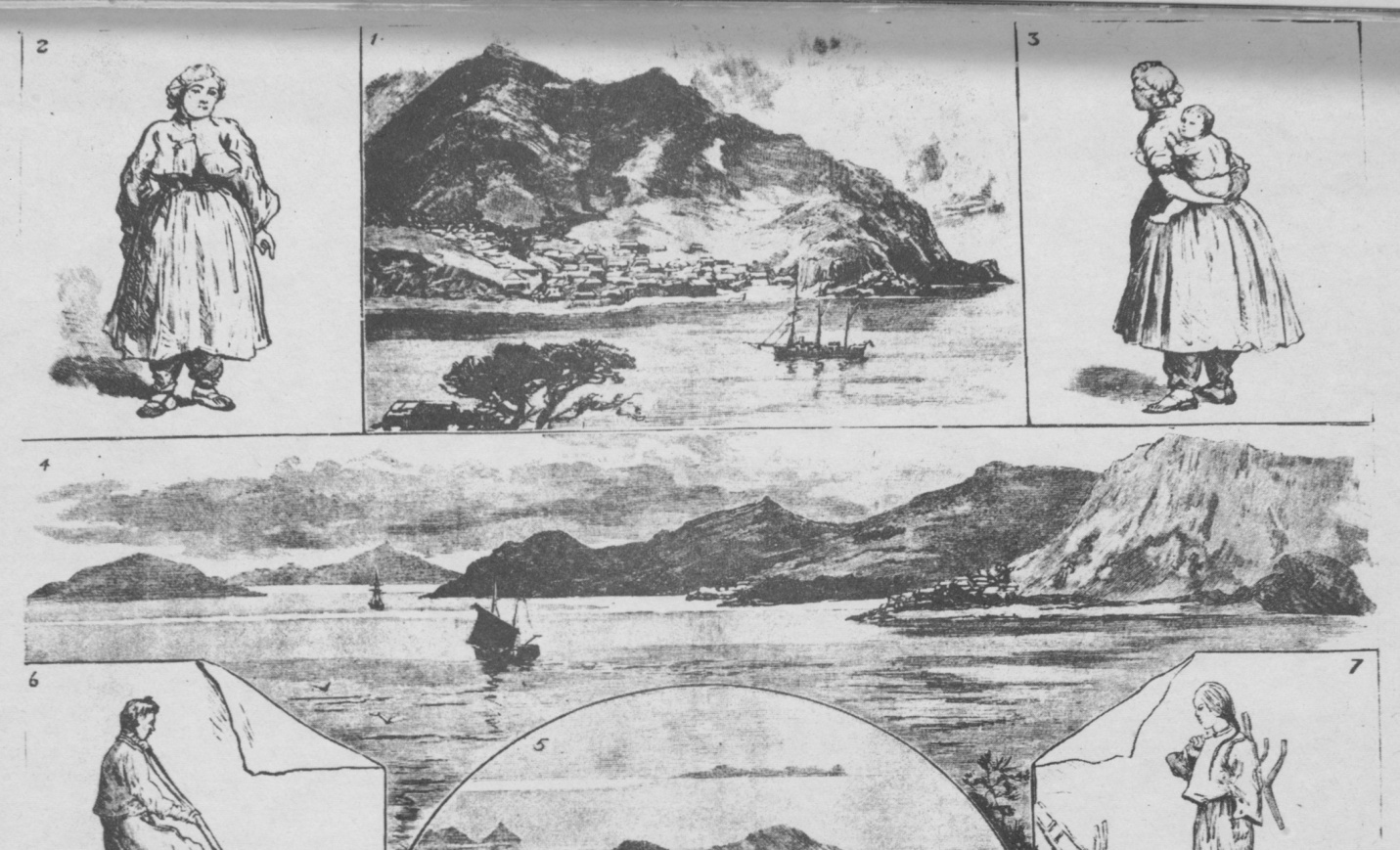
**BRITONS IN KOREA** by S. J. Whitwell





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BRITONS IN KOREA

I. Earliest contacts

In 1613 a party of Englishmen landed at Fukuoka in Japan, from a ship commissioned by a newly formed company licensed to trade with countries of the Far East, including China, Japan and Korea. This is the first attempted contact with Korea I have found in a British context. The letters of Father Gregorio de Cespedes, the Jesuit who came to Korea with Hideyoshi’s army, and was the first European to write about this country, were not published, but those of two of his colleagues, written from Japan, found their way into Hakluyt’s great compendium of “Navigations, voyages, traffics and discoveries”, published in 1600, with the following heading:—

“Three several testimonies concerning the mighty Kingdom of Coray, tributary of the King of China and bordering upon his North-East frontiers, called by the Portugals Corea, and by them esteemed at the first an island, but since found to adjoin with the Main not many days’ journey from Paqui the Metropolitan City of China.”

With this enticing description before them, it seems surprising that Englishmen waited so long as thirteen years before attempting to trade with “the mighty Kingdom of Coray”, but no doubt the practical difficulties daunted them. Certainly the 1613 expedition never reached Korea, but it is recorded that when the Englishmen landed at Fukuoka they were pointed to and shouted at in no friendly way, and when they asked the reason were told that the people thought they were Koreans .

1. I may be wrong. In TKBRAS XX (1931) Dr. H. H. Underwood refers to “Richard Cos who came to Korea early in the 17th century to establish a trading station.” No source I have read quotes any record of Cox’s journey

2. Griffis, p.147.

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We must wait forty more years before there is any record that somebody from the British Isles landed in Korea. The story of the wreck of the Dutch vessel, *Sparrowhawk*, on the coast of Cheju Island in 1653, told by Hendrick Hamel, who with seven companions eventually escaped from Korea thirteen years later, is very well known and is reprinted in full in the transactions of this society. At the time of the escape thirteen of the 36 who survived the shipwreck were known still to be alive, ana one of those listed as being left behind in Korea was “Alexander Bosquet, a Scotchman”, but he is not otherwise mentioned in Hamel’s narrative.

The next record of a Briton in or around Korea occurs nearly 150 years later, and that in itself makes me wonder whether in the many years between there were others of whose existence we do not know. The adventures of Hamel and his companions show that shipwrecked foreigners were not necessarily put to death or even ill-treated, but were simply not allowed to leave Korea. You will remember that the man Weltevree, used by the Koreans as an interpreter for the *Sparrowhawk* party, had been there for 25 years, and would not have been heard of if Hamel had not succeeded in escaping. There were pretty large numbers of adventurous Europeans, particularly British, French and Dutch, roaming the seas between 1650 and 1800, and it would be odd if rather more than the handful we know about had not landed up in Korea. Unfortunately, even if they had done, very little official notice would have been taken of them, and what was not official was not, in the Kingdom of the Yi, really deemed to exist. Later travellers have testified that there was plenty of normal human curiosity about strangers in Korea—indeed there still is—but it was tinged with fear, not of the strangers themselves but of the disapproval with which any contact with strangers was regarded. Mrs. Bishop records in the eighteen-nineties a book, the “Confucianist Scholar’s Handbook of the Latitudes and Longitudes”, edited by Sin Kisŏn (申箕喜), Minister of

3. TKBRAS IX (1918)

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Education, in which the following passage occurs:

“Europe is too far away from the centre of civiliza-tion—i.e. the Middle Kingdom. Hence Russians, Turks, English, French, Germans and Belgians look more like birds and beasts than men and their languages sound like the chirping of fowls,”4

Incidentally, the book went on to say some rude things about Christianity and caused a formal remonstrance from the foreign representatives. But Sin was notoriously averse to foreigners, as well as to any kind of progress, and by the end of the nineteenth century such sentiments were becoming, even at the Korean court, a trifle old-fashioned, though only a little earlier, and then for as far back as you care to go, they probably fairly represented the opinion of Koreans. To use Orwell’s striking word, Europeans were unpersons, and their doings were of no concern to the well-bred Korean. So if any more of them landed on these shores, we shall probably never know.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century exploration of those parts of the world, and particularly of the seas, not yet fully surveyed and charted by Europeans became much more systematic, and between 1795 and 1855 a number of British ships explored parts of the Korean coasts and islands and their officers left accounts of what they saw. First in point of time was Captain William Robert Broughton, who in H.M.S. *Providence* between 1795 and 1798 surveyed much of the North Pacific and the coasts of Asia. He had accompanied Vancouver on his voyage of discovery, and surveyed the Columbia River. He gave his name to Broughton Bay (東韓灣), on the North East coast of Korea, and Broughton Channel, between Tsushima and Pusan, landed, and noted the anxiety of the natives for our departure”, but stayed long enough to obtain specimens of some “vegetable products” and compile a short glossary of Korean words.

In 1816 two ships, the frigate Alceste and the sloop Lyra, which had taken Lord Amherst on a special

4. Bishop: Vol. II, p. 269.

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embassy to China, spent the month of September amongst the islands off the West and South West coast. They found that the enormous number of the islands made it impossible for them to attempt a serious survey, but both Surgeon McLeod of the *Alceste* and Captain Hall of the *Lyra* left interesting accounts of the voyage. Captain Hall describes how he, Captain Maxwell of the *Alceste* and Mr (i.e. Lieutenant) Clifford landed on one of the islands, were turned away from the village, and walked to the highest point where they sat and ate a picnic lunch. It must have been a fairly elaborate picnic, as the villagers were particularly interested in the wine-glasses. At another island they entertained, on both the ships, the senior local official, who came dressed in a blue silk robe and drank cherry brandy — rum for his retainers ― and tea, which he insisted in having in the English way with milk and sugar, and apparently enjoyed himself greatly, but when the English officers in their turn landed and made clear their wishes to see his house, the official burst into tears and indicated that if such a thing were made known he would have his throat cut. Like most later travellers, Captain Hall comments on the size and variety of Korean hats. This party named the Sir James Hall Islands (now called Paeng-nyŏng-do 白翎島) after the then President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.5

The East India Company’s expedition of 1832, under Mr Lindsay, had no success at all in its intended purpose of opening new markets for British and Indian textiles. They landed on the coast of Chŏlla and remained for some weeks while the Reverend Karl Gutzlaff, a German missionary who accompanied the expedition, distributed books, medicine and tracts. I do not know whether they attempted to sell any opium to the Koreans. This was the chief occupation of the Honorable Company’s in Chinese waters at this period and Mr Gutzlaff, described as “an

5 Account reprinted in TKBRAS XI (1920). The ships subsequently visited Okinawa, and Captain Hall contrasted the warm welcome they received there with the “cold, repulsive manners of the Koreans.” (“Okinawa”, by George H. Kerr, p. 252)

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elderly and venerable old fraud”6, who had lived in Macao for years and spoke Cantonese, was regularly used by the smugglers as an interpreter. Next, between 1843 and 1846, came Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R.N., in H.M.S. *Samarang*, who visited Cheju Island and the South West archipelago, including Port Hamilton, which he may have named Assistant-Surgeon Arthur Adams made notes on natural history. Last of this particular group were John Richards in H.M. Surveying Sloop *Saracen* in 1856 and J. M. Tronson in H.M.S. *Barracuta* in 1859.

The next notice of Korea by Britons, and the last before the opening of the treaty ports, was taken from a different direction by a very different sort of people — the China missionaries.

In 1863 a young Welshman of 24, the Reverend Robert Jermain Thomas, arrived in China as a missionary. The early death of his wife caused him to be moved to Chifu, where he met some Koreans and started picking up the language. The story of what happened to him was told to this Society by Mr Oh in 1932 and is printed in the transactions7, and was in part repeated very recently, but it is so dramatic that I offer no excuses for telling it to you again. Mr Thomas contrived to visit the West Coast of Korea from Chifu between September and December 1865 and got the Koreans, despite the penalties, to accept “a book or two”. The book was the New Testament in Chinese. Transferred to Peking, he met the annual Korean New Year Embassy, which event apparently inspired him still further with determination to return to Korea. He was offered the post of interpreter to the French naval expedition which was setting out to seek an explanation of the murder of French priests at the order of the Taewon’gun, and when this was delayed he set out as a passenger in the General Sherman.

6. By Maurice Collis in ‘‘Foreign Mud,” p. 250. Not everyone would agree. Gutzlaff was later employed as secretary and interpreter at H. M. Legation, Peking, and acted as tutor to Sir Harry Parkes. He published “A Sketch of Chinese History” in two vols., 1834.

7. TKBRAS XXII (1932)

8. BRITONS IN KOREA

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There can seldom have been a more inept and untimely expedition than that of the *General Sherman*. It was an American cargo ship, and it set out from China with American officers, a crew of Malays, a mixed commercial cargo in charge of Mr Hogarth, an Englishman, clerk to Meadows and Company of Tientsin, with Mr Thomas as passenger, to sail up the Taedong river to Pyŏngyang in order to trade. A number of factors might have been expected to deter them, but did not. First, nobody had yet succeeded in doing any trade with the Koreans, Secondly, earlier that same year the only Europeans resident in Korea had been murdered, and at that very time a French punitive expedition was approaching the mouth of the Han river. Finally, the Taedong had not been surveyed. The *General Sherman* stuck in the river just short of Pyŏngyang, and on 3 September 1866 was burnt by the Koreans and her entire complement killed, Mr Thomas distributing Bibles to the last.

Mr Thomas, at least, was not forgotten. His bibles were all found and called in by the authorities, and thirty years later pages of one of them were found papering a house in Pyŏngyang. Some boys who had rowed out to the ship remembered him, as did a small party of Korean Catholics who, greatly daring, also visited the ship and received coins bearing the head of Queen Victoria, whose image thy supposed to be that of the Blessed Virgin. And the Koreans themselves must have contributed not a little to the legend of Mr Thomas, for in their report to the King he is described as having yellow hair and a black beard, and being 7 feet 5 inches tall.

The other two China missionaries (both Scotsmen) who come into this story worked in part of Manchuria which had been in the Koguryo Kingdom, and at other times under some Korean influence, and they took a great interest in Korea and by their publications added to our knowledge of it. The Reverend Alexander Williamson included a detailed chapter on Korea in a book of [page 9] combined travels and history published in 1870. The Reverend John Ross did more. He published a number of books, including, in 1879, a ‘History of Corea’ from Chinese sources. It is a compendium of legends which may not seem very relevant to the Korea of today, but in fact form an essential part of the background to her history, which was so completely dominated by Chinese influence for so long. With real Presbyterian confidence he attributes responsibility for the Hideyoshi invasion to the Jesuits8. But why John Ross deserves to be remembered is that he was the first person to translate any part of the Bible into Korean. Perhaps it was not very good Korean — Bishop Trollope wrote of an “attempted version of part of the New Testament in Korean, undertaken by a Presbyterian missionary in Manchuria who had little or no first-hand acquaintance with the language”9 — but it was noble of him to make a start.

**II. The Treaties: Official Representation in Korea**

We have now reached the period of the treaty ports and the opening of Korea to foreigners.

Briefly, the Japanese, whom the Koreans had never succeeded wholly in excluding and who in any case were not quite foreigners in the sense that Europeans were, obtained a treaty in 1876. The Koreans had turned to the Chinese for advice, but the Chinese were by then in no position to refuse for their vassal the half-open door they had been compelled to accept for themselves. Responsibility for Korean affairs was transferred in 1881 from the Chinese Board of Rites to the Foreign Office (an institution invented twenty years earlier to deal with Western states) and in the following year it was the Chinese who appointed the German von Mollendorf10 to be in charge of Korean Customs

8. Ross: History of Corea—1891 edition p,271

9. M.N. Trollope: ‘The Church in Korea’, p. 33. In fact the whole New Testament was completed, and is now less harshly judged.

10. According to Dr Koh Byong-ik, who read a paper on Mollendorf to the KBRAS on 23 January 1963, Mollendorf was responsible for a contract with Jardines in 1883 for the first commerical steamship line to Chemulp’o.

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Administration and Vice-president of the new Korean Foreign Office. In the same year, 1882, a treaty with the United States was signed by the Koreans, and also the first, unratified, treaty with Britain. The second, definitive, treaty with Britain was signed in November 1883. A treaty with Germany was signed on the same day, treaties with Italy and Russia in 1884, and one with France in 1886. The terms of these treaties were almost identical, providing, in addition to “perpetual peace and friendship”, for free trade at the treaty ports, residence in the foreign settlements at those ports without liability to Korean land tax, the right to rent or purchase land or houses within ten li (about 3 miles)of the settlement, subject to Korean tax, and the right to travel within 100 li of such settlements without passports, and to engage in trade except for the sale of “books and other printed matter disapproved of by the Korean Government”. The first designated treaty ports were Pusan, Chemulp’o and Wonsan. Later more, including Mokpo, Masan and Chinnamp’o were named. It was even suggested during the subsequent negotiations with the British that Port Hamilton should be named a treaty port (the point of course being that all foreign countries would have equal rights there) although it was only an anchorage between three desolate little islands, with no access to the mainland markets which supposedly provided the reason for trading with Korea at all.

The Korean treaties are of interest because of the controversies they provoked about the status of Korea. To European lawyers the requirements were apparently clear. If you could sign a treaty you were independent. If you were not independent, you could not sign a treaty. The action of the King of Korea in addressing a letter to each of the Heads of State with which a treaty was concluded, beginning:

“The King of Corea acknowledges that Corea is a tributary of China; but in regard to both internal administration and foreign intercourse it enjoys complete independence.”

[page11] seemed to them to be altogether contradictory, and just another example of oriental double-talk. In practice the European powers were not slow to discover that the Koreans still looked to the Chinese for advice, and indeed for orders, on all matters of the slightest difficulty or strangeness, and that, in the years before 1895, it made sense to deal with the Koreans through the Chinese on all but the most trival matters.

The Japanese, unlike the Europeans, were very well aware of Korea’s real relationship to China, and the conclusion of the treaty of 1876 can be seen as the first move in an entirely successful attempt to detach Korea from China and take it over herself, with at least the tacit approval of the European powers. This approval was first gained by imitative flattery. The Japanese informed Sir Harry Parkes, then British Minister to Japan, of the despatch of their misson to Korea in January, 1876, of their intentions and of the progress of negotiations, saying that the treaty was much like the first treaty “made with Japan by Commodore Perry at Shimoda”, and after reading the treaty Sir Harry Parkes commented that the resemblance between it and our own treaty with Japan of 1858 was remarkable. There was, naturally, no mention of China (or of any other country apart from Japan and Korea) in the treaty, but the Chinese were in fact consulted. Sir Thomas Wade, British Minister in Peknig, telegraphed on 3 February 1876 that the Chinese authorities would not interfere in the Korean question and that they would recommend Korea to be reasonable. A messenger from Peking arrived in Seoul early in February. The treaty was signed on 26 February.11

Thus was the door first pushed open. It appears to have been expected that the Japanese treaty would in due course be followed by others, but in the event the Japanese had six years’ start. In May 1882, Commodore Shufeldt of the United States Navy signed a treaty at Inchon, and the British followed suit in June, when Vice-

11 See “Correspondence respecting the Treaty between Japan and Corea” JAPAN No. 1 (1876) published as C-1530.

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Admiral George Willes, Commander in Chief of the China station, signed an exactly similar treaty at the same port. This first treaty was never ratified.12 Its terms seem to have served the Americans well enough, and would doubtless have done the same for us, but its trade terms were not as favourable as those we were accustomed to. It is perhaps also reasonable to suppose that some of our experts disliked Article XII, which states that “this being the first treaty,” it is general and incomplete, so “after an interval of five years, when the officers and people of the two powers shall have become more familiar with each other’s language, a further negotiation of commercial provisions and regulations in detail...... shall be had.” One can imagine Sir Harry Parkes, who took such an interest in Korea, finding this rather unenterprising, and Mr William Aston, on the staff at Tokyo and already described as an accomplished linguist and Korean scholar,13 or Mr Walter Hillier, Chinese Secretary to the Legation in Peking, feeling that their accomplishments had been overlooked. However this may be, Mr J. C. Hall, Acting Consul at Nagasaki, paid a visit to Korea in October of that same year, 1882, and reported to Sir Harry Parkes. The latter was just about to be transferred to Peking, where he was of course in a particularly favourable position to undertake fresh negotiations, and these bore fruit in the definitive treaty signed on 26 November 1883, and ratified the following April, which was duly garnished with a protocol, trade regulations, and import and export tariffs. It, and the treaty with Germany signed the same day, were the first treaties to be signed in Seoul. The door had been pushed open further.

Sir Harry Parkes was accompanied on this his first visit to Seoul by Mr Hillier, his Chinese Secretary, and by Mr Carles, who was appointed Vice-Consul at Che- mulp’o. They were allotted a house “near the Western Palace.”14 Sir Harry returned the next year to exchange

12. Treaty of Jenchuan (i.e. Inch’on). Printed in China—Imperial Maritime Customs III Miscellaneous Series No. 19 (1891) p. 53.

13. Griffis p. 436

14. Carles: “Life in Korea”. (See p. 15 below)

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ratifications and present his credentials. (The following day his Chinese servant was arrested for being out during the hours set apart for womens’ exercise!) By then Mr Aston was in residence as Consul-General and that same year, 1884, the land of the present Embassy compound was acquired, adjoining the American compound and the Toksu Palace. At first the Consul-General lived in a Korean-style house, but in 1890 the existing house was built, with No. 2 house as an office with a flat above. This accommodation, with the addition only of the small house at the gate, built on a plot acquired from the Anglican mission in 1900, served us unchanged for sixty-six years, until additional flats and the present offices were built between 1956 and last year.

It will thus be seen that the official British mission in Korea was never very large. It started life as a Legation, but with the Minister to China also accredited here, and the senior resident official was the Consul-General. He sometimes had a Secretary of Legation and sometimes a Consul or Vice-Consul and occasionally both, with now and then a language student of no recorded rank. I have found no reference to a service attache. At Chemulp’o our Consulate seems usually to have been staffed only by a vice-Consul, with a language student or a clerk to help him, though Mr Wilkinson was Consul there for some years in the nineties, and was followed by Mr Joly who died in 1898 and is buried at the foreigners’ cemetery in Seoul. Mrs Bishop in 1894 refers to the Consulate at Chemulp’o as an “unworthy building” with no spare room.15 Nine years later Angus Hamilton mentions our “understaffed and underpaid Legation in Seoul.”16

15. Bishop: Vol. I, p. 25

16. Hamilton: p. 141. Angus Hamilton was correspondent of the Pall Mall Gazette and the Times of India. He spent a year or more in Korea about the turn of the century and seems to have been attached in some capacity to the British Legation. He wrote most of his book when staying at Chŏndŭng temple (傳燈寺) on Kanghwa Island. Later he covered the Russo-Japanese war. McCarthy, the mining engineer (see note 38) refers to Hamilton’s”untimely end” and comments “Buddhism had got its grip on him”.

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Concerning the Ministers resident in Peking who succeeded Sir Harry Parkes, there arc few references in the sources I have been able to consult, though Curzon records that Mr O’Conor came up the Han River in a steamer to present his credentials in 1893, and was the first Minister to come that way.17 (Ships came to Chemulp’o, and before the railway was built to Seoul you had to transfer to a coastal steamer and go sixty miles by way of Kanghwa Island and the Han, or, more frequently, walk, ride or get carried in a chair the twenty-two miles direct.) After the eclipse of the Chinese in 1894 it became a source of embarrassment both to British and Koreans that we had no resident Minister here. The Japanese, Americans, Russians, French and Germans all had Ministers, though there were fairly frequent gaps during which they were represented by a Consul or some lesser official. I think the Japanese and the Russians were both Ministers plenipotentiary, the others Ministers resident. This was put right in 1900 when Mr Jordan, the Consul-General, was appointed Minister Resident and the connexion with Peking was severed.

Mr Jordan had arrived in October 1896, to succeed Mr Hillier, who had retired at his own request on account of his failing eyesight. (He apparently recovered, as he was later re-employed as adviser to the allied military command in Peking after the Boxer rebellion.) Mr Jordan had, like his predecessor, been Chinese secretary in Peking, and he was one of the few who are on record as giving Seoul a good mark. He said that he was very much impressed by the physical character of Korea and its people, and that Seoul was much cleaner than Peking, with much better streets. He thought that industrial and commercial development were more important than political reformation.18

For some, if not all, of the time after 1894 we also looked after Chinese interests, though I do not know

17. Curzon, p. 133

18. ‘Independent’, 31 October 1896

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how this can have been done effectively considering the small size of the British staff and the large numbers of Chinese in Korea. Mr Hillier, on his departure, was presented by the Chinese residents in Seoul with some scrolls and a huge umbrella of red satin, with the names of the donors embroidered in gold.19

On 1 February 1906 the Legation was withdrawn at Japanese request, to be re-opened two months later as a Consulate-General, and so it continued, coming under the superintendence of Tokyo from 1910, until the war with Japan in 1941. In 1946, at the time of the American military government, we re-opened again as a Conssulate-General, becoming a Legation once more in 1949, and an Embassy in 1957. The Chemulp’o Consulate seems to have lapsed during the Japanese occupation.

Though we may have been underpaid, understaffed and underhoused, the first official British representatives in Korea contrived to learn a good deal about the country. W.R. Carles to whom I have already referred as the first Vice-Consul at Chemulp’o, published in 1888 a book, “Life in Korea”, which describes his travels, and the costumes, birds, beasts and flowers of Korea. It is rather diffuse, and the honour of writing the first really distinguished account, from a British pen, of conditions in Korea must go to his colleague, Acting Vice-Consul Charles W. Campbell Campbell’s account of his “Journey in North Corea in September and October 1889” was sent to the Foreign Office and was published as a white paper in 1891.20 He rode from Seoul to Wŏnsan through the Diamond mountains, being the first European to visit that area,20a continued up the North East coast as far as Pukch’ŏng (北靑), struck inland to cross the Upper Yalu, and

19.’Independent’, 29 October 1896

20. CHINA No. 2 (1891) C―6366

20a. I have subsequently been told that the Diamond Mountains were visited in the winter of 1885-6 by a Russian, Pavel Delotkevich, who published an account of his journey in 1889 and that this is referred to in “Around Korea”, extracts of the 19th century published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, 1959.

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the Manchurian border to visit Paektu-san, the Great White Mountain, and returned by way of Pyongyang,

For his journey, Mr. Campbell was accompanied by a cook-boy, “a coolie to make himself useful and carry my guns”, a Chinese-speaking interpreter, six ponies, each with its mabu, and his dog. He explains the interpreter as follows:-

“My knowledge of Corean, tho’ useful in many ways, was not equal to the strain imposed by honorific forms of speech in dealing with punctilious officials... Chiefly for this reason I saddled myself with Mr. Kang Yo-hoa, a clever Chinese-speaking Corean from the frontier town of Wichu with whom, in spite of many warm differences, I had every reason to be satisfied.”

He followed the “main road to Wonsan” — in the open valleys a broad sandy track intersected by watercourses, in hilly country no more than a bridle path — passing Sŏlmari (雪馬里) where the memorial to the Gloucester Regiment now stands, and the “prefectorial town” of Kŭmhwa (金化) where now, thanks to the Korean war, not one stone remains any longer upon another. He slept at villages, being embarrassed on one occasion when the men were all turned out to carry his baggage to the next halting place, without payment — a corvee normally exacted by Korean officials. In the mountains he stayed, as one still does, in temples; Buddhism was then very much out of fashion and he concluded that the Koreans esteemed the Diamond Mountains almost entirely on aesthetic grounds, and accordingly was rather surprised at the money which the Buddhists so easily obtained by voluntary contributions for rebuilding temples continually destroyed by fire. He himself had some difficulty in obtaining money. It was not physically possible to carry the quantity of cash required for a long journey, so he had equipped himself with a letter of credit from the Korean Foreign Office. This is how he describes his first attempt to cash it.

“The only coins current in the country are two de- [page 17] scriptions of brass cash, the “*tang-o*”—about 2,000 to the pound sterling used in Seoul and its neighbourhood, and the “*ipchyon*” — 4,000 to the pound sterling—everywhere else. Silver is absolutely useless in any but the largest cities. In travelling, of course, the weight and bulk of these coins makes a large stock impossible, and the periodical replenishment of the purse, therefore, becomes a matter of serious importance. Though I had started from Seoul with a supply sufficient to carry us to Wonsan, donations, voluntary but unavoidable, to the monasteries had drained it considerably, and at Tongchyon, the seat of a prefect, I thought it advisable to borrow 10 or 15 dollars worth of cash on the strength of my Foreign Office letter. I struck the place, however, at an unfortunate time. A week before, the people, maddened by persistent extortions, had risen against their rulers, and the Prefect, as well as his leading myrmidons, had been forced to take an abrupt departure by night to escape the violence of the mob, At the time of my arrival everything was peaceful again and there was nothing on the surface to show that ought had occurred to ruffle the usual calm of Corean provincial life. I made my application for a loan to the clerk in charge of the magistracy and he soon responded by sending exactly half the amount I had asked for. I should have rested content with this, but in the course of a simple enquiry as to why my small demand had been reduced, the District Treasurer informed Kang with great heat I ought to ought to consider myself lucky to get what I did. He didn’t know me from Adam and couldn’t conceive my object in flying about the country borrowing money on the authority of a Foreign Office despatch, It was true the despatch said I would pay everything back through the Foreign Office at Seoul, but he had never heard of the Foreign Office and didn’t believe it would honour my drafts anyway.”

Mr Campbell observed that there was a good deal in what the man said, and having succeeded in borrowing 19 dollars at the next village concluded that there was much greater lack of confidence in an important [page 18] Government office than in a stranger like himself.

He described the agriculture and the birds — he published separately in 1892 a list of Korean birds — notes that some 80 per cent of the imports of Wonsan, mostly cotton goods, were British, and ate delicious salmon from the shallow streams north of Wonsan, averaging 10 lbs in weight and costing 2d. and 3d. a fish. Further north there were trout, pheasant and deer, and some desultory gold mining. A heavy fall of snow, fear of tigers and the superstition of his guide prevented his reaching the summit of the Great White Mountain but, as he recorded, it had been climbed three years earlier (1886) by a party of three Englishmen, Jones, Fulford and Younghusband, from Manchuria. On his return journey he was stoned by some drunkards at Kapsan (甲山), but that was the only mishap of his journey and the only time he was not received with courtesy, excepting “the pardonable suspicion which most conservative persons exhibit towards novelties”.

Mr Campbells conclusions are of interest not so much because they seem at this remove at all original, as because they probably helped to influence policy. He found, briefly, that both the land and the people had excellent capabilities, but that under the administration then existing neither had any chance of demonstrating their worth.

Eight years later, in October 1897, Sir Walter Hillier, who had the year before left Seoul after seven years as Consul-General, wrote as follows in a foreword to Mrs Bishop’s book:

“It must be evident to all who know anything of Korea, that a condition of tutelage, in some form or another, is now absolutely necessary to her existence as a nation. The nominal independence won for her by force of Japanese arms is a privilege she is not fitted to enjoy while she continues to labour under the burden of an administration that is hopelessly and superlatively corrupt.” [page19]

That quotation may serve to summarise the view of Korea taken by our official representatives during these years.

**III. The Occupation of Port Hamilton (Kŏmun-do)**

Visits to Korean waters by ships of the Royal Navy continued throughout the sixties, seventies and eighties, and by the nineties both Inch’on and Pusan were regular ports of call, several times a year, for ships of the China squadron. At first they were still of an exploratory nature. In 1871 J. M. James published an account of a cruise in Korean waters in the Emperor. In 1880 Captain St. John, R.N., of H.M.S. *Sylvia*, collected and studied crustacea off the Southern coast, and he was followed in 1882 by Mr Wykeham Perry in H.M.S. *Iron Duke*, whose subject was lepidoptera. In 1882-3 H.M.SS. *Flying Fish*, *Magpie* and *Moorhen* surveyed some of the islands, and Mr Bonar, who wrote some “Notes on the Capital of Korea” must have accompanied Sir H. Parkes on the treaty-signing party. You will remember that it was Admiral George Willes who signed the abortive treaty at Inchon in 1882. I have seen no indication that he visited Seoul; but Lord Curzon, who came here in 1893, records a British Admiral had got shut outside the gates of Seoul after sunset and had to climb in — no doubt making a very seamanlike job of it―to the combined shock and amusement of the inhabitants.21) In fact the commanders of warships visting Inch’on usually managed to visit Seoul as well, and a large proportion of them were granted audiences by the King.

In 1885 the Royal Navy was given a task a little more serious than making lists of shellfish or climbing town walls.

On 14 April the Secretary to the Admiralty telegraphed to Vice-Admiral Sir William Dowell, Commander-in-Chief, China Station, “Occupy Port Hamilton, and report proceed-ings.”22)

21. Curzon: p.122

22. In this section, all references to corresspondence are taken from “correspondence respecting the Temporary Occupation of Port Hamilton by Her Majesty’s Government”. CHINA No.1. (1887) C-4991.

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In reply to Chinese and Japanese enquiries (which had, in fact, been made before the occupation was ordered) the Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville, merely said that a temporary occupation had been found necessary “in view of eventualities.” Such a reply might have seemed disingenuous to the point of rudeness if the powers con-cerned had not been very well aware what these “eventualities” were. They were, simply, fear of Russian intentions. Tsarist Russia, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, cast a sinister shadow both to the west and to the cast. Alone of land powers the Russians had successfully defied Napoleon. In the middle of the century they checked the spread of liberal ideas and institutions to Eastern Europe, suppressing national uprisings in Poland in 1830 and 1863 and in Hungary in 1849 with a ruthlessness which appalled even western conservatives.

They threatened the Dardanelles and the Near East. They overran the Central Asian Emirates of Samarkand and Bokhara. They prized vast territories in Mongolia and Manchuria from the Chinese. They were building a port at Vladivostock, and the pieces of the railway were creeping together which was to link it to Moscow and St. Petersburg. Almost everywhere that the Russians tried to penetrate beyond the huge land mass of Northern Asia they found themselves opposed, in thought, word, and deed, by the British.

In twentieth-century political jargon, in the world of the cartoon, especially since the invention of Colonel Blimp, the British appear, or are made to appear, as reactionaries, This is odd, since in the whole of modern history we, the British, have only once taken sides against a genuine popular movement, and that was the French Revolution ― and we did that not for lack of sympathy with the revolutionaries, but because at that time France was still our hereditary and natural rival. (In this context I consider the American War of Independence as essentially a civil war.) We stood, at times with almost fatuons insistence, for freedom of trade and representative institutions. [page 21]

Against what we stood for, the Russians, as we saw it, enveloped their conquests in a stifling cloud of holy tyranny, mitigated it is true by some charm and incompetence at the top, but basically mad and medieval, secret and sinister, and wholly opposed to the wonderful new progress in which Victorian England believed.23

This nation, then, had in June 1884 followed the example of Japan, the United States, England, Germany and Italy in signing a treaty with Korea, and had established the handsome legation in Seoul whose melancholy ruins still survive. This first direct and official contact with Korea served to emphasize the Russian presence, already very much there or thereabouts. The Russians were on the Tumen. Very soon they would be on the Yalu and at Port Arthur. Going to and from Vladivostock, their ships had already encircled Korea, and in the fifties had for a short time had a coaling station at this very Port Hamilton, a sheltered anchorage between three small islands lying in the open sea about half way between Yosu, on the mainland, and Cheju Island. This action was not lost upon the British, and some of our admirals and officials, including Sir Harry Parkes when Minister to Japan, recommended that we should lose no time in forestalling the Russians by occupying Port Hamilton ourselves if trouble seemed likely again.

It did seem likely towards the end of 1884. The Russians, as I have said, were already represented in Seoul and the attempted coup in December, which resulted in the death of some of Queen Min’s family, was thought to have had Russian backing. The Russians were supposed to have their eyes not only on Port Lazareff, the anchor age near Wŏnsan, but to be negotiating for a Russian- Korean treaty by which Tsushima would be given to

23 This animosity did not extend into the sphere of personal relations, as does today’s struggle between the Communists and the free world. During the period covered by this paper relations between the Russians resident in Seoul and their diplomatic, consular, commercial and missionary colleagues from other countries seem to have been wholly friendly.

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Korea, and Port Hamilton to Russia.21 Another story was that the Russians would stop at nothing short of a protectorate over Korea. Curzon was inclined to attribute the first of these reports to the Chinese resident: at this distance of time it seems more likely that the Japanese were responsible. At any rate the English were disposed, with the Penjdeh incident on the borders of Afghanistan fresh in their minds, to believe anything of the Russians and on April 15 H.M.SS. *Agamemnon*, *Pegasus* and Firebrand left Nagasaki for Port Hamilton.

Subsequent proceedings at the diplomatic level throw light on the attitude of the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and British towards each other at the time, and also on our representation at Seoul and how business was conducted with the Koreans.

The Japanese, on 23 April, were the first to tell us that they wished “to learn, when proper, what arrangement has been made with Corea”. This is the first mention of Korea in the correspondence. The Chinese Minister in London on 27 April pointed out “these islands belong to the Kingdom of Corea, a country which is not only coterminous with China, but which is a vassal of the Chinese Empire”. On the British proposing that the Chinese (not the Koreans, note) should formally agree to the occupation, the Chinese wisely replied in the negative, saying that if they agreed the Russians would only insist on occupying some other island or part of Korea, and possibly the Japanese would too, therefore “the Chinese Government regret that, in order to avoid these inconveniences... they cannot authorise their Minister to sign the arrangement proposed by Her Majesty’s Government”.

The Koreans, in fact, appeared in person at Port Hamilton before any official notificaton in writing had been received from the British. On 16 May the Chinese gunboats *Chao Yung* and *Yung Wei*, under the command of Admiral Ting (丁汝昌), arrived at Port Hamiltion bringing Om Seyŏng, (嚴世永) Member of the Inner Council Second Rank, and R. G. von Mollendorf, member of the Foreign

24) Curzon: p. 224

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Office, who had come “to ascertain the truth of reports circulated in Russian and Japanese newspapers (the latter with remarks injurious to Corea) that the English had taken possession of these islands”, and having discovered that this was the case they made a formal protest On Captain Maclear of the Flying Fish (the senior officer) informing them that he had acted on Admiral Dowell’s orders, the Koreans went on to see the Admiral at Nagasaki, and put in a written request first to know on whose authority and on what grounds the occupation had taken place, and secondly that we should make apparent to all the Treaty Powers that Port Hamilton was an integral part of Korea. Herr von Mollendorf was at pains to point out that they had only come in Chinese ships because they had none of their own. The Chinese Government professed ignorance of the Korean protest.

In telegraphing this news to the Admiralty, Admiral Dowell commented “I consider it right to say that Port Hamilton in my opinion is by no means a desirable place to hold. To defend it could be difficult, fortifications would be necessary, the expense would be heavy, and it would be a constant source of weakness”. He amplified this two days later (20 May) with a further message. “As long as we have command of the sea, Hong Kong is sufficient base. Port Hamilton can be shelled from without unless fortified, consequently must have a squadron for its protection. It could be used as an anchorage, when necessary, without occupation. Any power holding it permanently must make a second Malta of it. I have taken the Captains’ opinion; they quite agree with me”.

His successor, Admiral Vesey Hamilton, later added a few more arguments from experience. It was not a good typhoon harbour, being exposed particularly from the South East. Anchors tended to drag in rough weather. And a permanent base or coaling station was no longer as necessary as it had been twenty years before: ships were faster.

Meanwhile Mr O’Conor, our Chargé d’Affaires in [page 24] Peking, had, in accordance with telegraphic instructions of 23 April from Lord Granville, sent word to Seoul to tell the Koreans that we were temporarily occupying Port Hamilton. There was a telegraph office at Seoul at this time, but it does not seem to have been used for this particular communication and it was only on 19 May (three days after the Korean officials had called at Port Hamilton) that Mr Scott (who was, I think, a language student), acting for Mr Vice-Consul Carles (who was acting for Mr Consul-General Aston, on leave) actually delivered to the President of the Korean Foreign Office our official intimation of the occupation. Mr Carles reported that “His Excellency received it without further remark than a question as to whether an arrangement of the difficulties between Great Britain and Russia had not been come to.” The following day, however, he sent a written protest, expressing grave disappointment that the British had acted “in a manner so unexpected” and asking us to withdraw at once. Later requests for an “arrangement” were turned down.

However, after receiving an assurance that no harm was intended to the integrity of their country, the Koreans withdrew their protest. Herr von Mollendorf was dismissed from his post for complicity with the Russians (on the Port Hamilton evidence alone he seems to have been hardly used, but he had been in touch with the Russians, without Korean agreement, when in Japan early in 1885, and had in many ways exceeded his mandate) and no more was heard, for the time being, of Russian demands.

It might therefore be thought that, with both the Korean protest and the Russian threat withdrawn, and with the navy saying the place was no use to them anyway, we might have left Port Hamilton after three months instead of staying there for nearly two years.

The fact is, of course, that to hold Port Hamilton represented, or seemed to represent, an advantage. Both the Russians and the Chinese were slightly worried about it and made enquiries as to our intentions from time to [page 25] time. In October 1885 Mr O’Conor told the Chinese the moment was inopportune to put questions of this sort, as elections were impending in England. This excuse could not be used for long and in December Lord Salisbury instructed Mr O’Conor that if the Chinese raised the question again they were to be asked whether, if we with-drew from the islands, the Chinese would undertake that they should not be occupied by any other foreign country.

The rest of the story consists, on the diplomatic side, of our efforts to obtain such an undertaking in a form that seemed reasonably reliable, and, on the naval side, of attempts by the Admiralty to hurry the Foreign Office so that the Admiralty could be relieved as soon as possible of a task which was “a source of weakness in wartime to the cruising power of the squadron in the China command”. This took, altogether, just over a year, and the correspondence included the suggestion, to which I referred earlier in this paper, that both Port Hamilton and Port Lazareff should be made Treaty Ports. The breakthrough came in October 1886 when the Chinese in-formed Sir John Walsham, the British Minister in Peking, that the Russians, both in St. Petersburg and through their Chargé d’Affaires in Peking, M. Ladygensky, had explicitly declared that Russia had no design to make Korea a protectorate, and that if the English left Port Hamilton the Russians would undertake not to interfere with Korean territory under any circumstances. The Chinese accordingly gave the required guarantee that no part of the territory of Korea, including Port Hamilton, would be occupied by a foreign power. On 23 December Sir John Walsham, on instructions, addressed notes to the Chinese and Korean Governments accepting this guarantee. Once again, it was not considered necessary to notify Seoul by telegraph. The last British ship left Port Hamilton and the flag was hauled down on 27 February 1887.

As to how things were at Port Hamilton itself, the best source is a report by Mr Scott (the same who [page 26] delivered our note in Seoul) of a visit in August 1885.25 He went to sort things out generally, since the navy had no competent Korean interpreter. He was principally engaged in arranging the lease of some land on Ai-do (called Observatory Island,) the smallest of the three islands, and for the erection of a hospital and huts for 100 marines. This island, now the site of a large and flourishing fishing village and port, was not then regularly inhabited at all, but there were some sixty patches of cultivated land on it owned by nearly forty proprietors from the villages on the two larger islands. Mr Scott duly identified the senior official, a Police Magistrate, and informed him that Her Majesty’s Government did not intend to deprive the people of any of their land or property, and that land tax would continue to be paid by the Korean lessors. (This did not please the headman of one of the villages who wanted to place himself under British protection and not have to pay rent to the provincial authorities on the mainland.) Leases were duly arranged, at a total annual rental of 174 dollars.

The second question was of wages for the Korean labour employed. When the ships first arrived the villagers were in an almost destitute condition and had exhausted their supplies of food. They were accordingly paid in rice, but four months later they had acquired such a store of rice that they now asked for cash wages, and were disposed to drive a hard bargain on the grounds that the British ships had frightened away the fish. Agreement was reached on 75 cash (6d.) a day, which Mr Scott regarded as not only ample, but liberal.

He also arranged for a ship from Pusan to call twice a month with cattle for the use of the fleet. Hitherto cattle had been supplied from Japan, also vegetables. The British also introduced poultry.

As for the actual works on the islands, booms were erected across the two narrower entrances to the harbour,

25 Later Mr Scott, when Vice-consul at Chemulp’o, compiled a dictionary which was the first work to be printed by the English Mission Press. See also extracts printed at the end of this paper.

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i.e. North and South West, but they were not very satisfactory, and as soon as it became clear that there was little or no question of actual fighting they were not proceeded with. A cable was laid from Saddle Island at the mouth of the Yangtze, with the approval of the Chinese authorities, but it became unserviceable in January 1886 and the Admiralty declined to provide funds to repair it until they were “in possession of the definite views of the Foreign Office”. Apart from the hospital and huts already mentioned, work on Observatory Island consisted of a boat harbour and pier, a breakwater, road making, two wooden godowns, a guncotton magazine and a small hut as office and dwelling place for the telegraph men, which had been shipped from Shanghai. There was no work at all on the other islands except for two flagstaffs which were subsequently removed. The Union Jack was flown on Sundays, and on the approach of a foreign man-of-war. The actual number of British ships present there varied, but seems usually to have been between eight and three.

It seems reasonable to suppose that when the men and stores left in February 1887 enough remained of the British encampment to form the beginnings of the present village of Komun-ni, though on visible evidence this seems to date entirely from the period of the Japanese occupation. The Korean islanders were said to do no fishing at all, this being done by the Japanese, so perhaps they took over our installations. All that remains on Komun-do today to recall the years 1885-7 is a granite headstone marking the grave of two young sailors killed by the accidental explosion of a Nordenfeldt gun on H. M. S. *Albatross* in March 1886.26

26. There are ten Englishmen buried at Port Hamilton. Their names, ranks and ships are as follows:-

Thomas Oliver : Pte R.M. HMS *CLEOPATRA*

Henry Green : Pte R.M. HMS *CLEOPATRA*

Peter Ward : Pte R.M. Detachment

Frederick C. Skinner : Boy 1st Class, H.M.S. *AUDACIOUS*

William J. Murray : A.B., H.M.S. *ALBATROSS*

Charles Dale : Boy, H.M.S. *ALBATROSS*

William Bowles : Stoker, HMS *CHAMPION*

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**IV. The Church of England Mission**

The same year, 1887, that saw the departure of the British from Port Hamilton also saw the beginnings of a much more important and much more permanent link with Korea : the Church of England mission.

In October 1887 Bishop Bickersteth of South Tokyo and Bishop Scott of North China landed in Chemulpo and proceeded to Seoul in order to report on the feasibility of a Korea mission. They were not, it seems, impressed. Bishop Bickersteth wrote that the country reminded him of Ajmer (it must have been looking particularly arid, but there is a similarity in the dramatic outline of the hills), but of Seoul he wrote “I thought when I saw it that the Chinese town of Shanghai was the filthiest place human beings live in on earth, but Seoul is a grade lower.”27 He also observed, as others had done and were to do, that “the Koreans as a nation have no religion”, and he left an entertaining account of one of the big official examinations―the candidates sitting in a yard composing poems with the aid of rhyming dictionaries, and flinging their finished compositions into a small fenced enclosure where the examiner sat marking them at the rate of twenty a minute.

Whether because of or in spite of the Bishop’s report, it was decided to set up a Korea mission, and in September 1890 the first Bishop, Charles John Corfe, arrived in Chemulp’o with an American doctor, Landis, to be followed soon afterwards by a single priest, Mr Trollope,

John D. Mackett: Writer, HMS *PEGASUS*

They all died during the occupation and were buried in the small plot where the surviving stone stands, but only Murray and Dale have a monument. A white wooden cross in the same plot marks the grave of A.B. Alexander Wood of H.M.S. *ALBION* who died in 1903. Samuel Smith, 3rd engineer of S.S.*MERIONETHSHIRE*, who died during the occupation, was buried separately near the landing stage, but his grave is no longer marked.

27. S. Bickersteth: “Life and Letters of Edward Bickersteth,” p. 192

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and two deacons.28 They had been preceded in Seoul by Doctor Wiles.

The hospital was of course started at once, but Bishop Corfe laid down that no missionary work properly speaking was to be done until the language had been mastered and a necessary minimum of the Prayer Book and passages of Scripture translated. It was seven years before the first Koreans were baptised. Meanwhile in their short holidays from the grinding language work and the less taxing jobs of administering the hospitals and attending to the spiritual needs of the small foreign Anglican communities at Seoul and Chemulp’o29 the missionaries were free to observe their surroundings and record what they saw. In 1892 that great man Bishop (as he afterwards became) Trollope wrote: “There are no special dangers and few special hardships attached to life in Korea.” He and a companion, Peake, on their first holiday, had just walked to Wŏnsan and back via Pyŏngyang, covering 600 miles in 34 days.30 They frequently walked between Seoul and Chemulp’o just for a chat or a bit of fresh air after a day’s translating. With the growth towards the turn of the century of sizeable Korean congregations the mission magazine, ‘Morning Calm’, fills up with descriptions of baptisms and school outings, appeals for altar furniture and stories of Sister Agnes’s little dog — in fact it becomes just like most other missionary journals — but in the early days matters of much wider interest, particularly Korean relations with the Japanese, are freely described.

28. The heading of the writing paper used by the Anglican Mission includes the words “First Missionary 1880.” I am told that this records the arrival of a Japanese lay worker in Pusan. In the same year the Archdeacon of Fukien started the train of activity that got two Chinese Anglican missionaries to Korea for some years. However, the mission proper dates from 1889.

29. Until 1901 they were also responsible for mission work at Niewchwang in Manchuria.

30. “Morning Calm”, April 1892. This is the monthly magazine of the English Mission to Korea, published in London. Unless otherwise specified, quotations in this section of the paper are from this source.

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Bishop Corfe31 was 47 when he came to Korea, and he had been a naval chaplain for over twenty years. He was given 600 pounds a year and promptly appealed for five priests, unmarried and sharing his Catholic beliefs, to share it with him. He actually started with only one. In the navy he had been chaplain on board the flagship of the first Duke of Edinburgh, and knew many of the royal family including the future King George V. Their continued interest and that of the Navy carried practically single- handed the early and most valuable hospital work of the Mission at Seoul and Chemulp’o. (This work was eventually given up after the foundation of larger and better endowed hospitals by other missions. It continued in the provinces, however, until 1940). Bishop Corfe was an Oxford man, the son of the organist at Christ Church, and had the doubtful distinction when a child of having his portrait painted, as a cherub, in the decoration of Merton College Chapel. A tall, bearded man, he lived very simply, never broke his fast before midday, and nailed old socks to the beams of his small Korean houses at Seoul and Chemulp’o so as to soften the impact when his head hit them. I think it was recounted of Bishop Corfe after the first night of one of his visits to England that he was found fay the maid who came to call him sleeping peacefully on the floor beside the spring bed he had found too soft for him. (Another member of the mission, Hillary, describing the Kyŏngbok Palace in 1896 after the King had taken refuge in the Russian Legation refers to “A European house of the Renaissance style, very well built but seldom used by the King...... It was in this house that he made trial of a European bed, but owing to the coldness of the sheets never tried it again.”)

For all the firmness of the foundations that he laid, Bishop Corfe emerges as rather a sad figure who was only really cheered up by the many visits paid to Chemulp’o and Seoul by ships and men of his beloved Navy. His inability to master, at his age, spoken Korean (though

31 For Bishop Corfe generally, see “C. J. Corfe, a Memoir” by Bishop H. H. Montgomery.

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apparently he learned enough to do a good deal of translating) filled him with a sense of failure, and it seems to have been primarily for this reason that he resigned in 1904. He was probably also not the easiest man to work with, but his comments on the events of the Sino-Japanese war and its aftermath reveal his political acumen. He did not share with his friend the Consul-General the wishful thought that Japanese occupation would work ont to the benefit of Korea.

Provoked by the “outrage” on the Acting Consul-General (Gardner) and the “savage assault” on the English Commissioner of Customs (McLeavy Brown),32 having seen the Japanese troops streaming through Chemulp’o and the rescue of those Chinese saved from the *Kowshing*, and having had to close the school at which Mr Smart, a lay missionary worker, was teaching English to the Japanese, the Bishop recorded in August 1894 that the “universal hatred and suspicion of Japan” which had already characterised the Koreans had turned to “detestation and horror.” On the pathetic proclamation of Korean Independence under Japanese auspices in January 1895 he wrote that the Japanese were not civilised, so they could not bring civilisation to Korea. After the murder of Queen Min, he wrote:

“You will have been hopelessly confused, for the people in England do not understand the methods of Japanese official telegraphic communications. The murder of the Queen forms the last act of a drama which has been proceeding in Korea for more than a year, and convicts the Government of Japan either of a hopeless incapacity to provide even the simplest form of civilisation for Korea, or a treacherous cruelty. In Korea the credit of Japan for honest endeavour and friendly relations is—for

32 No other source I have been able to consult mentions these incidents so I do not know what happened to the two officials. Japanese soldiers occupied the Palace in Seoul on 23 July 1894. The Chinese Minister had fled two days earlier, leaving Chinese interests in the hands of the British. On 27 July the *KOWSHING*, a British steamer chartered to the Chinese and carrying Chinese troops, was sunk by the Japanese.

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this generation—utterly ruined. Envoys extraordinary may come from the Emperor to condole with the King, but they will not alter this belief of the Koreans from highest to lowest that the Japanese, who destined them to political extinction 18 months ago, have by this last act forged the last and strongest link in the chain which is intended to bind them.”

He strongly criticised the new Japanese-inspired rules ordering dark outer clothes instead of white, and later the forcible cutting of the top knot. “The stone which Japan has bound to Korea is steadily sinking her.” “Koreans as a body associate short hair with the Japanese, not with civilisation. This civilisation by means of assassination and scissors has only one meaning for Koreans, it spells subjugation.”

(These were not private letters, but the monthly letters published in a missionary journal.)

Again, after the murder he wrote that the “mock trial of the late Japanese Minister and his accomplices furnishes one more insult to this unhappy people.” “The escape of the King (on 11 February 1896) to the Russian Legation has been a complete justification of all I have written to you on the action pursued by the Government of Japan towards this country.” Two days later, on the New Year Holiday, 13 February, he walked about Seoul and commented: “It is very instructive to notice how entirely Japan has failed to get below the surface of these people.”

I mentioned that from the beginning of his work Bishop Corfe was accompanied by two doctors. Both were remarkable characters. The senior by far in point of age was Deputy-Surgeon-General Julius Wiles, late of the British army. He built with his own money and ran for four years the first English Mission hospital in Seoul, which was on part of the site next to the Legation compound where the Anglican cathedral now stands, and administered the Naval Hospital Fund. He is described by [page33]

Bishop Trollope as a “splendid old specimen of the army doctor,”33 and though he only spent four years here his untiring work laid firm foundations. He was eventually killed at the age of 78 by being knocked off his bicycle by a runaway horse and cart in De Vere Gardens, Chelsea. The second doctor was more important both for the Mission and for Korea, though properly speaking he should not come into my paper at all as he was an American. Dr Eli Barr Landis came from Pennsylvania, and he ran the hospital at Chemulp’o from 1890 until his death from typhoid in 1898, when he was only 35, with only one break for leave. Known, as “the little doctor” he was very much loved. He was a great scholar and bibliophile, and so far as I can discover the only complaint that his colleagues in the Mission had of him was that, as a scholar, he preferred Chinese characters to the *han’gul* which they were trying so hard to master. After his death the Mission bought his library and named it after him, adding greatly to it in the time of Bishop Trollope. It is now unhappily dispersed, though I believe a nucleus went to Yonsei University and some of the English books are now to be found at St. Bede’s, in the present care of Father Rutt.

Although up to 1901 the work of the Mission in Korea was much handicapped by their also having, with their very small staff, to look after the European colony at the Manchurian port of Niewchwang, they soon acquired a very thorough first-hand knowledge of parts of Korea. I have already referred to Bishop Trollope’s great walk. Mr Davies walked to Ch’unch’ŏn, accompanied by his pointer, Juno. Sometimes they were only short expeditions, as when Mr Warner visited the North Fortress in May 1891, and reported that it had recently been provisioned since the soothsayers had predicted peculiar disaster, including the end of the dynasty, for that year. Travel without a special permit was of course restricted to within 30 miles of the treaty ports, and Bishop Trollope described the attitude of the English mission as half way between

33 M.N. Trollope; “The Church in Korea,” p 37.

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that of the French Roman Catholics, who went anywhere and made a virtue of defiance, and the American Presbyterians who either stuck to Seoul or made elaborate passport-conducted tours, giving out bad translations of “the Word” — another blow at poor Mr. Ross, I fear. Sometimes Bishop Trollope was literally between the two, as when he stood at an official party at Chemulp’o talking to a French father on one side and an American methodist on the other, who would not speak directly to one another.34 Angus Hamilton, who was no friend to missionaries, wrote of Bishop Corfe’s “system of communism” and the privations and primitive simplicity in which the mission lived, but contrasted with it the “pomp” of their services which he considered unnecessary and an affectation.35

Mr Warner was sent on a trip in the winter of 1892 which led to the beginning of the Mission’s work on Kanghwa Island which became, and still remains, an important centre for them. It was also the scene of another Anglo-Korean enterprise about which I should like to know more. It appears that some time in 1863 the King of Korea decided to establish an academy for the education and training of Naval Officers, and the British Foreign Office was asked to find somebody to start it. A site was found at Kapkotchi, on Kanghwa Island, near Kanghwa city and the ferry. It seems that a schoolmaster, Mr Hutchinson, was the first foreigner to arrive, and in December 1893 there were 50 Korean youths housed there, aged between 18 and 26. Mr Warner also described storehouses stocked with antiquated cannon, and another, locked, storehouse, reputed to contain bows and arrows “which still hold a place in Korea’s notion of warfare”. “What”, he asks, “will the European instructors make of these?” In the early summer of 1894 Lt Callwell, R.N., retired, with his wife, arrived. The timing of this venture proved unfortunate. I do not know exactly what happened, but it seems that under Japanese

34. Constance Trollope: “Mark Napier Trollope, Bishop in Korea.”(SPCK,1936)

35. Hamilton: p 263.

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domination the Kings interest waned, and though the Callwells stayed for nearly two years no Korean Naval Officers seem to have in fact been trained. The buildings were acquired by the English Mission in 1897.

There was a Royal English School36 at Seoul which for at least part of its existence had an English headmaster, Mr Russell Frampton. Mrs Bishop described it in 1896 as having 100 students in uniform regularly drilled by a sergeant of Marines, and crazy about football.37 The reactionary Minister of Education, who was trying to re-introduce mediaeval styles of dress and deportment, attempted to deprive the boys of their western style uniforms, but the King liked them, and the drill, and gave the Marine sergeant a gold watch. Mr Hutchinson’s pupils (after the demise of the short-lived Naval College he came to Seoul to the English School) were described as having the spirit of English public schoolboys, upright and honourable, though Hutchinson himself was “almost an Easterner” with an intimate knowledge of court intrigue.38 Mr McCarthy, the mining engineer who provided this description, had a Hutchinson-educated boy as one of his staff at the Unsan mining camp. A devil had got into the stable there, causing panic amongst the ponies and their grooms, and this boy successfully exorcised it by the sacrifice of two bottles of gin. Mr McCarthy, unreasonably, it seems, was disappointed at this result of English-type education.39

**V. Distinguished Visitors, and a Distinguished Resident**

During the nineties, Korea became became better known generally, largely through the writings of two

36. English meant the language primarily taught. There were also a Royal French School and a Royal Russian School.

37. Bishop: Vol II p 208. Brother Hugh Pearson was an enthusiastic football coach at this time.

38. Edward T. McCarthy: “Further Incidents in the Life of a Mining Engineer” (1920), p 211.

39. Ibid: p 254.

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eminent English visitors.

The Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon, M.P. (later, as Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Viceroy of India and Foreign Secretary), visited Korea in the course of a Far Eastern tour in 1892, with his friend Cecil Spring-Rice, later Ambassador to Washington, and went up to the Diamond Mountains. Curzon, who must have been almost intolerable to work with and for, was a brilliant man who did not suffer fools gladly. He wrote patronisingly of Korea—but then he patronised everybody. He thought it odd that Koreans should wear white in the dirt and cotton in the cold, noted their semi-aesthetic, semi-superstitious nature worship, the unworkable firearms and 300 year-old armour of their soldiers, and their political powerlessness. Referring to the King’s title as a son of Heaven, he wrote “No celestial scion in the world probably exercises less influence upon its destinies than the King of Korea.” He found the women masterful and hard-visaged, the men tall, robust and good-looking, but idle. The country had become a political Tom Tiddler’s ground. He noted the intemperate and swaggering attitude of the Japanese in Korea and was uncertain about the future. Korea was a state “of whom future fixity is the last attribute to be predicated”. It would be best off under China, rather than really independent. The primary British interest was as a market. (Here British businessmen were to disappoint him.) His book “Problems of the Far East”, published in 1894, is dedicated “To those who believe that the British Empire is, under Providence, the greatest instrument for good the world has seen and who hold, with the writer, that its work in the Far East is not yet accomplished.” Faced with such confidence, it is hard to understand that two generations later serious political commentators would be referring to that Empire as “our colonial phase.”It is easy to laugh at Lord Curzon, but one would not have laughed to his face.

Bishop Corfe, reviewing the book in his mission paper, commends it, though finding it a little flippant and superficial here and there and considering it ungenerous that [page 37] Curzon made no mention of Mr Davies of the English Mission who accompanied him as interpreter. The “most superior person” was not very good at noticing people, and one must conclude that he did not quite do justice to Korea. But Curzon’s official biographer, the late Lord Zetland, made him do even less. The only mention of Korea in his two fat volumes is this quotation from a letter:—

“I am just tearing myself away from the fascination of Japan for the rugged embraces of Korea, one of the dirtiest and most repulsive countries in the world”40 a judgement Curzon committed to paper before he had seen for himself.

The next visitor, Mrs Bishop, was a very remarkable woman and the book she wrote about Korea is probably the best account of those times.11

(It is worth a moment’s diversion to remind you that books of that kind exercised a considerable influence because everybody of importance read them. Mrs Bishop’s book was in the hands of Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, soon after its publication. There was the telegraph for urgent news, which got into the daily papers, but for background information the enlightened traveller and commentator was essential even though it was six months or a year before his book could appear. I imagine that more solid reading was done in the thirty years or so before the general introduction of wireless than at any time before or since, and that people were better informed than they are now when the sheer weight of undigested up-to-the-minute reporting deadens the senses and surfeits the appetite.)

Isabella Bird—Mrs Bishop, that is — was born in 1831, and was brought up by her evangelical clergyman father in an atmosphere of Sabbatarianism, temperance and anti-

40. Ronaldshay: Life of Lord Curzon Vol I p 191

41. “Korean and her Neighbours,” first published 1898. Quoted extensively in this paper*.*

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slavery. (Her biographer recalls that along with similarly minded families the Birds never took sugar in their tea, in order to avoid adding to the profits of the West Indian plantation owners.) She had trouble with her spine and was advised to travel for her health, and this she did to great effect, in the intervals of nursing first an ailing sister and then an ailing husband She wrote so well (though without formal education she had been trained to those high powers of observation and clarity of expression which one has come to expect as a matter of course from the children of English Victorian vicarages) that she made a lot of money from her books and at times seems seriously to have intended to settle down in comfortable retirement at home, but under these conditions her health mysteriously but invariably broke down, and whereas on a drawing room sofa or a spring bed her spine gave her agonies, she could ride for days on a pony acoross the stoniest deserts and mountain passes, and sleep on the ground or the floor of a temple or tent, and seem all the better for it.42

This splendid woman was 63 when she first came to Korea, and was already a celebrity. She was here on and off (with intervals that is, in China and Japan, some as originally planned and some not) between January 1894 and March 1897 ― a particularly interesting time in the history of Korea.

Her first judgements have the confidence, if not the orotundity, of Lord Curzon’s. The Korean people were very intelligent and quick in the uptake. The climate was superb. In the arts, she awarded them NIL, and the women’s dress was the “ugliest on earth.”43 On her first trip she called first at Pusan and met three ladies of the Australian Mission which had been founded in 1889 and flourishes to this day. Then she landed at Chemulp’o, went to Seoul

42. Anna M. Stoddart: “The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs Bishop.)” (1906)

43. A curious verdict, it seems, but in Mrs Bishop’s time Korean women wore over and above the sort of dress they wear today a kind of short coat drawn right up over their head and and shoulders. Their breasts were also frequently exposed. This is probably what upset Mrs Bishop.

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and stayed with the Consul-General, and then went exploring up the Han river. With the help of Mr. Wyers,44 the Legation Constable, and an American missionary, Mr. Miller, who accompanied her on the trip, she hired a servant and a sampan and set off up the South Han to Yong-chon, (Yŏngch’un 永川) which was as far as the boat could get, after being hauled over shallows and rapids.

She was of course by no means the first European woman to visit Korea. Many of the diplomats, missionaries and treaty port officials had their wives and daughters with them, and some of the missions, the English one included, had nurses and lay sisters who had penetrated into the country, but none had embarked on so ambitious a journey as Mrs Bishop and in most of the places she visited she was the first European woman the inhabitants had seen. The close scrutiny to which she was subjected must have been very irritating. In the villages, her meals were as public as those of Louis XIV and when she retired for the nights into an often stifling little room on which the doors had been closed for privacy, the paper would be wetted and fingers bored through to make holes, to which eyes would soon be glued to watch her. The women were the worst. At a large yangban’s house in the village of Chon-yaing (near Yŏju) “I was laid hold of (literally) by the serving women and dragged through the women’s court and into the women’s apartments. I was surrounded by fully forty women, old and young, wives, concubines, servants, all in gala dress and much adorned. The principal wife, a very young girl wearing some Indian jewellery, was very pretty and had an exquisite complexion, but one and all were destitute of manners. They investigated my clothing, pulled me about, took off my hat and tried it on. untwisted my hair and absorbed my hairpins, pulled off my gloves and tried them on with shrieks of laughter and then, but not till

44 . Originally a sailor, he had come to Korea with Bishop Corfe to help with the Mission printing press and was later taken on by the Legation. There is a note in “Morning Calm” of May 1902 that the Legation constable had died of hydrophobia after being bitten by a cat. I think Wyers had retired before then.

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they had exhausted all the amusements which could be got out of me, they bethought themselves of entertaining me by taking me through their apartments”.45

Then she returned down the South Han to Seoul and went up the North Han, again as far as she could by boat, and then on pony and foot through the Diamond Mountains to Wonsan. From there she had intended returning to Chemulp’o by sea and thence again to Seoul. At Wonsan she heard conflicting, and, she suspected, exaggerated accounts of the Tonghak rebellion, but when she landed at Chemulp’o she heard that 6,000 Japanese troops had been landed and marched to Seoul, and she found the Chinese colony in a panic. “The Vice-Consul called on me and warned me that I must leave Korea that night...... Other Europeans advised me not to be “deported,” but it is one of my travelling rules never to be a source of embarrassment to British officials and that night, with two English fellow-sufferers, I left Chemulp’o......I had nothing but the clothing I wore, a heavy tweed suit, and the mercury was 80°, and after paying my passage to Chefoo, the first port of call, I had only four cents left,”46

Of course she found a British Consul at Chifu as well who rehabilitated her, and she visited Niewchwang and Mukden in Manchuria, then Peking, and sailed round Korea to Vladivostock, near which she visited Korean settlements in Russian territory, While readily admitting that there was no freedom of thought or speech in Vladivostock, she found the Koreans amenable to and flourishing under discipline, and from a material point of view healthier and better off than their relatives in Korea.

In January 1895 she returned to Chemulp’o and Seoul and in February left again for China and Japan, returning at the end of October and this time making North, past the battlefields of Kaesŏng and Pyŏngyang, where the Chinese

45. Bishop: Vol I. p. 97.

46. Bishop: Vol I, b, 213.

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dead still lay unburied, and up the Taedong river as far as Tŏkch’ŏn (德川). A final visit was made nearly a year later, from October 1896 to March 1897.

In early 1895 she had been received by King Kojong and Queen Min, and she shared to the full with the resident population the horror at the latter’s murder in October. She described the pathetic state of the King at this time.

“General Dye, the American military adviser, an old and feeble man, slept near the palace library, and the American missionaries in twos took it in turns to watch with him. This was the only protection which the unfortunate sovereign possessed. He was also visited daily by the foreign representatives in turns, with the double object of ascertaining that he was alive and assuring him of their sympathy and interest. Food was supplied to him in a locked box from the Russian or U.S. Legation, but so closely was he watched that it was difficult to pass the key into his hand “47

On the occasion of her departure for the North, at the approach of winter, Mrs. Bishop described the modest provision she made for the journey. “My equipment consisted of a camp bed and bedding, candles, a large strong doubly-oiled sheet, a folding chair, a kettle, two pots, a cup and two plates of enamelled iron, some tea which turned out musty, some flour, curry powder, and a tin of Edwards’s desiccated soup which came back unopened.”48 In addition to these adventitious aids, she had two personal characteristics which must have helped. She was very small—4ft. 11½ inches tall — which must have made life in a sampan or on a Korean pony more comfortable than if she had been tall and certainly did away with the necessity for nailing socks on the roof beams, and she had the digestion of a camel and could eat anything.

On her last visit she comments on some of the modernisations of life in Korea — European style uniforms

47. Bishop: Vol II. p. 73

48. Bishop: Vol II. p. 79

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and so forth — but she was saddened by the lack of any serious progress and the hopeless levity and extravagant personal expenditure of the King once he was safe again in the Russian legation. An army of 6,000 men she considered “an unblushing extravagance” and thought thought them grossly overpaid at 2 dollars a month.49 She described and took part in the work of the English mission where she endowed a new Bird-Bishop Ward for the Seoul hospital in memory of her husband (it was dedicated in July 1895, Mr Hillier, the Consul-General, himself acting as “architect, contractor and clerk of works”) and attended the Church of the Advent, “a beautiful Korean building” on part of the site of the present cathedral. She probably did not like the ‘ritualistic’ services much, since she had been brought up under the Church of England’s evangelical wing and acquired a further taste for simplicity in the West Highlands of Scotland. At one time she wrote, from London: “The church of my fathers has cast me out by means of inanities, puerilities, music and squabblings,”50

In the extent of British interest in Korea she was disappointed. Our flag was unknown in Korean waters. In 1897, she records, there were 65 British subjects in Korea out of 11,000 foreigners, all but 600 of whom were Japanese.

Korea was the last of her great journeys. She travelled again in Morocco in 1901 when she was over seventy, and died in 1904.

Two members of parliament, apart from Curzon, both quite undistinguished, also visited Korea in the nineties. One was Mr Henry Norman, who seems to have been straining his literary genius rather hard when he wrote that a street full of Koreans in their white clothes suggested “the orthodox notion of the Resurrection”.51

49. Bishop： Vol II. p. 263.

50. Stoddard: op. cit. However, she liked Bishop Corfe personally. He sent her a Korean ox after she had returned to England.

51. Quoted in Hamilton: p. 41.

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Mr Ernest Hatch, the other, came at the very end of the century and was interested in mining and railways, and took the usual British view of the political situation. “The Japanese unquestionably stand for political and commercial freedom, as against blighting despotism”52 (that is, of Russia). Mokp’o had just been made a treaty port. He found the Consul at Chemulp’o busy judging a murder trial and the Seoul gates no longer closed at sunset. British businessmen and ship owners were apathetic, though we had supplied some rails and locomotives for the new railway, and there was a British cigarette factory at Chcmulp’o.53

Another distinguished visitor who was here in 1896(54 and almost certainly also in subsequent years, was Valentine Chirol, who had just been appointed head of the foreign department of the “Times”. Like so many other Englishmen, he was particularly interested in and sympathetic to the progress and development of Japan.

No European visitor stayed for long in Korea at this time without becoming aware of, and probably paying tribute to the work of, Mr McLeavy Brown, an Irishman. A barrister by profession, he had joined the Chinese Imperial Customs and in 1893 was appointed by Robert Hart to take charge of customs in Korea. For one year, from 1896-7, he was Chief Financial Adviser as well, and his signature was required for all Treasury disbursements, but he was eased out of that post by Russian influence (and, I suppose, the King’s dislike of strict control). Though the Customs, dealing with all Treaty Port Revenue (there were ports open to international trade by 1899) still left him with more control than anyone else over finance, in practice there was little he could do to curb royal extravagance. He did his best to turn it into useful channels, and had considerable success in tidying up Seoul, cleaning and rebuilding and

52. Hatch: p. 12

53. Ibid: pp. 44, 85

54. Visit recorded in the “Independent.”

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restoring the main streets to their original width by the removal of shacks which had been built along them.

His office and house were somewhere very near the Legation, cither on ground that is now part of the Tŏksu Palace grounds, or part of the City Hall square outside, but he also had a bungalow at Map’o on the river. He had a great reputation for learning, with a library of 7,000 books, and was said to read the Encyclopeadia Britanniea every evening. It does not sound as if he had a wife! His most dramatic action was in 1900 when he persuaded the British Minister to have a Royal Naval Squadron demonstrate off Chemulp’o to prevent the customs revenue being pledged as security for a Franco-Russian loan.55 He must have been a severe figure, with his rather sunken eyes, his heavy Edwardian moustache and his walking stick. Fortune hunters hated him. Before the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war he personally removed ammunition and guns from Korean soldiery whom he knew could not be trusted with them, probably preventing a massacre. After the Japanese obtained their protectorate practically the first thing they did was to have him removed.56 Years later, in retirement, he was knighted.

**VI. Korea after the turn of the Century**

The Japanese had had to draw in their horns a little after the murder of Queen Min, and Russian influence increased again, though it seems to me that, looked at in retrospect, the Russian attitude was still suprisingly moderate. But it was increasingly clear that a showdown with the Japanese was imminent, and with China, after the Boxer rebellion, in an interesting state of ferment and “modernisation”, visits to this part of the world became more numerous and new accounts of Korea were written and old memoirs refurbished.

Physically, Seoul had changed quite a lot. The

55. Hamilton: p. 60

56. Putnam Weale

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dominant buildings were no longer the palaces, but the Roman Catholic Cathedral, two or three big protestant churches, and the British and Russian Legations. The railway from Chemulp’o was finished. Trams had also arrived in Seoul and caused a riot when two men sleeping on the line had their heads cut off. The King had started building his new stone palace, for which he had an English architect, Mr Harding, and it was expected that he would want to enlarge the grounds at the expense of the British and American Legations, which overlooked them. The German Minister had already lost his house.57 Meanwhile the British Legation and the Mission were regularly disturbed by noises of music and dancing from the Tŏksu Palace, which reminded them that royal extravagance continued in spite of the state of the country’s finances.58 Mr Gubbins, who had temporarily replaced Jordan, the Minister resident, was elected the first President of the Korea Branch Royal Asiatic Society, in June 1900. Life was more peaceful than it had been, and it was some time since it had been necessary to land bluejackets or marines from H.M. ships to guard the Legation, or, as had been done in 1894, for the navy to run a service of steam launches up the Han to ensure safe passage for Europeans. In the Bishop’s letters, political references became rare. It may be simply that there was more mission work to record, or that the Japanese were obviously here to stay and had to be worked with, or even that somebody had expressed disapproval. He forbore to comment on the Anglo-Japanese alliance. of 1902. A big memorial service was held for Queen Victoria in a marquee on the Legation lawn, decorated with black and purple. Mr Trollope had gone home to a London parish. Bishop Corfe was soon to retire, and be succeeded by a much younger man, Bishop Turner, under whom the Mission’s work greatly extended, both towards North Korea and to Suwon and further south, but who died after only five years as bishop.

57). Hamilton: pp. 81 ff

58). Morning Calm, May 1902

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Angus Hamilton describes59 a royal progress from the Tŏksu Palace to the ancestral shrine, remarkable as one of the first public appearances of the Lady Om, whose infant son60 now ranked next to the Crown Prince. Queen Min, or what could be found of her — a little finger, it was said — was twice buried, first in 1898 (after 26 months of elaborate and expensive court mourning) some three miles from the East Gate, and then again in 1901, 14 miles further away, the original site not having proved propitious.61 The mission paper referred in 1904 to a story in the Daily Mail that a Miss Emily Brown had married the Emperor of Korea, and described it as “an invention coming through America”.

Visitors continued to lament the lack of interest by British traders, and the supine attitude of the British government in the face of political intrigue by France and Russia and commercial competition from Japan. The state of Korean finances, in spite of Mc Leavy Brown’s efforts, was appalling. In 1901 the Consulate at Chemulp’o reported that there were port quotations for

(1) government nickel coins

(2) 1st class counterfeits

(3) medium counterfeits

(4) those passable only after dark

the counterfeits being made in Japan.62 There had been a great fall in British exports between 1891 and 1901. Attempts to persuade merchants that there was a market for high class cottons met with no response. We were almost equally uninterested in equipment for the new railways, and a London firm addressed a catalogue to H.M. Vice-Consul, Korea, Africa.63 Hamilton did not

59. Hamilton: p. 60

60. Prince Yŏngch’in (Yi Eun.) He was taken to Japan as a small child, married a Japanese, and remained there. His Korean citizenship has recently been restored to him and he returned to Korea in November 1963.

61. Morning Calm: February 1898 and May 1902

62. Hatch: p. 92, and Hamilton: p. 102

63. Hamilton: p. 151

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blame the consuls — except to say there were not enough of them. He suggested consular agencies at Pusan and Wonsan. Of the merchants themselves he wrote “the British merchant in the Far East is the first to condemn his own Minister and abuse his own Consul, and he is the very last to help himself.”64

In fact in the face of what had already become almost a Japanese monopoly, life at the treaty ports was pretty dead, though they were more comfortable places for Europeans than they are now. At Chemulp’o there was “quite a decent hotel” recommended to Mr McCarthy, the mining engineer, by the then Governor of the Malay States; and Monsieur Gailland, “purveyor to French men-of-war” was offering table claret at four dollars a dozen.65 Fleet visits were frequent,66 contacts with the real feeling of the country less so. The activities of the Independence Club, and the political ferment within Korea, does not seem to have affected the Europeans much, though there is a letter in the English mission journal in 1905 from “Ye Seungman”,67 a political prisoner and an episcopal methodist, thanking the English mission doctor for looking after him and other prisoners. Putman Weale, a journalist principally interested in China, who was here at the time of the Russo-Japanese war and was probably the first Englishman to travel up the new railway, wrote “England and America have apparently resigned themselves to the passing of Korea as an independent state”.68

There was at least one Englishman who had not. Mr Ernest Thomas Bethell, a young journalist who came here as a war correspondent, had in 1904 been appointed by the King to edit an English-language paper, *The Korea*

64. Ibid: p. 144

65. He advertised in the “Independent”

66. The “Independent” of April 21, 1896, printed the following list of warships then at Chemulp’o : American, CHARLESTON; British, NARCISSUS, LINNET; French, ALGER; Japanese, ATAGO; Russian, ADMIRAL NAKIMOFF, KORYTZ.

67. i.e. Syngman Rhee. “Morning Calm” February 1905.

68. Putnam Weale: p. 88

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*Times*. This does not seem to have lasted for long. Either it fell foul of the newly-imposed Japanese censorship, or the King stopped paying for it. A year later Bethell founded a company, with Yang Kit’aek (梁起鐸), to produce a Korean language paper, The *Taehan Maeil Sinbo* or *Korean Daily News* which also had English and Chinese editors. With a foreigner as president, it could not be censored, and for its short life it successfully criticised Japanese policy, telling the true story of the Protectorate Treaty of November 1905, and of the King’s secret mission sent to the Hague Court in 1907 to protest against that treaty. The first Japanese attempts to have Bethell expelled, in 1906 and early 1907 failed, since the British authorities decided that he had acted in a private capacity, but the Japanese kept up the pressure and Bethell was fined and bound over in October 1907 by a Consular Court. This was still not enough for the Japanese and in 1908 he was fined again in Shanghai, imprisoned for three weeks and fined, for “publishing newspapers derogatory to British interests”, and the paper was closed down.69

The British Consul-General, Cockburn, did succeed, for a time at any rate, in preventing victimisation of Yang Kit’aek, who was arrested by the Japanese. Bethell died at Seoul in 1909, aged 36, and is buried at the Foreigners’ Cometery. On the back of his Korean-style monument you can see where the inscription was removed by order of the Japanese.

Two Englisn journalists, besides Bethell, were concerned in the last pathetic struggle of the Koreans to preserve their independence. The Emperor, in 1906, gave Douglas Story some original documents on the forced protectorate treaty of November, 1905, and Story took them to China and published them. Another journalist, W.T. Stead, edited the journal of the Hague Conference of 1907 and gave sympathetic prominence to the Korean

69) Article in the Journal of Asiatic Studies 1961(7) by Chhoe Chun. Kindly translated for me by Mr Kim Sang-hun of the British Embassy.

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case.70 Neither publication seems to have had the least effect on world opinion.

**VII. Concluding remarks**

With the Japanese occupation of 1910 my paper really comes to an end. Of course Englishmen continued to live in Korea, but there was less for them to do and the whole subject seems to shrink and become less interesting. Anyway the Japanese discouraged foreign interest in Korea, The occasional Titan, a sort of giant from the past survived. Bishop Trollope returned in 1911. He continued to walk about the country and to take a tremendous interest in all things Korean. “Every day,” he wrote towards the end of his life, “reveals more and more of interest in this country and one really regrets one has no more leisure to follow up such studies.” For nearly thirteen years he was President of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and read papers to the Society on Buddhism and on Korean books, as well as publishing in the transactions two lists of Korean trees and shrubs.71 He died in November 1930, on board ship in Kobe harbour, on his way back from a Lambeth Conference in England, and is buried in the Cathedral which he had built, one of the few, if not the only person, to be buried within the walls of Seoul.

Another giant was Dr Avison, the Canadian who first ran the Severance Hospital and was here for over 40 years, retiring in 1934. Years before, he had been a physician to King Kojong and was one of those who had helped to feed the King after the murder of Queen Min.

When war on Japan was declared in 1941, amost all the English left Korea, and the few missionaries, busi- nessmen and consular officers who resumed life here trickled back slowly from the end of 1945. Then, of

70. C.N. Weems, in his introduction the 1962 edition of “Hulbert’s History of Korea.”

71. Bishop Trollope’s papers are published in TKBRAS. Vols II VIII, IX. XXII and XXV

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course, came a new chapter altogether, when in 1950 and succeeding years more men from Britain and the Commonwealth came to Korea than had come in all its previous recorded history, and 1,732 died here. Some of them and some of the most distinguished of those already resident here underwent hardships and privations almost certainly far worse than those endured by Alexander Bosquet and his companions in the seventeenth century. This paper, already inordinately long, would stretch out to curfew at least if I included any description of the British and Commonwealth effort in the Korean War, or of the captivity of the Minister, Captain Holt, Bishop Cooper and Commissioner Lord, and the death in communist hands of Father Hunt (another former President of this Society) and Sister Mary Clare (whose list of Korean wild flowers is published in the Transactions).72 It would be longer still if I tried to bring it completely up to date and say who since the war and to this day are carrying on in the traditions of those I have talked about.

Instead, to conclude my paper, I should like to consider briefly whether Great Britain could or should have done anything to prevent Korea falling into the hands of the Japanese.

In his recently published book, “Our Nation’s Path”, General Pak Chung-hi says that the destiny of the Korean peninsula was decided by the Anglo-Japanese alliances and the Treaty of Portsmouth. (It was the American Portsmouth, not the English one). He goes on to say that the situation in the Far East depended on British policy and that, as has so often happened before, two strong powers sacrificed a weak one for the sake of their own interests.

I am not sure that I agree that the situation in the Far East did depend on British policy, but it might have done. That perhaps is not really the point. I think the

72. Vol XVIII (1929)

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implication of General Pak’s verdict is that, but for the Anglo-Japanese alliance, Korea might have survived as an independent nation. I do not believe that was possible.

A writer in 190073 listed three possibilities for the future of Korea: it could be guaranteed internationally as an independent state; it could be annexed by Russia; or it could be annexed by Japan. The first seems the obvious right answer, morally right and why not practicable, if Great Britain, the strongest world power, desired it? The author I quoted turns this solution down because it would be opposed by the Russians, but I think it would have been opposed by all the powers, if it had ever been put to them, because Korea had not shown herself able to govern herself. It may well be that our present belief that to be badly governed by one’s own compatriots is in all circumstances better than to be well governed by somebody else will stand the test of time and be found to enshrine an enduring truth. But in 1900 this belief was not widely held, and protectorates of one sort or another were the recognised thing. (For example Britain in Egypt and the Sudan, France in Morocco and Tunisia, and the United States in the Philippines and Cuba all at this time maintained protectorates, in fact if not in name.) Failing outright annexation or a protectorate, the weaker countries tended to come into the “spheres of influence” of stronger ones, like for instance Persia which was virtually partitioned between Great Britain and Russia. Only Belgium, I believe, had an international guarantee at this time. As late as 1919, after the First World War and acceptance of the principle of self-determination, the Convenant of the League of Nations debarred from membership all territories “inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world.” Nothing happened in Korea between 1876 and 1910 to justify a belief that she was able to stand by herself.

With this background, there was nothing to prevent

73) Alexis Krausse: The Far East-Its History and its Question (2nd Edition 1903-p. 144).

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Korea falling, sooner or later, into the hands of whichever of the stronger powers was most determined to have her. We, and others, believed at the time, as I think emerges from this paper, that Russia represented the greatest danger. We may have been wrong. Certainly with the advantage of hindsight it seems easy to make out a case for saying that the Anglo-Japanese treaties were quite unnecessary. Russia did not represent any particular danger to us in the Far East, and when the First World War came she, the Japanese and the British were all on the same side. There was not therefore any need to bolster the Japanese against the Russians. But this is a very tentative conclusion, based on my own incomplete reading, and even if it were right, I do not think that the absence of an Anglo-Japanese alliance would have saved Korea. It seems to me that from the treaty of 1876 the Japanese had it all their own way because they were the only power with a positive policy towards and interest in Korea. The Russians’ interest was only marginal, ours almost non-existent. The Japanese poured men into Korea, and were concerned to interfere with, change, and eventually control, almost every aspect of Korean life before they received the encouragement of an alliance with the British. So that while one could have wished that the British authorities at the time had been less obviously blind to what the Japanese were doing, I do not think that we could, under then existing circumstances, have turned the Japanese tide. [page53]

EXTRACT FROM THE GRAPHIC OF 12 FEBRUARY 1887 (PRICE 6d.)

PAGE 151; NOTES AT PORT HAMILTON

The controversy which has so long raged round the question of whether or no we should continue to occupy Port Hamilton has resulted in the decision to adopt Admiral Hamilton’s advice and to abandon this important naval station notwithstanding the fact that we have hoisted the British flag over the three islands, that we have erected storehouses for war material and barracks for troops, and that we have spent 90,000 pounds in laying a cable to Shanghai. The chief reason for keeping the station in our hands was to provide a coaling station for our fleet in the event of a war with Russia, and to prevent it from falling into Russian hands. Regarding this last, it is satisfactory to know, from the recent official statement in Parliament, that, though no arrangements have been made for the future custody of Port Hamilton, the government did not determine to retire until they had received a guarantee from the Chinese government that no part of Corea — including Port Hamilton — will be occupied by any foreign power. The government, it was added, acted under naval advice when they decided to leave Port Hamilton. All the same, should a war break out with Russia, our fleet cruising in the Corean Channel, to keep the Russians from making a descent southwards, will have to travel 2,000 miles to the nearest coaling station, Hong Kong. We have already at different times described the chief features of Port Hamilton, and a special article on the subject, by Surgeon A.G. Wildey, R.N., who has also sent us the sketches, will be found on page 162.

EXTRACTS FROM AN ARTICLE BY SURGEON A. G. WILDEY, R.N. APPEARING ON PAGE 162 OF THE GRAPHIC FOR 12 FEBRUARY 1887

...In the bays the native huts lie huddled together each thatched with grass and surrounded with a wall of [page 54] loose stones until only the roof is visible; they rise one above the other up the gentle slopes of the valley leading the eye to irregular patches of millet, and the grassy mounds which mark the graves of native chiefs.

Soon after the British flag was hoisted in 1885, a detachment of Royal Marines landed on Observatory Island [Sodo and Sunhodo are the other two]. They met with a warm reception, not from the elements. No sooner were the tents pitched, than a typhoon scattered the whole camp. Soon, however, wooden huts were erected and the men began to settle down to a life of exile. The officers of the fleet shouldered spade and pick and soon King Tennis held his Court in England’s most eastern possession. Domestic animals were imported, and now the marine officers exhibit with much pride their farm of pigs, goats, sheep and fowl of all kinds, though the feathered creatures suffer much from hawks and crows.... Some of the men have taken to gardening and are fairly successful. There are no native villages on the island [Observatory Island], therefore the marines come very little into contact with the Coreans. Indeed, it is very difficult indeed to learn anything about these dirty but interesting people, who are close and reticent, differing greatly from their neighbours, the Japanese. A visit to one of the villages in Sodo or Sunhodo is not a pleasant undertaking. The filth and squalor is past description, and, should one brave the stench of offal and every kind of refuse thrown out into the narrow alleys, there is little to be seen, for each hovel is surrounded by a wall of stone, high enough to keep off inquisitive eyes from Corean domestic life. Any woman one chances to meet darts away like a hare, and one is lucky to get more than a glimpse of a pretty face, a short jacket and a kind of ballet-girl petticoat disappearing through a hole in a wall. Probably a dozen boys will pester, in broken English, for tobacco, and deliver a volley of British oaths if refused, or a petty chief rolls by in his long white coat and halo- hat, his pipe never absent from his lips. [page 55]

All the men are lazy and irritatingly slow in their movements. They are not, however, without a certain amount of dignity, which is heightened by their priestlike costume.

As might be supposed, in consequence of the filthy state of the villages and the total absence of any sanitary arrangements, epidemics rage with terrible effect. This year (1886) has been very free from sickness; but in 1885 smallpox and cholera carried off many people.... One must not suppose that these dirty and uncouth islanders are savages; on the contrary, they are highly civilised according to Far-Eastern ideas. Most are able to read and paint the Chinese characters which the Coreans, in common with the Japanese, have adopted. Their many ceremonies in public and private life are strictly observed, and few peoples are more ceremonious than those who dwell in the Land of the Morning Calm.

Of their virtues and vices little is known. It is a lamentable fact that by sunset the majority of the islanders are drunk with saki, mirthfully or otherwise. Those who are not chronically in this state are sharp and intelligent. For example, one of them, employed as a scavenger in the camp, has learnt in less than a year to speak and write English well enough to be perfectly understood.

The British garrison consists of 100 marines, a captain, two subalterns and a naval surgeon. The health of the detachment is excellent. The life is not as dull as might be expected. Of course there is no society, but the climate is really good, though subject to a few weeks of extreme cold and heat.

Such is Port Hamilton at present. Who will speculate as to its future? (A.G.W.)

**A Note on Sources**

In the numbered notes in the text, I have abbreviated the titles of the sources most frequently quoted. Their [page 56] full titles are as follows.

Bishop: Isabella Bird Bishop: *Korea and her Neighbours*. 2 Vols. 1898

Curzon: The Hon. G.N. Curzon: *Problems of the Far East.* 1894

Griffis: *Hermit Nation*. 1882

Hamilton: Angus Hamilton: *Korea* 1904

Hatch: Ernest F.G. Hatch, M.P.: *Far Ear Eastern Impressions* 1904

Putnam Weale: B.L. Putnam Weale: *The Truce in the Far East and Its Aftermath*, 1907

TKBRAS: Transactions, Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

I have also greatly depended on two bibliographies, Dr. H. H. Underwood’s *Partial Biblography of Occidental Literature on Korea*, published in TKBRAS XX (1931). and Mr G. St G. M. Gompertz’s revision of some sections of that bibliography. Mr Gompertz’s work was available to me in typescript, and is now in course of publication as TKBRAS Vol XL.

Finally I should mention a book which is of great value for the period of the first treaties, and for its consideration of Korea’s international status at that time.

M. Frederick Nelson. *Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia*. Louisiana State University Press, 1946.