty-four hours, more or less, when we were almost in sight of home? If this railway had been completed a few years sooner we might still have among us Mr. Appenzeller, one of the pioneers of Korea, and others who have gone down on ill-fated steamers on the Korean coast.

This railway will give access to many interior points that are of great interest to the historian and archaeologist and affords excellent opportunities to shake off the dust of Seoul and get a glimpse of rural life. The tone of the globe trotter will change and we shall hear no more about there being no trees in Korea and other Munchausen-like descriptions. This railway ought to bring a solution of the much mooted question as to a summer resort for foreigners in Seoul. There must be plenty of delightful spots made accessible by this railway and we hope the time is not far away when the summer will see a large number of foreigners gathered about some congenial center instead of being scattered to the four winds to practical hermitage. The summers could be made delightful as they are in Japan by all sorts of conferences, summer schools and other diversions if only a place were selected where a goodly number could congregate and find suitable accommodation.

News Calendar.

There were one or two minor errors in the account we gave of the attack by Japanese upon Mr. Engel of Fusan. His Korean helper did not call out to the Japanese that the foreigner would aid him. Mr. Engel was tied to a post as we stated, but he did not lose consciousness. The Japanese ran away when they saw signs of approaching collapse.

[page 556] The prefect of Whe-in had a rather unpleasant experience this month when his town was raided by robbers who surrounded his residence and forced him to hand over all the Government money he had on hand

and also called on all the well-to-do people for money, clothes and other good things. As soon as he could, the prefect escaped and made his way to Seoul.

In spite of its former condemnation of the various societies that are being formed, the Government seems to have changed its mind and about the middle of December called up leading members of the Il-chin Society and congratulated them upon their organisation, and promised not to interfere with them.

A great meeting of the Il-chin Society was held outside the South gate of Su-won on the 12th inst., at which some 10,000 people were present. Of these three thousand had their haircut. The president made a clear statement of the aims of the society. Suddenly an aged man on the edge of the crowd begun applauding vigorously and declared that this was just what was needed to awaken the people and lead the nation to better things.

On December 22 the British Legation guard gave a very successful entertainment at the guard house. The songs, jokes, costumes and dialogues were well gotten up and speak well for the musical and histrionic ability of the men of the guard. The audience was highly entertained and heartily agreed that if this was a sample of what the men can do we must have more of it before the season is through.

The Christmas season found the children as enthusiastic as usual. The weather turned cold and crisp just a few days before the holiday came and gave us real Christmas weather. On the afternoon of the 27th a large number of the Seoul children gathered at the Seoul Union and had a very jolly time while the "grown ups" looked on and applauded. The children sang some pretty songs which reflected a great deal of credit on their instructress.

The absence of snow together with the snapping cold of the past two weeks has made some excellent skating, [page 557] and several of the Seoul people have taken advantage of it to do some twirling on the ice. There ought to be a revival of this most excellent and healthful sport among the foreigners of Seoul.

It is said that Japanese gendarmes have instructed the Police Bureau to let Japanese soldiers and post-men go in and out the north east gate at any hour of the night but not to open it in the morning for general use until receiving instruction from the Japanese.

According to the native press the Italian Minister renewed his attempt to obtain through the Foreign Office a gold-mining concession for his nationals stating that he had been instructed by his government to find out why, when many other foreign companies are given concessions, the Italians should be refused.

The British authorities have also been pressing for a second concession to be situated in Suan district in Whang-ha province but so far without success.

The German representative has announced to the government that the gold mining concession in Kimsung is a failure and requests that another be given instead.

On the afternoon of the 29th, inst. a serious affray took place between members of the Il-chin Society and the Korean soldiers. It seems that having been forbidden the use of the public streets for meeting, the Society secured the use of a Chinese building in the rear of the Annex of the Palace Hotel. There they met but on the day named some Pyengyang soldiers armed with brickbats raided the place and a fight took place in which some twelve of the Il-chin society members were or less severely injured. The Japanese gendarmes hurried to the place and attacked the Korean soldiers, one of the latter being killed on the spot. After the quarrel had been stopped the Japanese gendarmes went to the barracks and arrested five Korean officers who should have held the Pyengyang soldiers in check. The street in the vicinity afforded an animated sight all during the afternoon, being densely crowded with Koreans among whom Japanese mounted gmirds were stationed at frequent [page 558] intervals. Two of the Koreans were so severely hurt that there are fears they will not survive. This stirred up a good deal of feeling among the Koreans both in favor of the society and against it.

The Belgian authorities have also repeated their request for a gold mining concession, citing the concessions made to the subjects of other powers. The unanimity with which foreigners are attempting to secure mining concessions here should settle for all time the question whether there is "pay dirt" in Korea.

A Korean hunter recently shot a huge tiger in the town of Pu-p'yung only eighteen miles from Seoul. He sold the skin to a Japanese in Chemulpo but the magistrate of Pup'yung was highly incensed at this, since according

to immemorial custom all tigers must be handed over to the local magistrate, and it should be added that in such case the hunter gets little or nothing for the risk he has run and the labor expended. The man was seized and beaten but the people out of pity subscribed enough money to buy him off. It would be a pleasure to see such a magistrate forced to face a live tiger with an old Korean matchlock and get a taste of it himself. He then might see things in a different light.

The Il-chin gentry met a warm reception the other day in Kong-ju when several hundred residents of the town came at them with clubs. The doughty defenders of their country's honor turned and fled precipitately, throwing down their guns and all other impedimenta. They reached the Keum River and dashed in, some to be drowned and others to effect a very wet escape. They lost their baggage, their clothes, their money and what little reputation they may have had about them.

The Japanese have asked that in the districts which border upon the Seoul-Fusan Railway and along the road to Ham-gyung province, magistrates be placed who understand the Japanese language. The suggestion is an excellent one and one that the government would do well to follow.

In many districts there has been a recrudescence of the old time Righteous Army who have made it their [page 559] business to combat the Il-chin Society. The latter say that the Righteous Army has been stirred up by the corrupt officials in Seoul and urge that the adherents of the Il-chin Society all flock to Seoul to press their claims.

Ten o'clock on the morning of Dec. 29th a distinguished company was gathered in the Cathedral in Seoul to witness the wedding ceremony of Mr. Adhemar Delcoigne and Miss Anna Irene Eckert. The ceremony was an imposing one and it was enhanced by appropriate music by the Imperial Band under the directorship of the bride's father. After the completion of the ceremony the company adjourned to an adjoining apartment where the newly wedded pair were heartily congratulated and a score or more of witnesses signed the register. At eleven o'clock a reception was held at the residence of Miss Sontag where congratulations were renewed and healths were drunk. An adequate description of the simple but elegant dress of the bride lies just beyond the tip of our pen and so we must forego this important part of a full description of the occasion. The Review joins with all other friends in wishing long life and happiness to Mr. and Mrs. Delcoigne.

On the third of December a new society was organized under the name of the Chin Myung Society or "Progress and Enlightenment." The moving spirits in the new organization are former members of the Peddler's Guild of malodorous memory. They have not followed recent precedents in the matter of hair cutting, but the lion has lain down with the lamb, for the general aims of these exponents of sweetness and light are the same as those of the Chin-bo, Il-chin and Kuk-min societies. But in addition to the advanced principles of the other societies it advocates a radical improvement in commercial matters. How such improvement is to be effected does not yet appear.

It seems that the Japanese authorities are asking the Korean Government to turn over to them the right to cut timber on the Yalu, which the Russians formerly enjoyed, but so far as we can hear no compensation has been promised.

[page 560] Koreans say that a patriotic native named Kyong Kwang-guk was so disgusted with the condition of affairs that he retired to a lonely mountain retreat but when he heard of the organization of the Kuk-min or National People's Society he came forth and became its president,

A Korean, who was listening to the appeal for the new Severance Memorial Hospital which Mr. T. H. Yun made at the Seoul Y. M. C. A. rooms, arose and stated that though he was not a member of the Y. M. C. A. and was only just in from the country, he could not think of allowing people in other lands to send such large sums of money here to help Koreans without doing something himself. He thereupon subscribed one hundred dollars toward the fund.

The Governor of North Ham-gyung Province reported lately that the prefect of Pu-ryung while on his way from Seoul to his post had to pass through Kyong-sung. The Russian soldiers stopped him there and held him a prisoner in his own inn and would listen to no remonstrances. They allowed him, however, to return to Seoul. The prefect of Tan-ch'un was also stopped by the Russians and so he returned to his own home.

We regret to have to announce the death of the infant son of Rev. and Mrs. C. A. Clark. It occurred very suddenly after only two days of scarlet fever. The funeral took place on the 23rd inst.

Chapter XXVII.

The Battle of Chemulpo . . . Russian survivors on neutral boats. . . . Blowing up of the *Koryetz* sinking of the *Variak* Russians leave Korea hospital in Chemulpo skirmish at Pyong Yang Korean Japanese Protocol end of Peddler's Guild Marquis Ito Yi Yong Ik retires Japanese conservative policy in Korea skirmish at Chong-ju suffering of Koreans in north apathy of Korean Government burning of palace in Seoul Korean currency.

It was a cloudless but hazy day and from the anchorage the Japanese fleet was all but invisible, for it lay at least eight miles out in the entrance of the harbor and partly concealed by Round Island which splits the offing into two channels. The two boats made straight for the more easterly of the channels, their course being a very little west of south. When they had proceeded about half the distance from the anchorage to the enemy's fleet the latter threw a shot across the bows of each of the Russian boats as a command to stop and surrender, but the Russians took no notice of it. The only chance the Russians had to inflict any damage was to reduce the firing range as much as possible for the *Variak's* guns were only six inches and four-tenths in caliber and at long range they would have been useless. This was at five minutes before noon. The Japanese fleet was not deployed in a line facing the approaching boats and it was apparent that they did not intend to bring their whole force to bear upon the Russians simultaneously. We are informed that only two of the Japanese vessels, the *Asama* and the *Chiyoda*, did the work. It was not long after the warning shots had been fired that the Japanese let loose and the roar that went up from those terrible machines of destruction tore the quiet of the windless bay to tatters and made the houses [page 562] of the town tremble where they stood. As the *Variak* advanced she swerved to the eastward and gave the Japanese her starboard broadside. All about her the sea was lashed into foam by striking shot and almost from the beginning of the fight her steering-gear was shot away so that she had to depend on her engines alone for steering. It became evident to her commander that the passage was impossible. He had pushed eastward until there was imminent danger of running aground. So he turned again toward the west and came around in a curve which brought the *Variak* much nearer to the Japanese. It was at this time that the deadly work was done upon her. Ten of her twelve gun-captains were shot away. A shell struck her fo'castle, passed between the arm and body of a gunner who had his hand upon his hip and, bursting, killed every other man on the fo'castle. Both bridges were destroyed by bursting shell and the Captain was seriously wounded in the left arm. The watchers on shore and on the shipping in the harbor saw flames bursting out from her quarter-deck and one witness plainly saw shells drop just beside her and burst beneath the water line. It was these shots that did the real damage for when, after three quarters of an hour of steady fighting, she turned her prow back toward the anchorage it was seen that she had a heavy list to port which could have been caused only by serious damage below the waterline. As the two boats came slowly back to port, the *Variak* so crippled by the destruction of one of her engines that she could make only ten knots an hour, the Japanese boats followed, pouring in a galling fire, until the Russians had almost reached the anchorage. Then the pursuers drew back and the battle was over. The *Koryetz* was intact. The Japanese had reserved all their fire for the larger vessel. The *Variak* was useless as a fighting machine, for her heavy list to port would probably have made it impossible to train the guns on the enemy, but all knew that the end had not yet come. The Russians had neither sunk nor surrendered. The threat of the Japanese to come in at four o'clock was still active. As soon as the *Variak* dropped anchor the British sent four hospital boats to her with a surgeon and a nurse. Other vessels also sent offers of aid. But it was found that the Russians had [page 563] decided to lie at anchor and fight to the bitter end and at the last moment blow up their vessels with all on board. What else was there for them to do? They would not surrender and they could not leave their ships and go ashore only to be captured by the enemy. They would play out the tragedy to a finish and go down fighting. Upon learning of this determination the commanders of the various neutral vessels held another conference at which it was decided that the Russians had done all that was necessary to vindicate the honor of their flag and that, as it was a neutral port, the survivors should be invited to seek asylum on the neutral vessels. The invitation was accepted and the sixty-four wounded on board the *Variak* were at once transferred to the British cruiser *Talbot* and the French cruiser *Pascal*. As the commanders of the neutral vessels knew that the *Variak* and *Koryetz* were to be sunk by the Russians they paid no particular attention to the reiterated statement of the Japanese that they would enter the harbor at four and finish the work already begun. The passengers, crew and mails on board the steamship *Sungari* had already been transferred to the *Pascal* and an attempt had been made to scuttle her but she was filling very slowly indeed. It was about half-past three in the afternoon that the officers and crew of the *Koryetz* went over the side and on board the *Pascal*.

It was generally known throughout the town that the *Koryetz* would be blown up before four o'clock and everyone sought some point of vantage from which to witness the spectacle. Scores of people went out to

the little island on which the light-house stands, for this was nearest to the doomed ship. It was thirty-seven minutes past three when the waiting multitude saw two blinding flashes of light one following the other in quick succession. A terrific report followed which dwarfed the roar of cannon to a whisper and shook every house in the town as if it had been struck by a solid rock. The window-fastenings of one house at least were torn off, so great was the concussion. An enormous cloud of smoke and debris shot toward the sky and at the same time enveloped the spot where the vessel had lain. A moment later there began a veritable shower of splintered wood, torn and twisted railing, books, clothes, rope, utensils [page 564] and a hundred other belongings of the ship. The cloud of smoke expanded in the upper air and blotted out the sun like an eclipse. The startled gulls flew hither and thither as if dazed by this unheard of phenomenon and men instinctively raised their hands to protect themselves from the falling debris, pieces of which were drifted by the upper currents of air for a distance of three miles landward where they fell by the hundreds in peoples' yards.

When the smoke was dissipated it was discovered that the *Koryetz* had sunk, only her funnel and some torn rigging appearing above the surface, if we except her forward steel deck which the force of the explosion had bent up from the prow so that the point of it, like the share of a huge plow, stood several feet out of water. The surface of the bay all about the spot was covered thickly with smoking debris and several of the ship's boats were floating about intact upon the water.

The *Variak* was left to sink where she lay. The fortyone dead on board were placed together in a cabin and went down with her. She burned on till evening and then inclining more and more to port her funnels finally touched the water and with a surging, choking groan as of some great animal in pain she sank. As the water reached the fire a cloud of steam went up which illuminated by the last flash of the fire formed her signal of farewell.

It was arranged that the British and the French boats should carry the Russians to a neutral port and guarantee their parole until the end of the war.

This wholly unexpected annihilation of the Russian boats naturally caused consternation among the Russians of Chemulpo and Seoul. The Russian Consulate was surrounded by the Japanese troops and the Consul was held practically a prisoner. The Japanese Minister in Seoul suggested to the Russian Minister through the French Legation the advisability of his removing from Seoul with his nationals, and every facility was given him for doing this with expedition and with comfort. A few days later all the Russians were taken by special train to Chemulpo, and there, being joined by the Russian subjects in Chemulpo, they all went on board the *Pascal*. This vessel must have been crowded, for it is [page 565] said that when she sailed she had on board six hundred Russians, both civilians and military men.

Twenty-four of the most desperately wounded men on board the neutral ships were sent ashore and placed in the Provisional Red Cross Hospital. For this purpose the English Church Mission kindly put at the disposal of the Japanese their hospital at Chemulpo. Several of these wounded men were suffering from gangrene when they came off the *Pascal* but with the most sedulous care the Japanese physicians and nurses pulled them through.

After this battle at Chemulpo there was no more question about landing Korean troops further down the coast; in fact as soon as the ice was out of the Tadong River, Chinnampo became the point of disembarkation. But meanwhile the troops which had landed at Chemulpo were pushing north by land as rapidly as circumstances would permit and within a few weeks of the beginning of the war Pyeng-yang was held by a strong force of Japanese. At the same time work was pushed rapidly on the Seoul-Fusan Railway and also begun on the projected railway line between Seoul and Wiju.

As for the Russians they never seriously invaded Korean territory. Bands of Cossacks crossed the Yalu and scoured the country right and left but their only serious purpose was to keep in touch with the enemy and report as to their movements. On February 18 a small band of Cossacks approached the north gate of Pyeng Yang and after exchanging a few shots with the Japanese guard withdrew. This was the first point at which the two belligerents came in touch with each other.

It was on the night of February 23rd that Korea signed with Japan a protocol by the terms of which Korea practically allied herself with Japan and became, as it were, a silent partner in the war. Korea granted the Japanese the right to use Korea as a road to Manchuria and engaged to give them every possible facility for prosecuting the war. On the other hand Japan guaranteed the independence of Korea and the safety of the Imperial Family. It is needless to discuss the degree of spontaneity with which Korea did this. It was a case of necessity, but if rightly used it might have proved of immense benefit to Korea, as it surely did to Japan. It [page 566] formally did away with the empty husk of neutrality which had been proclaimed and made every seaport of the peninsula belligerent territory, even as it did the land itself.

March saw the end of the Peddlars' Guild. They had been organized in Russian interests but now they had no longer any *raison d'etre*. As a final flurry, one of their number entered the house of the Foreign Minister with the intent to murder him but did not find his victim. Other similar attempts were made but did not succeed.

The Japanese handled the situation in Seoul with great circumspection. The notion that they would

attack the pro-Russian officials proved false. Everything was kept quiet and the perturbation into which the court and the government were thrown by these startling events was soon soothed.

Marquis Ito was sent from Japan with a friendly message to the Emperor of Korea and this did much to quiet the unsettled state of things in Korea. At about the same time the northern ports of Wiju and Yongampo were opened to foreign trade. This was a natural result of the withdrawal of Russian influence. It was not long before Yi Yong-ik who had played such a leading role in Korea was invited to go to Japan and thus an element of unrest was removed from the field of action. It was believed that the Japanese would immediately introduce much needed reform; but it seemed to be their policy to go very slowly, so slowly in fact that the better element among the Koreans was disappointed, and got the impression that Japan was not particularly interested in the matter of reform. It is probable that the energies of the Japanese were too much engaged in other directions to divert any to Korea at the time. They had been complaining bitterly about the monetary conditions, but when they suddenly stepped into power in Seoul on February 9th they seemed to forget all about this, for up to the end of 1904 they failed to do anything to correct the vagaries of Korean finance. But instead of this the Japanese merchants in Korea and other Japanese who were here for other reasons than their health immediately began to make request and demands for all sorts of privileges. The Board of Trade in Fusan asked the Japanese government to secure the Maritime Customs service, permission for extra territorial privileges, [page 567] the establishment of Japanese agricultural stations and other impossible things.

Meanwhile the Japanese were steadily pushing north. At Anju a slight skirmish occurred but there was nothing that could be called a fight until the Japanese reached the town of Chong-ju where a small body of Russians took a stand on a hill northwest of the town and held it for three hours, but even here the casualties were only about fifteen on either side. The Russians evidently had no notion of making a determined stand this side the Yalu. Already, a week before, the Russian troops had withdrawn from Yongampo and had crossed to Antung. This fight at Chong-ju occurred on March 25th and a week later practically all the Russian forces had crossed the Yalu and Korea ceased to be belligerent territory. It is not the province of this history to follow the Japanese across that historic river and relate the events which occurred at the beginning of May when the first great land battle of the war was fought.

The whole north had been thrown into the greatest confusion by the presence of these two belligerents. Cossack bands had scurried about the country, making demands for food and fodder, a part of which they were willing to pay for with Russian currency quite unknown to the Korean. From scores of villages and towns the women had fled to the mountain recesses at a most inclement season, and untold suffering had been entailed. But these are things that always come in the track of war and the Koreans bore them as uncomplainingly as they could. Throughout the whole country the absorption of the attention of the government in the events of the war was taken advantage of by robbers, and their raids were frequent and destructive. As soon as the government found that the Japanese did not intend to rule with a high hand it sank back into the former state, of selfcomplacent lethargy, and things went along in the old ruts. It was perfectly plain that Korean officialdom had no enthusiasm for the Japanese cause. It is probable that a large majority of the people preferred to see Japan win rather than the Russians, but it was the fond wish of ninety-nine out of every hundred to see Korea rid of them both. Whichever one held exclusive power here was certain to become an object [page 568] of hatred to the Korean people. Had the Russians driven out the Japanese the Koreans would have hated them as heartily. Whichever horn of the dilemma Korea became impaled upon she was sure to think the other would have been less sharp. Few Koreans looked at the matter from any large standpoint or tried to get from the situation anything but personal advantage. This is doubtless the reason why it was so difficult to gain an opinion from Korean officials. They did not want to go on record as having any decided sympathies either way. The people of no other land were so nearly neutral as were those of Korea.

The month of April was comparatively quiet. The Japanese were struggling north through frost and mud combined to rendezvous on the banks of the Yalu. On the 14th occurred the great fire in Seoul which in a few hours swept away almost the whole of the Kyong-un Palace, the one recently completed and the one occupied by the Emperor at the time. He was forced to vacate it in haste and take up his abode for the time being in the detached Imperial Library building. A strong effort was made by the Japanese to induce him to return to the Chong-dok Palace, which was his place of residence at the time of the emeutes of 1882 and 1884, but this was combatted with all the means available, and the burned palace was rebuilt as quickly as possible.

The temporary effect of the war upon the Korean currency was to enhance its value. Imports suddenly came to a standstill because of the lack of steamships and the possible dangers of navigation. This stopped the demand for yen. The Japanese army had to spend large sums in Korea and this required the purchase of Korean money. The result was that the yen, instead of holding its ratio of something like one to two and a half of the Korean dollar fell to the ratio of one to only one and four tenths. When, however, the sea was cleared of the Russians and import trade was resumed and the bulk of the Japanese crossed the Yalu the Korean dollar fell again to a ratio of about two to one, which it has preserved up to the present time, i.e. December, 1904.

From the time when the Russians retired beyond the Yalu warlike operations between the two

belligerents was [page 569] confined to northeast Korea though even there very little was doing. The Vladivostock squadron was still in being and on April 15 it appeared at the mouth of Wonsan harbor. Only one small Japanese boat was at anchor there, the *Goyo Maru*, and this was destroyed by a torpedo boat which came in for the express purpose. Of course this created intense excitement in the town and there was a hurried exodus of women and children, but the Russians had no intention of bombarding the place and soon took their departure. Only a few hours before, the *Kinshin*, a Japanese transport with upwards of 150 troops onboard, had sailed for Song-jin to the north of Wonsan but meeting bad weather in the night the torpedo-boats that accompanied her were obliged to run for shelter and the *Kinshin* turned back for Wonsan. By so doing she soon ran into the arms of the Russian fleet and refusing to surrender she was sunk, but forty-five of the troops on board effected their escape to the mainland.

It was only a few days before this that a force of Cossacks had made a dash down the eastern coast as far as Ham-heung which they entered after a two hours' skirmish with Korean troops. They burned about 300 houses in the suburbs of the town and also fourteen kan of the celebrated "Ten Thousand Year Bridge," the longest in Korea. After this they retired to the north. But from that time on the whole northeast has been scoured by parties of Russians and the Japanese have paid no attention to them except to place troops at Wonsan and Ham-heung to hold these places. On August 8th a small Russian force penetrated south to the very suburbs of Wonsan but were speedily repulsed by the Japanese who had thrown up intrenchments and were quite ready to meet any assault. The Russians worked with great energy in repairing the road from the Tuman River down to Sung-jin, and even south of that place. They even built good graded roads across two of the high passes south of Sungjin until they came in contact with the Japanese outposts twenty miles above Ham-heung. Neither side seemed to desire to assume the offensive and so matters stood until the end of the year, and the coming of the northern winter put a stop to active operations. The only other incident worthy of mention in this connection was the wanton attack [page 570] upon the town of Wonsan by the Russian fleet on the last day of June. On that morning seven Russian torpedo-boats entered the harbor and after inquiring where the Japanese barracks and other public buildings were situated began shelling the town. In a panic the peaceful denizens of the place fled to the shelter of the hills. The Russians gave no warning of the attack even though many foreigners of various nationalities resided there and might easily have been injured. After firing over 200 shells without doing any considerable damage the torpedo boats withdrew.

We must now go back and inquire into important civil matters. We have seen that no strong attempt was made by the Japanese to secure reforms in the administration of the Korean Government and for this reason many of the best Koreans were dissatisfied with the way things were going. Therefore it was doubly unfortunate that on the seventeenth of June the Japanese authorities should make the startling suggestion that all uncultivated land in the Peninsula as well as other national resources should be thrown open to the Japanese. This appears to have been a scheme evolved by one Nagamori and broached by him so speciously to the powers in Tokyo that they backed him in it; but there can be no question that it was a grave mistake. There is no other point on which the Korean is so sensitive as upon that of his land. He is a son of the soil, and agriculture is the basis of all his institutions. The mere proposal raised an instant storm of protest from one end of Korea to the other. The Koreans saw in this move the entering wedge which would rive the country. It was the beginning of the end. This excessive show of feeling was not expected by the Japanese and it is probable that their intentions were by no means so black as the Koreans pictured them. The very general terms in which the proposal was worded and the almost entire lack of limiting particulars gave occasion for all sorts of wild conjectures and, it must be confessed, left the door open to very wide constructions. The time was unpropitious, the method was unfortunate and the subject-matter of the proposal itself was questionable. The all-important matter of water supply and control, the difficulties of jurisdiction on account of the extraterritorial rights implied in the [page 571] proposal and other allied questions immediately presented themselves to the minds of Koreans and they recognized the fact that the carrying out of this plan would necessarily result in a Japanese protectorate if not absolute absorption into the Empire of Japan. The Japanese do not seem to have followed the logic of the matter to this point or else had not believed the Koreans capable of doing so. But when the storm of protest broke it carried everything before it. The Japanese were not prepared to carry the thing to extremes and after repeated attempts at a compromise the matter was dropped, though the Japanese neither withdrew their request nor accepted the refusal of the Korean Government. It is a matter of great regret that the Japanese did not quietly and steadily press the question of internal reforms, and by so doing hasten the time when the Korean people as a whole would repose such confidence in the good intentions of the neighbor country that even such plans as this of the waste lands could be carried through without serious opposition; for it is quite sure that there is a large area of fallow land in Korea which might well be put under the plow.

During the weeks when the Japanese were pressing for a favorable answer to the waste land proposition the Koreans adopted a characteristic method of opposition. A society called the *Po-an-whe* was formed. The name means "Society for the Promotion of Peace and Safety." It had among its membership some of the leading Korean officials. It held meetings at the cotton guild in the center of Seoul and a good deal of

excited discussion took place as to ways and means for defeating the purpose of the Japanese, At the same time memorials by the score poured in upon the Emperor, beseeching him not to give way to the demands. The Japanese determined that these forms of opposition must be put down, so on July the 16th the meeting of the society was broken in upon by the Japanese police and some of the leading members were forcibly carried away to the Japanese police station. Other raids were made upon the society and more of its members were arrested and its papers confiscated. The Japanese warned the government that these attempts to stir up a riot must be put down with a stern hand and demanded that those who persisted in sending in memorials [page 572] against the Japanese be arrested and punished. If the Korean government would not do it the Japanese threatened to take the law into their own hands. The Japanese troops in Seoul were augmented until the number was fully 6,000.

The agitation was not confined to Seoul, for leading Koreans sent out circular letters to all the country districts urging the people to come up to Seoul and make a monster demonstration which should convince the Japanese that they were in dead earnest. Many of these letters were suppressed by the prefects but in spite of this the news spread far and wide and the society enrolled thousands of members in every province.

The effect of this was seen when, early in August, the Japanese military authorities asked for the services of 6,000 Korean coolies in the north at handsome wages. The number was apportioned among different provinces, but the results were meager. Disaffected persons spread the report that these coolies would be put on the fighting line, and it was with the greatest difficulty that two thousand were secured. There were sanguinary fights in many towns where attempts were made to force coolies to go against their will. It was perfectly right for the Japanese to wish to secure such labor, but the tide of public sentiment was flowing strong in the other direction because of the attempt to secure the waste land and because of the suspension of the right of free speech.

The cessation of Japanese efforts to push the waste land measure did not put an end to agitation throughout the country, and the Il-chin society continued to carry on its propaganda until on August 22nd a new society took the field, named the Il-chin Society. This was protected by the Japanese police who allowed only properly accredited members to enter its doors. This looked as if it were intended as a counter-move to the Il-chin Society, and as the latter was having very little success a third society took up the gauntlet under the name of the Kuk-min or "National People's" Society. The platforms promulgated by all these societies were quite faultless but the institutions had no power whatever to carry out their laudable plans and so received only the smiles of the public.

[page 575] During the summer the Japanese suggested that it would be well for Korea to recall her foreign representatives. The idea was to have Korean diplomatic business abroad transacted through Japanese legations. Whether this was a serious attempt or only a feeler put out to get the sense of the Korean government we are unable to say, but up to the end of the year the matter was not pushed and the nomination by the Japanese of Mr. Stevens, an American subject, as adviser to the Foreign Office would seem to indicate that the existing diplomatic arrangements will be continued for the time being.

The various societies which had been formed as protests against existing conditions stated some things that ought to be accomplished but suggested no means by which they could be done: The difficulty which besets the country is the lack of general education, and no genuine improvement can be looked for until the people be educated up to it. For this reason a number of foreigners joined themselves into the Educational Association of Korea, their aim being to provide suitable text books for Korean schools and to help in other ways toward the solution of this great question. About the same time the Minister of Education presented the government with a recommendation that the graduates of the Government schools be given the preference in the distribution of public offices. This had no apparent effect upon the Government at the time, but this is what must come before students will flock to the Government schools with any enthusiasm. Later in the year a large number of Koreans also founded an Educational Society. It made no pretensions to political significance but went quietly to work gathering together those who are convinced that the education of the masses is the one thing needed to put Korea upon her feet, in the best sense.

In September there was celebrated the twentieth anniversary of the founding of Protestant Christian missions in Korea, A great convention had been arranged for and leading men were to attend it but the war interfered with the plan and the convention was postponed till 1909, when the quarter-centennial will be celebrated. In spite of this a memorable meeting was held and the results of Christian [page 574] work in Korea were set forth and discussed. We need say no more here than that this field is rightly considered as being one of the most successful in the world and as giving promise of great things in the future.

In the middle of October the Japanese military authorities sent Marshal Hasegawa to take charge of military affairs in Korea. He arrived on the thirteenth and shortly after went to Wonsan to inspect matters in that vicinity. The news of considerable Russian activity in northeast Korea seemed to need careful watching and the presence of a general competent to do whatever was necessary to keep them in check.

The laying of the last rail of the Seoul Fusan Railway was an event of great importance to Korea. It adds materially to the wealth of the country both by forming a means of rapid communication and by enhancing

the value of all the territory through which it runs. It also gives Japan such a large vested interest here that it becomes, in a sense, her guarantee to prevent the country from falling into the hands of other Powers. But like all good things it has its dangers as well.

Mr. Megata, the new adviser to the Finance Department arrived in the Autumn and began a close study of Korean monetary and financial conditions. This was an augury of good, for Korean finance has always been in a more or less chaotic condition since the time when the late Regent flooded the Country with discarded Chinese cash and a spurious Korean coinage whose lack of intrinsic value gave the lie to its face.

Later in the year Mr. Stevens, the newly appointed adviser of the Foreign Department, took up his duties which, though less important than those of Mr. Megata, nevertheless gave assurance that the foreign relations of the government would be carefully handled.

As the year came to a close there were evidences that the Japanese were about to begin what should have been begun before, namely a gradual reform in the administration of the government. Useless offices are to be abolished, the army is to be brought down to its proper proportions, retrenchment is to be effected in various other lines and education [page 575] is to be encouraged. On the whole the year closed with brighter prospects in Korea than any former portion of the year had shown.

The termination of an historical survey covering four thousand years of time naturally suggests some general remarks upon that history as a whole. And in the first place it is worth noting that the Korean people became a homogeneous nation at a very early date. Before the opening of the tenth century they were so firmly welded together that no sectional difference has ever seriously threatened their disruption.

Since the year 700 A. D. there have been two bloodless changes of dynasty but there has not been a single successful revolution, in the ordinary sense of the word. There have been three great and several small invasions but none of these left any serious marks upon the country either in the line of inter-mixture of blood or of linguistic modification. They served simply to weld the people more closely together and make the commonwealth more homogeneous than ever.

In the second place the power has always been in the hands of the men of greatest average wit, and it has uniformly been used to further personal aims. The idea of any altruistic service has been conspicuously lacking, though there have been brilliant exceptions. The concept of individuality or personality is strangely lacking in all Turanian peoples and this it is which has kept them so far in the rear of the Indo-European peoples in the matter of civilization. The essential feature of true progress, namely the recognition of the present time as on the whole the best time, the present institutions as being the best institution, the present opportunities as being the best opportunities, the present people as being the best people that history has to show — this feature is sadly lacking in the Far East. Japan has grafted this into her life and it already bears fruit, but Korea stands with China as yet.

Individual people cannot be sure of getting their just deserts in this life whether they be good or evil, but this is hardly true of nations. They generally get about what they have deserved. If men lived as long as empires they too might be served the same. It is poor philosophy to moan [page 576] the fate of a decadent empire or of a moribund civilization. They have served their purpose and are ready to pass away. Upon their ruins there are sure to arise edifices that are worthier of habitation than were those of the past. In Korea the old is passing away, is crumbling about our ears. The new wine is bursting the old bottles. The question for the future to answer is whether the Korean people will allow their ship of fate to drift upon the Sargasso Sea until the seaweed "rising strake on strake" shall make her utterly derelict, or whether they will awake from their lethargy, clear away the barnacles and jam the helm down hard a-port until the wind fills the sails and she can forge ahead toward some desired haven.

It is not the province of the historian to play the prophet nor shall we try to forecast what the future may bring forth, but it is permissible to express the hope that Korea will make herself increasingly worthy of a continued and distinguished history.

THE END.