

International Journal of Korean Humanities and Social Sciences

Vol. 3/2017

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.14746/kr.2017.03.08>

KOREA: KLUCZ DALEKIEGO WSCHODU (1905) AND WAŁAW SIEROSZEWSKI'S VIEW OF KOREA

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to review Waław C. Sieroszewski's (1858-1945) view of Korea. He, well-known Polish writer, traveled to Korea, i. e., Daehan Empire (大韓帝國), in fall of 1903, and published *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905). Considering that most of travelogues of Korea were written by American, British, French, and German, so-called "Western powers," *KKDW* was a pretty valuable book.

The author believes that Western view of Korea was notably changed around the late eighteenth century. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans did not ignore or belittle Korea and Korean. They regarded Korea as a rich and well-systemized country, and Korean as an intelligent nation, although they had very little knowledge of Korea. On the other hand, generally speaking, they degraded Korea and Korean in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Sieroszewski was one of them. Poland was one of the weakest countries in Europe, but his view was not different from that of American, British, French, and German authors.

Sieroszewski was favorably impressed by Japan before he came to Korea in October, 1903, and, as a result, he constantly compared Korea and Japan. He even wrote that Japan was better than Europe in some ways. He truly believed that Japan was the only country to carry out a desirable reform for Korea. Meanwhile, he never approved the Russia's imperialist ambition

for Korea. He considered Japan as an agent of the West. In conclusion, his idea of Korea and the East was quite similar to that of other contemporary Western travelers.

Key words: Waclaw C. Sieroszewski (1858-1945), *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905), Western supremacy, modern civilization, Japan

KOREA: KLUCZ DALEKIEGO WSCHODU (1905) I POGLĄDY WACLAWA SIEROSZEWSKIEGO NA TEMAT KOREI

Streszczenie: Celem pracy jest dokonanie przeglądu poglądów na temat Korei Waclawa C. Sieroszewskiego (1858-1945). Ten znany polski pisarz wyjechał do Korei to jest tak zwanego imperium Daehan (大韓帝國) jesienią 1903 r. Następnie opublikował książkę o Korei: *Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905) (KDW). Biorąc pod uwagę, że większość dzienników z podróży do Korei została napisana przez amerykańskich, brytyjskich, francuskich i niemieckich pisarzy z tak zwanych „mocarstw zachodnich”, KDW stanowi cenne źródło informacji.

Słowa kluczowe: Waclaw C. Sieroszewski (1858-1945), *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905), zachodnia supremacja, nowoczesna cywilizacja, Japonia

„극동의 열쇠 한국”(1905)과 웨로세프스키의 한국 인식

초록: 본 논문은 폴란드 작가 바츠와프 웨로세프스키 (Waclaw C. Sieroszewski, 1858~1945)의 저서 『극동의 열쇠 한국 (Korea : Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu)』 (1905)에 나타난 한국 인식을 검토하려는 목적에서 집필되었다. 『극동의 열쇠 한국』은 19세기 말과 20세기 초에 양산된 서양인들의 한국견문록 중 거의 유일하게 폴란드인이 작성한 책으로, 대다수의 한국 관계 문헌이 미국, 영국, 프랑스, 독일 등 소위 서양 열강 여행자들의 것임을 고려할 때 상당히 희소성 높은 자료라고 평가할 수 있다. 서양인들이 한국을 바라보는 방식은 18세기 후반에 시작된 서구 세계의 변화와 함께 달라졌다. 가령 17~18세기의 유럽인들은 한국에 관한 지식이 극히 빈약하였으나, 한국을 선불리 무시하거나 경멸하지는 않았던 것 같다. 그 이유는 당시 세계 질서에서 아시아가 차지하고 있었던 우월한 지위 때문이라고 생각된다. 그들은 서구 문명보다 중국 문명을 높이 평가하였고, 경제적으로도 아시아에 의존하고 있었던 것이다. 반면 19세기 이후 ‘서구의 시대’에 출간된 한국 관계 문헌들은 한국에 대한 비하를 기본 자세로 삼았던 듯하다. 『극동의 열쇠 한국』도 마찬가지이다. 저자 웨로세프스키의 모국 폴란드는 당시 유럽에서 가장 허약한 나라 중 하나였으나, 그가 한국을 보던

눈은 서양 강대국 출신 사람들의 그것과 별다른 차이가 없었던 것으로 판단된다. 웨로세프스키는 끊임없이 한국과 일본을 대비시켰다. 1903년 10월 한국에 오기 전 일본에 체류하면서 대단히 긍정적인 인상을 받았기 때문이다. 그는 어떤 점에서는 일본이 유럽보다 낫다고 할 만큼 일본에 매료되었다. 그리하여 오직 일본만이 한국을 위하여 바람직한 개혁을 시행할 것이라고 확신한 반면, 같은 유럽 국가인 러시아의 지배욕에 관해서는 (폴란드가 러시아의 지배를 받고 있었던 것도 이유가 되겠지만) 조금도 호응하지 않았다. 즉, 그는 일본을 동아시아에서 서양의 대체자로 간주한 것인데, 이 또한 미국, 영국, 프랑스, 독일 등지에서 한국을 보러 왔던 이들의 입장과 흡사한 것으로 해석된다.

주제어: 바츠와프 웨로세프스키 (Wacław C. Sieroszewski, 1858~1945), 『극동의 열쇠 한국 (Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu)』 (1905), 서구우월주의, 근대 문명, 일본

1. Introduction

This paper analyzes *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu* (1905), which was written by Wacław C. Sieroszewski (1858-1945), notable Polish writer, who traveled to Korea in October and November, 1903. *KKDW* was translated in Korean in 2006 under the title of “Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar.”¹ It appears that “Russian” was chosen because he was Polish under Russian rule from birth until the Republic of Poland was built in November 1918.

In Korea, there has been relatively little attention on him,² and *KKDW* really has not been studied. The only paper about *KKDW* was

¹ *KKDW* was translated by those who studied Russian literature, based on the third Russian version in 1909.

² There are a few papers on his novel, *Ol-soni, kisań* (1906), based on Korean life in the late nineteenth century. Lee Min-Hee, “The Historical Understanding of Poland in the Korean Literature in about 1900.” *Comparative Literature*, Vol. 26, Korean Comparative Literature Association, 2001; Choi Sung-Eun, “An Oriental Culture Boom in the Western Literature between the Late 19th and the Early 20th Centuries Discovered by a Study Focused on Poland Literature.” *The Journal of Central & East European Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 1, Institute of Central and East European Studies, 2002.

written by An Sang-Hoon (2012), one of the translators. He assumed that Western literature on Korea was based on Orientalism, not on objective point of view. He understood Westerners' view of Korea before Sieroszewski as "taxidermied Orientalism." It means their idea had been fixed for a long time. He also thought that Sieroszewski's view of Korea was an imitation of Westerners' one before him, and regarded it as "copied Orientalism."³

However, as regards An's argument, the author does not think that Westerners' Orientalism or their view of Korea had been so fixed. She believes that there was a big difference of worldview between the medieval Europe and the modern Western world. She tries to find out the significance of *KKDW* considering the history of Western literature on Korea, while An used Orientalism.

In the first chapter, the author argues that Westerners' view of Korea before Sieroszewski had never been the same, analyzing some literature regarded as very meaningful: the writing of Hendrik Hamel (1630-1692), Dutch crewman, Jean-Baptiste du Halde (1674-1743), French priest from the Society of Jesus, Claude-Charles Dallet (1829-1878), French priest from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, and William E. Griffis (1843-1928), American writer and pastor.

In the second chapter, she researches how he traveled to Korea and viewed the country based on *KKDW*. She finds out that he did not have plenty of time for researching Korea, he consulted very limited resources, and that he did not find any similarities between Poland and Korea or between Polish and Korean.

2. Change of Westerners' View of Korea

A. Respect for Korea in the Seventeenth and the eighteenth Centuries

The first Western literature on Korea which we should review is *Journal van de Ongelukige Voyagie van't Jacht de Sperwer* (Journal of the Unfortunate Voyage of Sparrowhawk) (1668), which was written by Hamel who survived a shipwreck on Jeju Island in 1653

³ An Sang-Hoon, "Orientalism and Waclaw Sieroszewski's Korea." *Slavic Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 4, Institute of Russian Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign University of Foreign Studies, 2012.

and escaped to Japan in 1666. He wrote a report to the Dutch East India Company, which was published in Holland in 1668 regardless his will, and translated in French, English, Spanish, and German.⁴

Frédéric Boulesteix (2001), French researcher of comparative literature, pointed out that he misunderstood it as an insular country.⁵ However, as a matter of fact, he wrote “there is a range of mountains on the border between China and Korea,”⁶ which means he knew that Korea was a peninsula. In addition, he wrote that Korea overflowed with rice, barley, millet, cotton, and ginseng in spite of lack of his own food.⁷ Korea was abundant in food and resource in his eyes.

With reference to politics, he wrote that Korea was subject to Japan and China, and it paid a tremendous amount of tribute to China, its suzerain state.⁸ However, it does not seem that he understood that Korea was under Chinese direct control. According to his observation, the Korean king reigned over his country in his way, and there was no feudal lord who had their own land in Korea. He had a general idea on the Korean diplomacy and ruling system as a result of long-term stay in Korea.

Hamel also observed social and cultural phenomena in Korea, such as military system, punishment, idol worship, Buddhist faith, dwellings, accommodations, marriage, status of women, education, national examinations for government employees, filial piety, funeral, view of the world, weights and measures, and letters and books, etc. He wrote that Korean people were mild, gentle, and religious although they tended to deceive others.

According to Boulesteix, Hamel saw Korea in two different ways, “land of knowledge and manner” and “land of savage and barbarism.” On the contrary, Dutch researcher, like Bouldewijn Walraven (2006), argued his view of Korea was quite positive and friendly. The author agrees with the latter. He did not judge or criticize about Korea and its people, even though his thirteen-year life in Korea was not good at all.

⁴ Hendrik Hamel, *Hamel's Report*. Translated by Yoo Dong-Ik, Seoul: Chungang M & B, 2003, pp. 112-120.

⁵ Frédéric Boulesteix, *Nice Savage, Oriental Sage*. Translated by Lee Hyang and Kim Jeong-Yeon, Seoul: Cheongnyeonsa, 2001, p. 33.

⁶ Hendrik Hamel, op. cit., p. 49.

⁷ Ibid., p. 70.

⁸ Ibid., p. 69. Hamel thought that Korea was subject to Japan because of Japanese trade center in Busan.

Sixty-seven years later, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise* (Description on Geography, History, Chronology, Politics, and Nature of the Qing Empire and Manchurian Chinese) (1735) was published in Paris. It was a four-volume compilation of letters, reports, and translation of Chinese records by Jesuit missionaries in China. Translated by English, German, and Russian, it satisfied the European desire for knowledge on China and greatly affected on Westerners' understanding of China in the eighteenth century.⁹

It contains two Korea-related articles. One is "Observations géographiques sur le royaume de Corée (An Observation of Geography in Korea)," the other is "Histoire abrégée de la Corée (A Brief Korean History)." Their original author was Jean-Baptiste Régis (1663-1738), missionary and geographer in China. He had never been in Korea, so he wrote them based on Chinese books—*Qianquejuleishu* (潛確居類書) by Chenrenxi (陳仁錫, 1581-1636), *Guangyuji* (廣輿記) and *Fangyushenglüe* (方輿勝略) by Tingbai'er (程百二, 1577-1619)—, and stories from Chinese and Korean envoys.¹⁰ It does not seem that Hamel's report affected on his articles.

Unlike Hamel wrote about what he saw, heard, and experienced in Korea, Régis wrote about Korean history a lot, such as Old Joseon (古朝鮮), Buyeo (夫餘), Three Kingdoms (三國), Goryeo (高麗), and Joseon (朝鮮), etc. He depended only on fragments from Chinese literature. As a result, his Korean history contained a lot of contents relevant to China, and it was not very accurate.

Régis wrote about Korea and Korean as follows. First of all, Korea is a mountainous and fertile land. It produces excellent trade goods, such as ginseng and paper. Secondly, Korea has good social systems in land, appointment, and punishment, etc. Thirdly, Korean is gentle, kind, generous, and fond of learning, music, and dancing.¹¹ In general, his perspective was pretty positive. There was no criticism or

⁹ Shim Tae-Shik, "A Review of Description on Geography, History, Chronology, Politics, and Nature of the Qing Empire and Manchurian Chinese by Du Halde." *The Journal of Chinese Studies*, Vol. 30, Chinese Studies Institute, Korea University, 2010.

¹⁰ Chun Jong-Ho, "L'image de la Chine et de la Corée vue par les jésuites dans la Description de l'empire de la Chine de Jean-Baptiste du Halde." *The Journal of Humanities, Sogang University*, Vol. 44, Humanities Research Institute, Sogang University, 2015, pp. 236-237.

¹¹ J. B. du Halde, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*. Vol. 4, Paris: P. G. le Mercier, 1735, p. 448.

judgment, except he wrote that Seonjo (宣祖, 1567-1608), the fourteenth king of Joseon, was a debauched person.

Why was Régis favorable to Korea? The author believes that it was relevant to the Jesuit missionary policy of accommodation. It is well known that Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and his colleagues chose to assimilate into Chinese culture, learned Chinese language, culture, and idea, and respected China and Chinese.¹² She argues that their pro-Chinese tendency positively affected on how they regarded as Korea and Korean. As pointed out by Chun Jong-Ho (2015), “Korea was within the sphere of Chinese culture that Jesuit missionaries highly evaluated.”¹³

To sum, in the late seventeenth century, Hamel did not ignore Korea because he was a Westerner, even though he worked for European advance to Asia as an employee of Dutch East India Company. Korea was a rich, systematic, and independent country, and Korean was a gentle and religious nation in his view. Jesuit missionaries, in the eighteenth century, were favorable to Korea, too. It appears that their respect for Chinese civilization affected on how they viewed Korea and its people.

B. Belittlement of Korea in the Nineteenth Century

The favorable point of view did not last in the next century. *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (History of Korean Church) (1874) was published by Dallet, ex-missionary to India. It was a compilation of documents and translated stories by missionaries from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris, who were active in Korea in the early nineteenth century. Its introductory chapter, the most important part of it, is full of vivid and detailed explanation. It means that Korean believers had told missionaries a lot of stories.

French missionaries consulted the compilation by Du Halde, published in Paris one hundred forty years ago. However, they were very different from the Jesuit missionaries. Most Jesuit missionaries

¹² Park Ji-Hyun, “Western Learning of China, Sinology of Europe: Translation and Literacy of Jesuit Missionaries in China in the 17th Century.” *The Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 67, Institute of Humanities, Seoul National University, 2012, p. 383.

¹³ Chun Jong-Ho, op. cit., p. 247.

were scholars first. They were highly educated and largely influenced by Renaissance humanism. On the other hand, French ones from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris were fearless evangelists.

In this book, French missionaries' tone was quite different from Hamel or Jesuit counterparts. They compared Korea with France, Asia with Europe as follows.

The whole country seems similar. The only exception is called Naepo Plain stretching out to its west sea. However, you cannot understand "plain" as flat land like our beautiful one in France.¹⁴

Korea is abundant in fruits. In here, you can see almost of them produced in France, but what a different taste! Apple, pear, plum, mulberry, strawberry, grape, melon, they all are watery and tasteless because of constant rain in summer.¹⁵

Instead of "plain is not beautiful" and "fruits are watery and tasteless," they used an expression of "inferior to French counterpart." It appears that they wanted to tell that Korea was inferior to France, even in the natural environment. As to politics, they criticized that "there is no political life, progress, or revolution," "things happen which happened in the medieval Europe," and "custom is terribly corrupt like in other Asian countries."¹⁶ Demeaning Asian countries was a method to feel superior to their home and Europe. It is interesting that they criticized there was no progress or revolution in Korea. In fact, Catholic Church was a typical reactionary force which was directly hit by the French Revolution.¹⁷

Their description of Korean was more negative. According to it, they were most irreligious and most superstitious at the same time; they spread a rumor adding lies as soon as they heard it; they were

¹⁴ Charles Dallet, *An Introduction to History of Korean Church*. Translated by Jeong Gi-Soo, Seoul: Tamgudang, 1966, p. 20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 160 & 181.

¹⁷ Traditionally, Catholic Church had supported the monarchy in France. It suffered greatly because of the policy of deconsecration when the Revolution broke out. Choi Seok-Woo, "Advance into Korea of the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris and Its Significance." *The Journal of Church History*, Vol. 5, Research Foundation for Korean Church History, 1987; Hong Soon-Ho, "Advance into Korea of the Missionaries of the Society of Foreign Mission of Paris and the Stance of the French Government." *The Journal of Church History*, Vol. 5, Research Foundation for Korean Church History, 1987.

easily angry and revengeful because of lack of education in ethics; they spent all their money for pleasure. Besides, they were instinctual; they were greedy for eating, drinking, and smoking; they did not know what real love was; they just tried to satisfy their sexual needs.

Unlike aristocratic and humanistic policy of Jesuit missionaries, the later mission societies assumed a critical attitude to paganism, influenced by Jansenism.¹⁸ As to Korean culture, missionaries from the Society of Foreign Missions of Paris did not praise any of it, even though they had guidelines to foster local priests, to stay away from the politics, and to respect local culture.¹⁹ In addition, they sometimes compared Korea and the medieval Europe, and wrote that Korean character was caused by semi-barbarism.²⁰ They believed that Europe was more advanced and civilized than Asia, and that white race was superior to non-white one. Political, economic, social, and cultural changes in Europe probably affected on their change of viewpoint.²¹

Finally, Griffis, American pastor and writer, wrote *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (1882), based on Western and Japanese writings concerning Korea. It was the last book during the period that Westerners could not visit Korea, and had been widely read. It had been enlarged and revised several times until 1911, after publishing in New York and London in October 1882.

Corea, the Hermit Nation consists of three parts, Ancient and Medieval History, Political and Social Korea, and Modern and Recent History. He wrote a lot about history because he largely depended on written material without experience in Korea, like Régis did. Hamel and French missionaries did not have to. They had a lot of stories of their own. Griffis considered the introduction of Catholic Church as the starting point of modern Korean history. It shows that he was a believer of modernization in the East by Western civilization.

He quoted a lot from Dallet's book when he wrote Political and Social Korea. It is summarized as follows; nominal absolute monarchy, powerful aristocracy called yangban, medieval feudalism, sex

¹⁸ Kim Byeong-Tae, "A Missionary Understanding of the Rite Controversy in the Late Ming and the Early Qing Period." *Christianity and History in Korea*, Vol. 28, Institute for Korean Church History, 2008, pp. 170-172.

¹⁹ Lee Kyoung-Hai, "Encounters of the Society of Foreign Mission of Paris and Joseon." *The Journal of Human Science*, Vol. 17. Dongduk Women's University, 2011, p. 93.

²⁰ Charles Dallet, op. cit., p. CLVI.

²¹ Choi Seok-Woo, op. cit., p. 12.

discrimination, abnormal ancestor worship, low level of culture and art, and hedonism, etc.²² He never would have done that if he had not agreed with French missionaries to an extent. His opinion was quite different with French missionaries' one. He was a typical imperialist in American sense. He advocated Anglo-Saxon racism and American overseas expansion, and besides, he was against Catholic Church and its missionary method in Korea.²³ However, they were the same in that they were both white Christian in the nineteenth century. It was probably impossible for both of them to write nice things on non-white pagans and their country.

In the late nineteenth century, imperialism spread so rapidly and the United States rose to world power in the West, and in the meantime, Sinocentrism was seriously challenged by European powers and Japan grew to a successful modern state. Griffis was a teacher between 1870 and 1874 in Japan. He witnessed "New Japan" and learned Korean history through *Kojiki* (古事記) and *Nihonshoki* (日本書紀). In his eyes, therefore, Korea, hung between China and Japan, was a hermit to refuse to open its door, and a future learner of Western civilization as a universal civilization.

3. Korea in Sieroszewski's Eyes

A. Trip to Korea in October and November, 1903

Sieroszewski arrived in Port Busan with a colleague at six in the morning, October 10th, 1903. He had stayed in Japan for about two years before he came to Korea. He took an offer to join the expedition to Japan instead of going to jail when he got arrested for participating in independence movement. He was a renowned ethnographer as well as a novelist.²⁴

²² Lee Yeong-Mi, "W. E. Griffis' Understanding of Korea, and East Asia." Ph. D. Dissertation at Inha University, 2015, pp. 117-125.

²³ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882, p. 376. Especially, he criticized that French missionaries came to Korea even though Korean government never allowed it.

²⁴ He was exiled to Verkhoyansk for his participation in the revolutionary movement in 1880. During his 12 years in exile, he conducted ethnographic research on Yakut as

Based on his book, it is likely that he stayed in Busan for a few days. He looked around Japanese settlement, Japanese school, Korean community, railroad construction site, docks, factories, mills, and streets with cafés, restaurants, and fleshpots. He even went to Deer Island and Port Masan. His next destination was Wonsan. He went sightseeing the city and planned a walking tour to Seoul. He stayed in Busan and Wonsan for about two weeks, but did not mention where he stayed at night or when he left Busan.

On October 24th, Sieroszewski started for Seoul early in the morning, with two Koreans, translator and horseman, and arrived at Seokwangsa, Buddhist temple in Anbyeon, Hamgyeongnamdo, in eight hours. The next day he left Seokwangsa at noon, walked sixty lis (里), and spent a night at Sokio [sic], between Hamgyeongnamdo and Gangwondo. He walked to Huon [sic], two hundred and fifty lis away from Seoul on 27th, walked ninety-five lis to get to Sreul [sic] on 28th, eighty lis to Pisangori [sic] on 29th. He walked fifty lis and finally arrived in Seoul on 30th. During the walking tour, he looked around Korea's natural environment and rural life. He saw mountains and rivers, visited traditional places, ate local food, and slept on the floor at night. He observed Korean way of life, too.

Staying at Imperial Hotel, in front of Daehanmun, he went to a lot of places, sometimes on foot, sometimes by trolley or jinrikisha; Jongro, "the most beautiful and animated street in Seoul," Wongudan, "relatively well-preserved place," Jingogae, "Japan town, his favorite place in Seoul," Chinese settlement, "the dirtiest and smelliest district in the city," Six Ministries Street, "broad, well-paved, and quiet place like a square," and Dabanggol, "one of rich districts." He even visited shamans' town, papermakers' town, shrines to the god of war, royal tombs, ghetto, leper colony, and hideouts for thieves and gamblers.²⁵

He was able to visit various places because he had a Korean tour guide, Szin-mun-giun [sic]. Shin Mun-Gyun (申汶均) was a clerk at the Bureau of Ceremony (禮式院). According to Sieroszewski, he

well as wrote novels. He wrote *Yakut: Experience of Ethnographic Research* (1896) with the help of some specialists, which was awarded the "little gold medal" by Imperial Geographic Society, on the recommendation of Nikolay Veselovsky (1848-1918), well-known Russian archaeologist.

²⁵ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. translated by Kim Jin-Young et al., Seoul: Gaemagowon, 2006, pp. 387-401.

occupied a quite important post—not true—in the government, and was an excellent tour guide very good at Russian.²⁶

Sieroszewski wrote that there was an event which celebrated the recovery of Emperor's grandson, a few days before he left Seoul.²⁷ According to the *Daily Record of Seungjeongwon* (承政院日記), it was hold on November 8th, to celebrate King Yeongchin's (英親王) recovery from measles.²⁸ It appears that he left Seoul after November 10th, although it was not mentioned when he left. On the contrary, he possibly stayed until mid-November, because he mentioned that he saw unharvested cotton field in mid-November. He probably traveled for a few days before he got aboard a ship for China in Chemulpo.

He traveled various cities and places including Seoul and three treaty ports, from October 10 to about mid-November. He had diverse experience even though he failed to meet the Emperor.

B. Bibliography

In *KKDW*, there are several Westerners and their books concerning Korea. It tells that Sieroszewski did some literary research to write his own writing. Fortunately, it is not hard to find out what books he consulted. He put a lot of footnotes. His bibliography is as follows.²⁹

01. D. Anuchin, "K Kharakteristike Iapontsev." *Russkie vedomosti*, No. 119, 1904.
02. I. Delotkevich, "Puteshestvie po Koree s dekabria 1885 po martu 1886 g." IRGO, T. XXV. 1886.
03. I. Delotkevich, "Dnevnik po puti peshkom iz Seula v Pos'et cherez Severnuiu Koreiu s dekabria 1885 g. po 29 fevralia 1886 g.," SGMA, No. 38, 1887.
04. P. Dmitrievskii, "Zapiski Kigoro." *Zapiski imp. russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po obshchei geografii*, T. XII, No. 4, SPB, 1883.
05. N. Garin-Mikhailovskii, *Koreiskie skazki, zapisannye osen'iu 1898 g.* SPB, 1904.
06. A. Gur'eva, "Vozniknovenie Russko-Iaponskoi voiny." *Russkie vedomosti*, No. 138, 1905.
07. A. Lubentsov, "Khamgenskaia i Pken'ianskaia provintsii Korei." *Zapiski Priamurskogo otdela*, IRGO, T. II Vyp IV, Khabarovsk, 1887.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 399.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 408-409.

²⁸ 『承政院日記』, 高宗四十年癸卯九月二十日庚子.

²⁹ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 438-439. There is no bibliography page in the original text. This list was made by Korean translators.

08. Ministry of Finance (comp.), *Opisanie Korei*. SPB, 1900.
09. M. Podzhio, *Ocherki Korei*. SPB, 1892.
10. F. Vebel, "Poezdka v Koreiu letom 1889 g. general' nogo shtaba podpolkovnika Vebelia." SPB, 1890.
11. I. B. Bishop, *Korea and Her neighbors*. New York, 1897.
12. Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée*. Paris, 1874.
13. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Korea*. 1894.
14. W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hemit Nation*. New York, 1882.
15. W. E. Griffis, *Corea, Without and Within*. Philadelphia, 1885.
16. Angus Hamilton, *Korea*. London, 1904.
17. *Moniteur officiel du commerce*. Paris, 1898.
18. *Nouvelle Geographie Universelle*. Paris, 1882.
19. *The China Review*.
20. *The Independent*. Seoul.
21. *The Korean Repository*. Seoul.
22. W. W. Wilkinson, *The Corean Government*. Shanghai, 1897.

But it does not seem that he read all of them. He came back to Poland in 1904 after he traveled Korea, China, Ceylon, and Egypt, and finished *KKDW* in the late 1904.³⁰ Probably, he had no time to read all of them. Besides, his quotations were already quoted in *Opisanie Korei* (1900), which was compiled by Ministry of Finance, Russia.

Podzhio said that European took this medicine [ginseng] and got a severe disease causing infection. (*Opisanie Korei*)³¹

M. Poggio argues that ginseng also causes infection when European took it. (*KKDW*)³²

Poggio is the German expression of Podzhio. Podzhio means Mikhail Podzhio (1850-1889), who was a Russian diplomat and the author of *Ocherki Korei* (1892). The author presumes that Sieroszewski read his mention about ginseng in *Opisanie Korei*, and that he re-quoted it in his book after looking it up Podzhio's German translation. Another example is as follows.

Sometimes, tigers climb up to the straw-thatched roof of the house. They crash through it with strong claws and attack someone in the house. Korean believes that they do not attack the drunk who smell awful. (*Opisanie Korei*)³³

³⁰ "Warsaw, 23 November 1904 r." was written in the back of the title page.

³¹ Ministry of Finance, Russia (comp.), *Hangukji*. Translated by Academy of Korean Studies, 1984, p. 417.

³² Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 438-439.

Poggio wrote that tigers crashed through the straw-thatched roof and came inside the house. (...) According to superstition, they hate the drunk and do not attack them. (KKDW)³⁴

Ocherki Korei was not the only literature re-quoted by Sieroszewski. Except Angus Hamilton's (1874-1913) *Korea* (1904) and two articles from *Russkie wedomosti*, he acquired all quotations from *Opisanie Korei*. According to his own evaluation, it was the best guide book on Korea.³⁵ In short, he did not read every book which he mentioned. He only consulted two books, *Opisanie Korei* and Hamilton's *Korea*.

C. Sieroszewski's View of Korea

Sieroszewski wrote that he had heard "legends" about Korea from so-called experts as follows before he came to Korea.

Korea cudny kraj! Żyzność ziemi niesłychana, urodzaje egipskie! Potoki taniego, korejskiego ryżu zalewają nawet ryżową Japonię. Tam rosną nieprzejrzone lasy drogocennych drzew... Nieprzebrane bogactwa mineralne czekają niecierpliwie dzielnej ręki Europejczyka... A jest I węgiel i marmur!... Jest to raj myśliwców! Ale trzeba być ostrożnym, gdyż są tam i tygrysy. Gaje mirto-we rzucają swe cienie na ukwiecone łąki, a wszystko kąpie się w słonecznym, łagodnym powietrzu i ciepłych błękitnych morzach... Potulna ludność chętnie płaci podatki, czci władzę i pracuje napół darmo — z przyzwyczajenia i dla przyjemności... jest trochę brudna, ale ma piękne, wysmukłe kobiety o stromych piersiach i szerokich biodrach... Przewyższają one urodą wszystkie kobiety Dalekiego Wschodu.³⁶

It appears that they told him that Korea was a rich, beautiful, and charming country. However, he did not believe them. He wrote that he was free from any stereotype,³⁷ which meant he had no fantasy about Korea. Instead, he had an idea that white race was superior to non-white races, and that Western civilization to any other civiliza-

³³ Ministry of Finance, Russia (comp.), op. cit., p. 467

³⁴ Waław Sieroszewski, op. cit., p. 140.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

³⁶ Waław Sieroszewski, *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu*. Warszawa: Nakład Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1905, p. 1.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 2.

tions.³⁸ Poland, his motherland, had been one of the weak nations in the West. He was Polish under Russian rule, so, technically, he was Russian, not Polish. Nevertheless, his perspective was not different from other European or American when he viewed the Asian nations.

Besides, he stayed in Japan before he came to Korea, and was impressed by its successful modernization. Accuracy, swiftness, and thoroughness were typical Japanese characteristics he liked.

Czyściuchne, wygodne, eleganckie parowce trzech towarzystw japońskich “Nippon Jusen Kajsza,” “Osaka Shosen Kajsza,” i “Hori Company” z regularnością zegarka odwiedzały porty. Ponieważ były najtańsze, miały najlepszą tu na Wschodzie obsługę i doskonałą kuchnię europejską, wszyscy przejezdni, nawet większość Rosyan korzystała wyłącznie z ich usług. Parowce innych narodowości odwiedzały Koreę dorywczo, a Towarzystwo Wschodniej Drogi Żel. Chińskiej miało taryfy droższe od japońskich i było wieczniew takiej niezgodzie z własnym rozkładem, że statki chodziły zawsze prawie puste i bez ładunku. Jednocześnie urządzili Japończycy wszędzie, gdzie tylko uzyskali na to pozwolenie pocztę i telegraf, których sprawność powszechnie jest znana i nie ustępuje w sprawności i dyskrecyi nawet poczcie angielskiej.³⁹

In case of Western visitors to Korea in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, they came to Korea after they traveled China or Japan. Sieroszewski visited Japan first, and was fascinated by its modernization. He evaluated Japanese as a capable nation, and even wrote that Japan was better than Europe in some ways.

Based on his positive view of Japan, he compared Korea and Japan throughout the entire trip. First of all, he described Korean coast as follows.

Wreszcie wyłoniły się z liliowych mgieł nagie, skaliste brzegi koreańskie... Jakże wydały mi się brzydkie, posępne po uroczych wybrzeżach Japonii! Polamane, pogięte poszczerbione, uderzały jedynie potwornością swych dziwnie pokreślonych wiszarów.⁴⁰

He compared Port Busan and Japanese coast. Busan was described as a gloomy, ugly, and bizarre place. Did other Westerners have same opinion about that?

³⁸ An Sang-Hoon, op. cit., p. 116.

³⁹ Wacław Sieroszewski, *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu*. p. 270.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

Unlike nice, green, and well-cultivated Japanese coast, there was no plant in Korean coast. There were only solid rocks, which were like a huge barrier against strangers. Going up several kilometers along the coast, which looked bleak and sad, I could not see just one single town, even one single hut. It was the opposite scenery to the paradise-like Japanese coast!⁴¹

The sun was just rising as I went to the deck. What a splendid view! We cast anchor at the wide bay. There were tall, bleak, and brown hills, like guards, with black and rugged rocks. The morning sun shone on the hills and the sea, smooth as a mirror, and silver clouds, with gold linings, were floating in the sky. It was like one summer morning, except it was cold.⁴²

The former was written by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg (1854-1918), Austrian traveler visited Korea in June, 1894, after he traveled Japan. His description is very similar to Sieroszewski's. He described Japan as paradise, Korea as land of sadness. On the other hand, the latter was written by William A. Grebst (1875-1920), Swedish journalist. In his eyes, Port Busan was one beautiful place in December 26th, 1904. In fact, he was one of the few who sympathized with Korea.

“Japan and Korea are both Asian countries, but they are so different!”⁴³ Sieroszewski compared Japan and Korea, and there was a contrast of “good Japan” and “bad Korea.” For instance, he wrote that Japanese settlement in Busan was clean, neat, well-lighted, and well-ventilated, meanwhile, Korean district was dark, dirty, and poor.

Naogół technika rolnictwa korejskiego odpowiada wrażeniu całego układu korejskiego. Ona nie jest złą, nie jest nawet niedbałą, ale straciła tężyznę pracy, dążącej do swego udoskonalenia, pragnącej go i wierzącej w nie. Dziwny kontrast z Japonią, gdzie wszystko drag od tej wiary i potężnego napięcia!⁴⁴

Dzięki temu na życiu korejskiem leży smutny cień, wszystko wydaje się przygnębionem, pozbawionem wszelkiej przedsiębiorczości i chęci do życia. Najmniejsza nowość przeraża; jak zboliałe ciało lęka się najmniejszego dotknięcia, tak społeczeństwo korejskie obawia się wszelkich zmian.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, *Korea in Summer of 1894: The Travels of an Austrian*, Hesse-Wartegg. Translated by Jung Hyeon-Gyu, Seoul: Chaekgwahamgge, 2012, p. 13.

⁴² Ason Grebst, *The Travels of Korean Empire before Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1904: Ason, Swedish Journalist, Visited Korea One Hundred Years Ago*. Translated by Kim Sang-Yeol, Seoul: Chaekgwahamgge, 2005, p. 29.

⁴³ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea: Klucz Dalekiego Wschodu*. p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 306.

In his view, Japan was an energetic and enterprising country, “vibrating with tension and development.” On the contrary, Korea was in the funeral-like mood, and there was no endeavor or enthusiasm.

Moreover, he believed that Japan was sincerely helping Korea, by improving its administrative system, educating people, abolishing slavery, and developing economy. He did not agree with Shin, his tour guide, who blamed Japan. He anticipated that Japan, with the spirit of progress and humanism, would help poor Korea to its feet. He even approved that Japan took profit in return for modernizing Korea.⁴⁶ In addition, he did not support Russia although he knew about Russian ambition to rule Korea. In the third version (1909), he called Russian soldiers who conquered northern Korea as “invaders.”⁴⁷

Finally, Lee Min-Hee (2001) pointed out that Sieroszewski considered that Korea and Poland were in the same situation, and, as a result, sympathized with Korea. According to radio broadcasting in November, 1927, it seemed true. “Oh, Korea! Your destiny is similar to Poland’s one in the past!”⁴⁸ However, twenty years ago, his view of Korea was different. Korea was a poor and underprivileged country in his eyes, and that was all. Korea never reminded him of his home.

In 1896, Kim Deuk-Ryeon (金得鍊), Korean interpreter and one of embassy to Russia, heard about Polish history in Warsaw, and wrote “Poland in the past, region of Russia now.”⁴⁹ Lee argued that Kim thought that Korea and Poland were in the same boat, but the author doubts that. Unlike Poland under three countries’ rule, Korea was still an independent country. In addition, it seems impossible that Sieroszewski thought that Korea’s situation was better Poland’s one. It was because of faith in white race and Western civilization, as pointed by translators of *KKDW*.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 273-274.

⁴⁷ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 359-363.

⁴⁸ Lee Min-Hee, op. cit., p. 252.

⁴⁹ Lee Min-Hee, op. cit., p. 245.

⁵⁰ Waclaw Sieroszewski, *Korea in Fall of 1903: The Travels to the Korean Empire of Sieroszewski, Russian Scholar*. pp. 432-433.

4. Conclusion

To understanding Sieroszewski's *KKDW* and view of Korea, the author reviews a brief history of Western literature concerning Korea. It seems that Westerners have repeated the same stories, but there was a difference. Hamel hardly ignored or belittled Korea, and Jesuit missionaries had a positive view of Korea because they admired Chinese civilization. However, since the nineteenth century, Christian white supremacy occurred with the huge transformation in the West. French missionaries compared Korea to the medieval Europe and criticized Korean as a less civilized nation. One American pastor argued that Korea should accept Western, especially American, civilization, that is, Christianity and science, as soon as possible. Sieroszewski shared the confidence of Westerners in his times, although his motherland was relatively weak in Europe.

He traveled Korea in October and November, 1903, and wrote *KKDW* after he came home in 1904. He included much information from Korea-related literature as well as his travel journal. He actually consulted *Opisanie Korei* and Hamilton's *Korea*, although it seems he read a lot of books.

Sieroszewski was from a country under foreign rule, but he was still a Westerner. He believed in Western supremacy and, among Asian countries, he admired Japan because Japan was a fast learner of Western civilization. Some researchers explained that he sympathized with Korea, but the author believes that he was critical to Korea. He constantly criticized that there was endeavor, enthusiasm, energy, or progress in Korean spirit. He took for granted that Japan exerted its influence and made profit in Korea. He would not do that if he would think that Poland and Korea were in the same trouble. In sum, it seems impossible that he believed that Korea was better than Poland, such as one Korean interpreter considered that Korea was better than Poland.

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