

# Interactions among Three Cultures in East Asian International Politics during the Late Nineteenth Century: Collating Five Different Texts of Huang Zun-xian's "Chao-xian Ce-lue" (Korean Strategy)\*

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## Introduction

In September 1880 (the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji for Japan, the 17<sup>th</sup> year of King Kojong for Korea, and the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Emperor Guang-xu for China), an epoch-making document in the history of international relations in early modern East Asia was drafted. It was "Chao-xian Ce-lue" (Korean Strategy) by Huang Zun-xian. Not only the nature but also the contents of this work, parts of which will be introduced in this paper, are astonishing indeed. It declared in a decisive way the fact that international relations in East Asia were breaking away from the traditional Chinese world order and shifting toward a modern international order. Also, it clearly presented a geopolitical map of the emerging modern East Asia probably for the first time, in a global perspective and in a brutal manner. Moreover, it tragically foretold the history of modern international relations that was to unfold in East Asia in subsequent years. It would not be an exaggeration to say that Huang Zun-xian's "Chao-xian Ce-lue" was a work of destiny that determined the modern history of East Asia.

Huang Zun-xian authored this document during his stay in Japan. As a councilor ("can-zan") to He Ru-zhang who was Qing's first envoy to Japan, Huang (1848–1905, alias Gong-du, a native of Jia-ying county, Guangdong province and a Hakka) was 33 years old and in the fourth year of his posting to Japan at the time. At the age of 29, he had passed the difficult higher civil service examination and almost immediately been given a diplomatic posting to Japan by He Ru-zhang. As soon as positioned

in Tokyo, Huang saw it as his assignment to collect information on Japan for Minister He. Moreover, as he believed he had found in Japan a peaceful living and culture, which had been lost in the turmoil of his homeland, and even a Utopia, he quickly began his Japanese studies, the fruits of which were compiled later in his writings, *Riben Zashi Shi* (Poems on Japanese Miscellany)<sup>1)</sup> and *Riben Kuo1zhi* (Notes on Things Japanese)<sup>2)</sup>. The Chinese legation, staffed with many literati like He and Huang, was often visited by those traditional Japanese who were fans of classical Chinese culture. Conversing by means of writing, they asked the Chinese officials for discussions on Chinese culture and remarks on their written Chinese-style poems. They included Ishikawa Kosai, a scholar of Chinese literature, Okochi Kisei, former lord of the Takasaki Domain, and Miyajima Seiichiro, an unattached official of the Japanese Public Record Office<sup>3)</sup>. As he discussed with them subjects such as cherry-blossom picnics and sensuality as a refinement of literati, Huang rapidly deepened his knowledge of Japanese culture<sup>4)</sup>.

In the midst of this mundane situation, on August 11, 1880, a mission of the second “sushinsa” (special diplomatic envoy) from Korea, headed by Kim Hong-Jip, arrived on a visit to Japan. The diplomatic tasks assigned to Kim were to persuade the Japanese government to withdraw its request for opening the port of Incheon and stationing a Japanese minister in Seoul, and to let Korea continue the collection of import duties at the port of Pusan and the export ban on rice. He Ru-zhang, on the other hand, had his own diplomatic problems with Japan. They included the Ryukyu question which had been at issue from the beginning of his assignment and put him in a position to seek a basic framework for China’s East Asian policy.

During his stay in Japan, Kim visited Qing’s legation six times, as Qing was the suzerain to Korea, to exchange with He opinions on diplomatic policy<sup>5)</sup>. On September 6, two days before Kim’s departure for Korea, the Qing legation presented him with “Chao-xian Ce-lue” (Korean

Strategy), written by Huang<sup>6</sup>). It was a policy paper par excellence that stated Korea's basic diplomatic policy. Nevertheless, Huang, under instructions from He, prepared the paper in about ten days<sup>7</sup>). The policies in it were not totally original with Huang, of course. There had already been exchanges of opinions between Minister He and Li Hong-zhang on China's Korean policy and He's policy position toward Korea had been nearly determined, with Li's understanding. There is no doubt that it was with the intentions of Minister He taken into account that Huang drafted "Chao-xian Ce-lue"<sup>8</sup>).

Upon his return home, Kim Hong-Jip submitted "Chao-xian Ce-lue" together with a report on his negotiations with Japanese government officials. On October 11, the "Chunghidang" meeting had a full-scale discussion on "Chao-xian Ce-lue". Through his visit to Japan, Kim had come to believe in "the necessity for an open-door and enlightenment policy to increase the wealth and power of the nation," and he commended the proposals in "Chao-xian Ce-lue" to King Kojong and the ministers of the imperial court<sup>9</sup>). Thereupon Kim became the central figure promoting Korea's enlightenment policy. By the end of 1881, the Korean government set up the "Tongligimuamun" (Ministry of General Affairs) to steer a course toward an open-door policy. However, such an open-door and enlightenment policy unleashed strong movements against it, led by Confucian scholars who were out of office.

## I. On Different Texts of "Chao-xian Ce-lue" and their Lineage

### 1. Different Texts

When referring to Huang Zun-xian's "Chao-xian Ce-lue", historians ordinarily use the text of "Chao-xian Ce-lue" contained in "Sushinsa Diary Vol. 2" in Volume 9 *Sushinsa Kirok* of *Han'gok saryo ch'ongso* (Materials for

Korean History)<sup>10</sup> edited by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History<sup>11</sup>). Needless to say, the *Sushinsa Kirok* is an official record left by Kim Hong-Jip, the special diplomatic envoy (“sushinsa”) who brought Huang’s “Chao-xian Ce-lue” to Korea from Japan. Thus, it would be natural to regard the “Chao-xian Ce-lue” contained in the official record as authentic. Indeed, it is natural to conceive that the original text of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” submitted by Kim to the King had been in custody and the committee in charge of editing the national history reprinted it to make up historical materials (by printing it in type and adding punctuation marks). However, there are a number of different texts of “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” Moreover, an examination and collation of these texts makes one doubt if the text contained in *Sushinsa Kirok* is identical to the original text.

In addition to the above text, first, there is a “Chao-xian Ce-lue” in “Sushinsa Diary” which is contained in *Kim Hong-Jip’s Posthumous Writings* edited by the Central Library of Korean University (published by Korean University Press in 1976)<sup>12</sup>). It is a hand-written text. It is said that a manuscript of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” stored in the Central Library collection was facsimiled to make this text, but it is unknown when the manuscript was hand-written or in what shape the original text had been. It seems quite likely that “Chao-xian Ce-lue” in the documents left by Kim Hong-Jip was copied by hand. However, this text has punctuation marks that were apparently added at a later time. This second text is very similar to the text published by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History, but not totally identical. A third of the texts which the author has in hand is the main text in *Huang Zun-xian’s Chao-xian Ce-lue* published by Kenkok University Press with translation and annotations by Professor Cho Il-Mun<sup>13</sup>). The text used by Professor Cho is a hand-written one like the Korea University Press version. It is likely to be a photocopy of an original woodcut text that is presumed to have been a text printed by

engraved wood and circulated within Korea at the time. This text has no punctuation marks and differs from the aforementioned two in many respects.

A fourth text is a “Chao-xian Ce-lue” contained as Annex 1 of Document No.136 in “Item 7: Visit of Sushinsa from Korea to Japan” in Vol.13 (13<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji, 1880) of *Nihon Gaiko Monjo* (Japan’s diplomatic records), compiled by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan<sup>14</sup>). This text is by type-printing like the text by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History and like it has punctuation marks. This text is, in a sense, the Japanese version of the Korean printed text, and it is often referred to partly because of its ease of use for Japanese students. However, it differs substantially from not only the two Korean transcript texts but also from the printed text published by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History.

Finally, as the fifth, the author has at hand a hand-written text apparently produced by the Japanese side. It was “discovered” years ago by a student participating in my graduate school seminar, at the Chinese classics section in the Library of the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo<sup>15</sup>). This fifth text has been little known among students until now. It is a private print, pen-and-inked on Japanese writing paper and bound in Japanese style, and on its front cover it bears only the title “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” At the far left column on one of the pages of the text is written in ink, in a slightly different hand from the hand in the text, “Owned by Shojiro Nakamura, March, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Meiji (1882).” In the center of the same page, in another, different hand, there is a note in two columns that reads, “Given by the Old Shojiro Nakamura, August, the 7<sup>th</sup> of Showa, Shimpei”. In other words, this document was given by Mr. Shojiro Nakamura to someone whose name was Shimpei (a given name) in 1929 and somehow found its way to a library at Tokyo University. Further, one of the four seals stamped on the second page can be made out as “ Nakamura

Collection”. This fifth text is not identical to either of the other four. What kind of text is it? Specifically, what connection does it have to the text in Japanese diplomatic records?

To sum it up, we deal with five different texts of Huang Zun-xian’s “Chao-xian Ce-lue” (Korean Strategy) in this paper. For the convenience of later discussions, they have been labeled Texts A, B, C, D and E, respectively. Namely, they are:

Text A: *Sushinsa Kirok* edited by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History, printed in type

Text B: *Kim Hong-Jip’s Posthumous Writings*, transcript

Text C: Professor Cho Il-Mun’s annotation version, transcript

Text D: Japanese diplomatic records version, printed in type

Text E: Shojiro Nakamura text, transcript.

The total number of Chinese characters used in “Chao-xian Ce-lue” is 5,952, based on the Shojiro Nakamura text (i.e., Text E) that is written with no punctuation and space on writing paper with 13 columns and 18 characters per column<sup>16</sup>).

## 2. Differences among the Five Texts

As pointed out earlier, the five texts are not identical. First of all, the title is “Chao-xian Ce-lue/ Privately drafted by Huang Zun-xian of Guangdong” for Texts A, B and C, while for Texts D and E on the Japanese side, it reads, “Chao-xian Ce-lue/ privately drafted by Huang Zun-xian/ “can zan” for Minister stationed in Japan/ a native of Guangdong.”<sup>17</sup>)

Let us now look at the very first paragraph of “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” The text by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History (Text A), for example, has it as follows:

地球之上、有莫大之國焉、曰俄羅斯、其幅員之廣、跨有三州、陸軍精兵百

餘萬、海軍巨艦二百餘艘、顧以立國在北、天寒地瘠、故狡然思啓其封疆、以利社稷、自先世彼得王以來、新拓疆土、既踰十倍、至於今王、更有括四海、并吞八荒之心、其中亞細亞回鶻諸部、蠶食殆盡、天下皆知其志之不少、往往合從以相距、土耳其一國、俄久欲並之、以英法合力維持、俄卒不得逞其志、方泰西諸大若德、若奧、若英、若意、若法、皆眈眈虎視、斷不假尺寸之土以與人、俄既不能西略、乃幡然變計、欲肆其東封、十餘年來、得樺太州於日本、得黑龍江之東於中國、又屯戍圖們江口、據高屋建瓴之勢、其經之營之、不遺餘力者、欲得志於亞細亞耳<sup>18)</sup>

Table below shows all the wordings of this paragraph that differ between any two of the five texts.

**Table Different Wordings among the Five Texts of Huang Zun-xian's "Chao-xian Ce-lue", First Paragraph only**

Page·line	Text A	Text B	Text C	Text D	Text E
0·1	其幅員之廣	same as A	其幅圓之廣	same as A	same as A
0·1	跨有三洲	same as A	same as A	same as A	跨三洲
0·2	顧以立國在北	same as A	same as A	以立國在北	same as D
0·2	天寒地瘦	天寒天地瘦	same as A	same as A	same as A
0·3	更有括四海	更有囊括四海	same as B	same as B	same as B
0·3	蠶食殆盡	same as A	蚕食殆盡	吞食殆盡	same as D
0·4	合從以相距	same as A	合從而相距	合而相拒	合從而相拒
0·4	俄久欲並之	same as A	俄久欲吞之	俄久欲并之	same as D
0·4	方泰西諸大	same as A	方今泰西諸大	方今泰西諸國	same as D
0·5	若德若奧若英	same as A	若德若英若奧	same as C	若德若英若粵
0·5	斷不假尺寸之土	same as A	斷不可尺寸之土	same as A	same as A
0·5	乃幡然變計	same as A	乃幡然變計	same as A	same as A
0·6	得黑龍江之東	same as A	得黃龍江之東	得黑龍江東之	得黑龍東江之
0·6	據高屋建瓴之勢	same as A	據高屋建瓶之勢	據高屋建瓴之勢	same as C
0·7	其經之營之	same as A	same as A	其經之其營之	same as D

0 · 7 欲得志於垂細垂耳 same as A      same as A      same as A      者欲得志於  
垂細垂耳

Note: “Page·line” at the left of each line indicates the page and the line where the phrase is found in *Han'gok Saryo Ch'ongso*, vol.9 (Text A). Page's first two digits are omitted here; thus “0·7” stands for page 160, line 7 of Text A.

This table lists parts, in terms of phrases, of the five texts that present any difference in wordings. “Differences in wordings by any measure” include differences in one or two Chinese characters used, omissions or additions of one or two Chinese characters, reversals of word order, and omissions of several characters in a unit<sup>19</sup>). Table 1 is a part of the table produced for the entire text of “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” Counting by the entire table reveals that though the five texts were supposedly transcribed from the same “Chao-xian Ce-lue,” there are all together 466 phrases that have some differences from one text to another. Here, “phrases” are adopted as a unit of convenience in counting such differences, dividing the text into “phrases” on the basis of the punctuation marks applied to *Sushinsa kirok* (Text A) by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History<sup>20</sup>). The total number of phrases in the full “Chao-xian Ce-lue” text, added up by counting the punctuation marks, amount to 1,047. Thus, 44.5% of the entire phrases have some differences between any two of the five texts.

Some may wonder if the five texts, with this high percentage of non-conformity, were truly transcribed from the same “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” However, in most cases the difference involves the variance of one or two characters in a phrase, rather than the whole phrase. Presuming that on average two characters in a phrase show a variance, the total number of non-conforming characters accounts for just 15.6% of the total characters in the text. Moreover, the non-conformity is only to the extent that most of the non-conforming characters are similar to each other or the word order is



slightly different. On the whole, therefore, it is doubtless that the five texts were transcribed from the same “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” On the other hand, the fact that over 40% of the phrases have some variances suggests that “Chao-xian Ce-lue” had an eventful creation and transformation, with many different texts produced by repeated acts of hand transcribing. The fact that the text as a whole is nearly identical, but that there are many slight variances, is a significant factor we cannot overlook to clarify the nature of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” as a political document<sup>21</sup>).

Let us now look at the quantitative conformity and non-conformity among the five texts. Between Text A and Text B, there are 32 phrases that show variances in wordings (in other words, the two texts – Text A and Text B – are identical for 1,015 phrases). In this case, the non-conformity ratio, or the ratio of different phrases to the total phrases, stands at 3%. Compared to the non-conformity ratios for the other combinations of two texts, that between Text A and Text B is indeed very low. Nevertheless, even these two pieces, that are supposed to have been closest to the original “Chao-xian Ce-lue” by Huang Zun-xian himself (the original text, which is hereafter referred to as Text H), have distinctive though slight differences between them. The number of different phrases between Professor Cho Il-Mun’s annotation version (Text C) and Text A amounts to 248 (with a non-conformity ratio of 23.7%) and the comparable figure between Text C and Text B is 241 (a non-conformity ratio of 23.0%). The discrepancy between the two non-conformity ratios is not significant enough to determine if Text C is closer to Text B than to Text A.

What are the conformity and non-conformity between the three texts on the Korean side and the two on the Japanese side? A total of 371 different phrases can be found between the Japanese diplomatic records version (Text D) and Text A (a non-conformity ratio of 35.4%). Between Text D and Text B, there are 369 different phrases (a non-conformity ratio of 35.2%), and between Text D and Text C, there are 397 (a non-conformity

ratio of 37.9%). Thus, the degree of non-conformity is highest between Text D and Text C. On the other hand, there are 361 different phrases between the Shojiro Nakamura text (Text E) and Text A (a non-conformity ratio of 34.5%). Compared to the figure between Text D and Text A, the degree of non-conformity is slightly lower. Differences in phrases (with corresponding non-conformity ratio) between Text E and Text B, and between Text E and Text C, are 359 (34.3%) and 384 (36.7%) respectively. Finally, a comparison between the two pieces on the Japanese side – Text D and Text E – shows 58 different phrases (a non-conformity ratio of 5.5%). This indicates that the two texts on the Japanese side are very far from the three texts on the Korean side, and fairly close to each other.

The aforementioned rough comparison clearly indicates that it is inappropriate to rely on Text A or Text D, solely because they are published texts. Even a simple quantitative comparison indicates that there are problems with Text D in particular.

### 3. Relationship among the Five Texts

Let us now consider the relationship among the five texts through a comparative study of specific expressions used in them. First, what relationships exist between Text A and Text B? As stated earlier, there are 32 different phrases between the two. As shown in the table above, two cases of the different phrases in the first paragraph of the two texts are “天寒地瘦” (Text A) and “天寒天地瘦” (Text B), and “更有括四海” (Text A) and “更有囊括四海” (Text B). “天寒天地瘦” in Text B may be attributable to a transcription error. The phrase “天寒地瘦” from Text A is used in Texts C, D and E too. On the other hand, with regard to the second difference, the “更有囊括四海” used in Text B seems much better, with Texts C, D and E using the same phrase. Of the other phrases that appear in the later part of the paragraph, as for “同心合力” (Text A, p.171, line 5) against “同力心合力”

(Text B), it is clear that the latter is a transcription error, with the other three texts adopting the same phrase as Text A. For “肆惡以呈毒哉” (Text A, p.164, line2) against “肆惡以逞毒哉” (Text B), and “非鄙利而何” (Text A, p.164, line 10) against “非圖利而何” (Text B), the phrases in Text B are obviously correct. On the whole, for the phrases that differ between Text A and Text B, where Texts C, D and E adopt the same wordings as in Text A or Text B, they adopt the same wordings as Text A in 17 instances, and as B in 33 instances. Although Texts C, D and E cannot be used to make a neutral judgment on the differences between Text A and Text B, a point to be elaborated later, it is obvious from this discussion alone that we cannot necessarily regard Text A as the best text for “Chao-xian Ce-lue.”

Text A and Text B are no doubt very close to each other. It is clearly so because Kim Hong-Jip was directly involved in them; the texts themselves prove it. It is unlikely, however, that either Text A or Text B is the true original text (Text H), while it can be reasonably assumed that the two are very close to the original. Presumably, Text A and Text B were transcribed from the original on different occasions, and it is reasonable to think that many of the differences in wordings between the two were caused by transcription mistakes. Whatever the case may have been, it is also possible that the original text, i.e. Text H, itself contained errors. The fact that Huang Zun-xian had to write down the text during such a short period of time makes it probable that there were some errors in the original text.

Text C is believed to have been a derivative of a group that included Texts A and B. However, because of the aforementioned high degree of non-conformity between Text C and Texts A and B, it is reasonable to assume that Text C is substantially distant from both Text A and Text B. Text C is most likely an outcome of a long series of repeated transcription starting from a copy that came out of the Court by transcription. The aforementioned non-conformity ratio is insufficient to determine whether Text C derived from the line of Text A or that of Text B.

On the other hand, it is apparent from glancing at the table of different phrases that Text D and Text E – the two pieces from the Japanese side – are further distant from Texts A and B than is Text C. A comparison of the non-conformity ratio only reaffirms the fact. A much more interesting fact is that Texts D and E are not only much deviated from Text C, but also the degrees of non-conformity between Text D and Text C and between Text E and Text C are the highest. In other words, it could be assumed that Texts D and E do not belong to the line of Text C, but they are transcripts of other texts that were circulated. It is said that in Korea at that time there were a variety of transcripts of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” in circulation and this is another proof of that. The fact that the titles of Texts D and E differ distinctively not only from Texts A and B, but also from Text C, and also the fact that they have much more explanation about Huang Zun-xian, the author, indicate that they are much further from Texts A and B than is Text C.

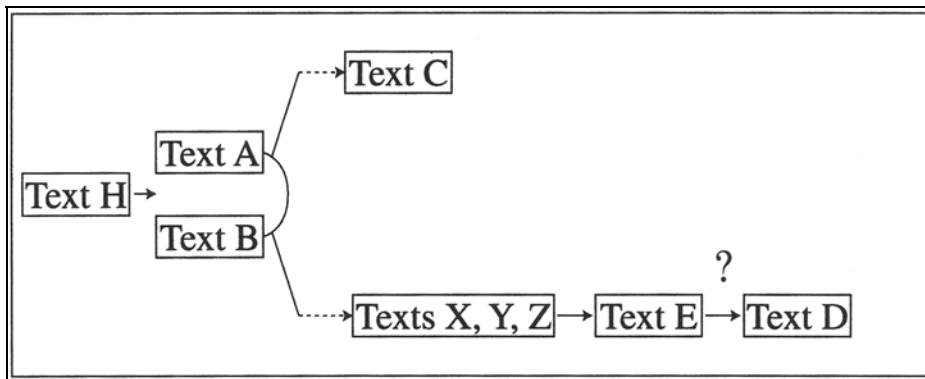
Finally, what are the relationships between Text D and Text E, the two texts from the Japanese side? Given the facts that the titles are nearly identical<sup>22)</sup> and that the degree of non-conformity between the two is as low as 5.5%, it is safe to say that the two are clearly close to one another. Are they identical? The Japanese diplomatic document that contains Text D includes a note stating that, “related to the accomplishment of the mission that visited Japan, . . . there was Huang Zun-xian’s “Chao-xian Ce-lue,” and on March 29 of the next year, this was sent to this office from Consul General Maeda in Wonsan, Korea.”<sup>23)</sup> In other words, Consul General Kenkichi Maeda, who was stationed in Wonsan, acquired the copy and sent it to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo. On the writing paper of Text E, on the other hand, one can read through masking ink a letter head saying “Consulate of Japan, Port of Wonsan, Korea”. It was written on official writing paper for the Consulate of Japan in Wonsan. Who, then, was Shojiro Nakamura, the person who owned this copy (Text E) in March,

the 15<sup>th</sup> of Meiji (1882)? It is confirmed that he served as charge d'affaires at the Consulate of Japan in Wonsan, at least during the period from October 1880 to February 1882. The Consul General at the time was of course Kenkichi Maeda<sup>24</sup>). From these two records, it seems reasonable to assume that Consul General Maeda acquired a copy of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” from Shojiro Nakamura of his consular staff, and that Nakamura submitted the copy to Consul General Maeda, having acquired or transcribed the document that was in circulation outside of the consulate. Thereafter, as of the spring of 1882, Nakamura might have possessed the text when it had become unneeded after its copy had been sent to Tokyo, or a transcript he had made. It is not definite but probable that Text E was the original for Text D.

Why, then, are there as many as 58 differences in wordings between the two texts? The primary cause is transcription errors. If a copy of the text obtained by Nakamura outside the Consulate was sent to Tokyo, it might have been transcribed at least twice by Nakamura himself and/or by some other person. The second cause would be errors committed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the reproduction of the text for inclusion into Japan's diplomatic records. There are a substantial number of what were likely to be careless mistakes, including one case of an omission of a bloc of 18 characters. As a result, as shown in Chart below, among the five texts now available, the one that is apparently furthest from the original text of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” is Text E, “Japan's diplomatic records” version. To take as an example the case of the thirteenth phrase listed in Table above, the same wording of “得黒龍江之東” is found in Text A (p.160, line 6) and in Text B, while in Text C, which is considered to have been derived from either Text A or B, the phrase was rewritten “得黃龍江之東” with a mistake. In Text E, which is considered to have belonged to a line different from Text C, the phrase was or had been erroneously transcribed as “得黒龍東江之.” The producer of Text D, who apparently judged the wording in Text

E to be erroneous, changed it to “得黑龍江東之,” but not thoroughly<sup>25</sup>). In the following discussion of the contents of “Chao-xian Ce-lue,” we shall take all these differences among the texts into consideration.

**Chart** Lines of Different Texts of Huang Zun-xian’s “Chao-xian Ce-lue”



## II. Policy Recommendations

### 1. Huang’s Recognition of the Contemporary International Situation – Wariness toward Russia

For the purpose of exemplifying differences between the five texts, the first paragraph of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” was used above. The cited paragraph began with the statement, “On the Earth, there is a gigantic state and it is called Russia.” Then, it pointed out that though Russia had been seeking territorial expansion for years, its empire building westward had been contained by wariness toward it by the European powers, including Germany, Austria, Britain, Italy and France (the order of the states is according to that in Texts A and B). As a result, it had changed its course eastward, and had already occupied Sakhalin, the east bank of Heilong Jiang river and the mouth of Tumen river. Now, Russia was trying to rule

these newly acquired areas with the utmost effort. “Chao-xian Ce-lue” concluded that Russia was doing so, “solely because the country wishes to materialize its ambition in Asia.”

Huang Zun-xian began his policy statement, which was to recommend a drastic turnaround of Korea’s diplomacy and domestic administration, abruptly with the statement: “On the earth, there is a gigantic state and it is called Russia.” We can say that this was indeed a decisive recognition of the international situation then. We can also say that it was a clear presentation of the theme, as this recognition was made a consistent basis for his policy recommendations that followed. It has been an accepted way to say that China under the reign of the Qing dynasty was wary of Russia because China had been threatened by Russia approaching China’s northern territory. However, Huang’s scope of vision reached as far as Europe, and took the European powers’ alliance against Russia as a crucial point. This shows that Huang Zun-xian, a young Chinese diplomat, had a penetrating recognition of the contemporary situation.

## 2. Policy for Korea – “Keeping Close to China, Creating Ties with Japan, and Allying with the United States” and “Aiming Only to Strengthen Itself”

In the paragraph that followed, Huang Zun-xian pointed to the geopolitical importance of Korea in international politics in Asia, and presented a basic policy to be taken by Korea as follows:

朝鮮一土、實居亞細亞要衝、爲形勝之所必爭、朝鮮危則中東之勢日亟、俄欲略地、必自朝鮮始矣、嗟夫、俄爲遞視狼秦、力征經營、三百餘年、其始在歐羅巴、繼在中亞細亞、至於今日、更在東亞細亞、而朝鮮適承其弊、然則策朝鮮今日之急務、莫急於防俄、防俄之策、如之何、曰親中國・結日本・聯美國、以圖自強而已<sup>26)</sup>

The land of Korea is located at a pivot in Asia indeed, and will never

fail to provide a contesting ground. If Korea falls into crisis, the situation in China and Japan will swiftly change as well. If Russia wants to expand its territory, it will certainly start from Korea. Alas, Russia has been making strenuous efforts for expansion for the past three hundreds years or more, watching to pounce like a wolf as was the ancient Qin. Its invasion first targeted Europe, then Central Asia, and now Russia is targeting East Asia. Thus, Korea is very likely to be the immediate victim of Russia. Therefore, no other task is more urgent for Korea than to defend against a possible Russian invasion. What will be the measure for defense against Russia? We say the only way for Korea is to remain close to China, create ties with Japan, ally itself with the United States, and try to strengthen itself.

**Note: Collation of Differences among the Texts**

(In the original Chinese text of this paragraph, the following differences of wordings are found and collated among the five texts.)

“爲形勝之所必争” (Texts A, B, D and E) — “爲形勝之必争” (Text C)

“俄欲略地” (Texts A, B, D and E) — “亞欲略地” (Text C)

“必自朝鮮始矣” (Texts A, B and C) — “必自朝鮮始” (Texts D and E)

“俄爲遞視狼秦” (Text B) — “俄爲遞狼秦” (Text A) — “俄爲虎狼秦” (Texts C, D and E)

“至於今日” (Texts A, B and D) — “至至於今日” (Text C) — “於今日” (Text E)

“更在東亞細亞” (Texts A, B, D and E) — “更在東西細亞” (Text C)

“而朝鮮適承其弊” (Texts A, B, D and E) — “而朝鮮適承其敬” (Text C) <sup>27)</sup>

Huang repeatedly pointed out that Russia had tried to expand its territory into Europe and then into Central Asia, and now that it was targeting East Asia. He further argued that since Korea was a pivot in Asia, it would inevitably become an area of conflict, and that it thus had no other urgent



task than defending itself against Russia. And then, for Korea's policy toward Russia he made the famous foreign policy recommendation: "Keep close to China, Create ties with Japan, and Ally with the United States of America" and the domestic policy recommendation: "Aim to strengthen itself."

### 3. Korea's Policy toward Japan

Huang Zun-xian anticipated that there would be doubt from the Korean side about the three pillars of his recommendations. Thus, he stated:

夫、曰親中國、朝鮮之所信者也、曰結日本、朝鮮之所將信將疑者也、曰聯美國、則朝鮮之所深疑者也<sup>28)</sup>

Now, to keep close to China is what Korea believes in. As for tying with Japan, it half believes and half doubts. And to ally with the United States is what Korea deeply doubts.

Assuming these doubts and by way of answering them, Huang gave a full account of the validity of his recommended policy. Here, let us take his recommended policy toward Japan, namely, "creating ties with Japan," as an example. The primary reason for recommending that Korea create ties with Japan was that, except for China, Japan had the closest relations with Korea. The two countries shared the threat of Russia in the north, and if Korea were to suffer any mishap, Japan would be unable to retain the islands of Kyushu and Shikoku either. "Therefore, Japan and Korea are mutually dependent just as a wheel and its axle." Under the encroachment of the Western powers, Japan was hopeful to form an "association as close as the lips and the teeth" with Korea. So, Huang recommended that Korea discard its petty Japanophobia and take a far-sighted policy of creating ties with Japan<sup>29)</sup>.

However, anti-Japanese forces in Korea would cite Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea in the past and the Kangwhado Incident in more recent times to justify their distrust of Japan. Regarding this anti-Japanese sentiment, Huang Zun-xian pointed out that Korea was resilient enough in that although it had been temporarily subdued by invasions of foreign forces in the past, it had never allowed them complete domination. He then tried to mitigate Korean suspicion of a possible Japanese invasion, by saying that China's involvement in Korean affairs would certainly thwart any Japanese intention to make inroads into Korea. Regarding the role of China in discouraging such attempts, Huang mentioned that Li Hong-zhang's recent warning to Japan had been effective. He asserted that because of China's presence in Korea, Saigo Takamori's proposal to invade Korea had not been implemented after all<sup>30</sup>).

Also, if the Japanese side became convinced of a close "lips and teeth" relationship with Korea, it would seek, as a matter of course, trust and friendship. Moreover, if it became aware of the currents of the times, Japan would understand that it would be in its own interest to have "Korea strengthen itself to serve as a wall of defense in the west of the sea." Still more, he continued, while appearing strong, in reality Japan at present "is internally dried out, with the government having lost touch with its people and the National Treasury being hollowed out," so that it would have no room for attempting an invasion of Korea. He said that as it was important to know oneself and to know the other, Korea should know that just as there was no doubt in the certainty of Japan wanting to tie up with Korea, there was no doubt about the inevitability of Korea entering into a partnership with Japan<sup>31</sup>).

In addition, Huang Zun-xian took note of a Korean suspicion that mapping surveys conducted by Japan on the Korean coasts might indicate an intention to invade Korea, and assured that such suspicions were anachronistic, because in contemporary times, when nations visited each

other, it was natural to make maps of their countries open to others. Also, to opposing arguments that the Japanese were violent and intimidating Korea, and that “the personality of the Japanese is such that they favor victory and do not concede; are greedy and shameless; and look only at minor matters and do not see far,” Huang advised that in both countries the poor and the villainous might show such shortcomings, but the Japanese government did not have such bad intentions, so all that Korea must do was to observe treaties and act according to reason. In short, by arguing that if Korea stuck to its traditional way of thinking and did not discard obsolete ideas, it would lose chances to adopt the best policy, Huang tried to persuade the Korean government to adopt a new policy toward Japan<sup>32</sup>).

In the later part of this paper, we will touch upon the characteristics of Huang Zun-xian’s recommendations for Korea’s policy toward Japan such as we have just seen, and point out that there were certain biases in them.

### III. Learning the Principles of Modern International Politics

#### 1. Exposure to the Principles of Modern International Politics

As we saw, Huang Zun-xian proposed to Korea the foreign policy of “keeping close with China, creating ties with Japan and allying with the United States,” and the domestic policy of “aiming to strengthen itself.” It is on the basis of a sense of wariness toward Russia that he made this proposal and especially because he had a unique view of Russia that had as wide a scope as covered whole Eurasia. However, this kind of view alone, far-sighted as it might have been, would not have produced a policy recommendation that included a possible Korean alliance with the United States. There is enough reason to believe that there was an important sufficient condition. After repeatedly pointing to the threat of Russia,

Huang enumerated the reasons why he recommended for Korea to make Japan and the United States its allies. More precisely, he tried to convince Korean people that there was little ground for their fear of Japan and the United States. Then, perhaps because he sensed that his reasoning was not convincing enough, he introduced a theory of international politics. In his argument to anticipated doubts regarding the proposal of “allying with the United States,” he emphasized that the United States had a vast national territory and abundant resources, so that the world knew well that it would not invade other countries. Then, immediately, he added the following explanation:

而顧與英·法·德·意諸國、迭來乞盟、此即泰西所謂均勢之說也、今天下萬國、縱橫搏噬甚於戰國、而列國星羅棋布、欲保無事、必求無甚弱無甚強、互相維持而後可、苟有一國焉、行其并吞則力厚、力厚則勢強、勢強則他國亦不克自安、歐州一土、群雄角立、彼我之耽耽虎視者、既無間可乘、故天下知其志必將東向、東向必自朝鮮視、俄、苟有朝鮮、則亞細亞全勢、在其掌握、惟意所欲、而挾亞細亞全局之勢、反而攻歐羅巴、勢殆不可敵、泰西公法、無得剪滅人國、然苟非條約之國、有事不得與聞、此泰西諸國、所以欲與朝鮮結盟也、欲與朝鮮結盟者、欲取俄國一人欲佔之勢、與天下互均而維持之也、保朝鮮、即所以自保也、此非獨美爲然<sup>33)</sup>

And why do Britain, France, Germany and Italy, looking to each other, come to Korea one after another and ask for alliance? Because that is what the West calls the theorem of balance of power. Today in the world, all states compete and struggle in all possible combinations, to a greater degree than in the times of the Warring States. And, if the great powers want to form a stellar constellation in order to keep a state of peace, it is possible only when they have a condition in which neither very weak nor very strong states exist so that they can maintain each other. If there is even one state that annexes other states, it increases its power and if it increases its power, it increases its military strength, which in turn

threatens the security of all the other states. In whole Europe, powers in rivalry watch closely for an opportunity, so it is already impossible for any to make inroads into other countries. Accordingly, the great powers seek opportunities towards the East. Looking towards the East, they know they should first focus on Korea. If Russia ever occupies Korea, then all that is required is its will to gain a firm grasp of the whole of Asia. And, if Russia, with the whole of Asia under its reign, turns around and attacks Europe, its force will hardly be resisted. The public law of the West does not allow any state to annihilate another. However, unless a country is signatory, it cannot be included in the system even when it is in danger of annihilation. This is why the Western states wish to form alliances with Korea. They wish to form alliances with Korea because they want to prevent Russia from monopolizing Korea and to maintain Korea in balance together with the other powers in the world. To maintain Korea means for them to maintain themselves. It is not the United States alone who sees such self-interest in an alliance with Korea.

As seen above, Huang Zun-xian's basis of argument was the theorem of balance of power that prevailed in the West at the time. His image of the balance of power was something like a "stellar constellation among the great powers" <sup>34</sup>, namely, none other than a chandelier-shaped balance of power or that of mobile type which lacked a balancer. Huang argued that it was on the basis of this theorem that the United States, together with Britain, France, Germany and Italy, came to Korea seeking an alliance. It was certain, he reiterated, that the powers of the West were seeking to conclude friendship treaties with Korea out of self-interest. However, their self-interest was not to invade Korea, as Koreans were fearful, but to protect themselves by preventing Russia from gaining power. He stressed that they wished exactly for the independence and autonomy of Korea. He

also emphasized that “in the customs of the West, when two states are in the state of war, [other states which are] neutral between them cannot take a side” ( “泰西通例、兩國爭戰、局外之國、中立其間、不得偏助”) <sup>35</sup>; therefore, in order to stand up against Russia, Korea had no choice but to ally with the powers of the West.

Most likely for a young diplomat as he was at the time, Huang was learning principles of international politics, which were new and particularly novel for China, and he made them the theoretical basis for his policy recommendation. Where did Huang learn this modern theory of international politics? Minister He seemingly did not have that much knowledge. Also, it is unlikely that any book that would provide commentary on the theory of international politics was available in Japan at that time. It is probable that he acquired this knowledge through conversations with his Japanese friends. Among those Japanese who visited the Qing Consulate at the time were Ito Hirobumi (Councilor of State), Enomoto Takeaki (Lord of the Navy), Ooyama Iwao (Lord of the Army) and others<sup>36</sup>. Also, the Qing legation headed by He, during its first period, carried out tough negotiations with Terashima Munenori (Lord of Foreign Affairs) on the Ryukyu issue. Further, it was reported that Harry Parkes, the British Minister stationed in Japan, visited He and advised him that China should recommend that Korea conclude relations of friendship with many other states<sup>37</sup>. It is unlikely, however, that Huang associated with those figures of higher ranks personally and learnt the theory of international politics from them. Rather, it can be reasonably assumed that in his conversations with such Japanese amateur literary figures as Ishikawa, Okochi and Miyajima who frequented the legation, topics related to the understanding of international politics were included.

## 2. Chinese-style Application

We have several earlier studies pointing to the fact that the policy the “Chao-xian Ce-lue” recommended to Korea was in the line of Qing dynasty’s Korean policy and its Asian policy<sup>38</sup>). Li Hong-zhang and He Ru-zhang agreed and were consistent on the policy of retaining Korea under the control of China by any means (“to maintain Korea first”), in the face of the radically changing international situation. In such a concerted effort by Li and He, however, there were differences in thinking between the two. Regarding the differences between them, Motegi Toshio says that while Li “retained the framework of traditional relationship of suzerainty [over Korea],” He began asserting, beginning in November 1880, the need “to convert Korea into ‘a dependent state’ in terms of modern international law.”<sup>39</sup>) Harada Tamaki argues that while “Li Hong-zhang’s policy was based on traditional Chinese diplomatic doctrine, “the Chao-xian Ce-lue” presented some influence of the prevailing European diplomatic theory.”<sup>40</sup>) It is this paper’s argument that such differences and causes behind the changes can be attributed to Huang Zun-xian’s study of the modern theory of international politics. The question then is whether Huang’s understanding was in perfect accordance with the “modern theory of international politics”.

According to his understanding, the practice of “balance of power” in the world then was equivalent to “all states competing and struggling in all possible combinations”, and indeed that proclivity was much more intense than in the times of the Warring States in China. Clearly, his reference was to the ancient Chinese “inter-state” politics. Then, we have enough reason to assume that his understanding of the “stellar constellation formed by the great powers” was in the same vein, also being based on his reference to the era of Warring States. In his argument advising Korea to work together with Japan to counterbalance Russia, Huang took precedents from Chinese historical cases where “Han, Zhao and Wei in alliance thwarted Qin’s intention to advance eastward, and Wu and Shu in alliance discouraged

Wei's intention to invade the south.”<sup>41)</sup>

What was characteristic above all was the basis he took for his argument recommending that Korea pursue a policy of “keeping close with China.” In short, the policy was a mixture of the traditional China-Korea relationship of “[the small] submitting to the big while [the big] protecting the small” (c. “shida zixiao”; j. “jidai jisho”; k. “sadae jaso”) and the modern international relationship of protectorate and protected<sup>42)</sup>. In other words, what he advised Korea to do was to conclude treaties with anti-Russian powers, including Japan and the United States, but not to become independent as a sovereign state. Indeed, he noted the fact that smaller states were surviving in European international politics, but he called attention to that fact only to emphasize the effects of balance of power.

Certainly, “Chao-xian Ce-lue” was a part of “Qing’s international strategy.”<sup>43)</sup> Here, however, China had a dilemma; “if Korea concludes treaties with other states and is recognized internationally as an independent state, Korea will no longer be a dependent state of China and China will lose Korea accordingly.”<sup>44)</sup> It has to be noted that either Huang did not sense this dilemma even by his new learning, or he intentionally neglected it. Instead, he maintained that it was in Korea's best interest to remain a dependent state of China, stating for instance that “since dependent states are excepted from this rule, Korea today ought to follow China ever more closely than before.” ( “惟屬國則不在此例、今日朝鮮之事中國、當益加於舊”) <sup>45)</sup>

### 3. Policy Recommendations to Korea

As has been discussed above, Huang Zun-xian's recognition of Korea's prospects within international politics was such a stern one that Korea as a smaller state had to work to survive by any means. One of the ways to sustain itself was, as we have seen, to be dependent on China's protection,



and the other was to strengthen itself. “As a basis for strengthening itself,” Huang mentioned five measures, namely, to exchange diplomatic envoys with China, Japan and the United States; to expand trade with China; to let Korean businessmen learn trade practices in Nagasaki and Yokohama; to make the Korean army and navy forces use Qing’s dragon flag; and, to learn Western science and technology and from Qing and Japan<sup>46</sup>). For the fifth measure, he gave praise to Japan, saying, “Korean officers must go to Japan to learn about dockyards, gun factories, military barracks and all sorts of things.” Huang’s concept of “strengthening itself” in this context was to fortify national power in terms of diplomacy, international trade and military affairs, rather than more broadly defined strengthening of national power by the “encouragement of new industries” or the accomplishment of so-called “modernization.” Nevertheless, his view of Japan that emerged from the whole of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” was an appraisal of the rapid “modernization” of Japan in the Meiji era, and it can reasonably be said that Huang saw Japan as the model for “Korea’s strengthening itself.”

On the other hand, “Korea’s strengthening itself” was not to be pursued by Korea independently of China. This attitude of Huang’s was characteristically shown in his advice to the Korean army and navy forces to request the use of Qing’s dragon flag. His attitude was indeed that of a guardian, advising Korea to send students to the School of Translation in Peking for learning Western languages, to Zhili Province for military drills, to Shanghai Arsenal for learning production of machinery and to Fuzhou Dockyard for learning shipbuilding. The entire “Chao-xian Ce-lue” was filled with this attitude.

#### IV. The Interactions of Three Cultures

##### 1. The World of Chinese Writing and the World of Transcription

Now, if we place the document called “Chao-xian Ce-lue” in the context of the East Asian world of 1880, we realize afresh the basic fact that, accompanying the international movement of a figure named Kim Hong-Jip, one document moved across borders. Further, prior to these movements, a figure named Huang Zun-xian moved internationally. And in that environment, where different cultures contacted each other and efforts were made to explore different cultures, a diplomatic document such as “Chao-xian Ce-lue” was produced. Of course, a few people who moved across borders those days were limited to high-level government officials, and the documents that moved were very special. These movements in the 1880s were not comparable to the bustling international movements of persons and cultural elements from the latter half of the 20th century to the present. Nevertheless, in the East Asian world in the late 19th century, such movements did occur, producing intense developments in international and domestic politics.

The East Asian world in the latter half of the 19th century was a world dominated by Chinese writing. In those years, as far as reading and writing were concerned, the written Chinese was the “lingua franca” of the East Asian sphere. The peoples who used Chinese, Korean or Japanese in their everyday life were able to communicate with each other in the international scene, by employing Chinese writing as an official language<sup>47</sup>. We should also remember that the culture of printed media had not yet emerged, and transcription was the norm<sup>48</sup>. Thus, documents came and went across borders of the three countries and in the course of such movements, they were transcribed reiteratively, resulting in many *variorums*.

The collation of five different texts attempted in this paper ended in an unsatisfactory result. Several transcription errors were discovered, and it has been possible to establish to some extent the relationship between

the texts. Nevertheless, the original text has not been identified nor recomposed. In the first place, however, it can be suspected that the original text drafted by Huang Zun-xian himself contained some writing errors, so that even if all the transcript errors could be corrected, the corrected text should not be regarded as a substitution for the original text that must have existed. Rather, in this context, it seems meaningful for us to confirm the fact that in the East Asian sphere at that time, several different texts of the same work were circulating across national borders<sup>49</sup>).

Incidentally, from the different texts produced by transcribing works, some slight differences in writing expression, which are attributable to national culture, can be identified. Namely, in documents presumably transcribed in Korea, there is a tendency to frequently use the Chinese character “而” and another tendency for the transcribed sentences to become slightly “flappy.” According to the author’s little knowledge of Chinese writing practiced in Korea, these tendencies can be attributed to linguistic interference by the Korean language. Thus, it is apparent that Text C passed through Korean society. On the other hand, Chinese writing by Japanese seemingly had a habit to use “也” in place of the “哉” used in Chinese writing by Chinese. By looking at these two Chinese characters, i.e., “而” and “也”, it can be confirmed that Text E and Text D came back to Japan after being circulated in Korea.

## 2. The Influence of Japanese Culture

Huang Zun-xian wrote “Chao-xian Ce-lue” with the stance of concentrating on diplomatic and military aspects<sup>50</sup>). It should be noted also that he wrote the work in Japan during the fourth year of his stay there. When he tried to propose a new initiative on one of the biggest diplomatic issues facing the Chinese government, Huang conjured up a Japan that had been hustling into “modernization” and therefore provided a model for “Korea to

strengthen itself," even though it had begun to face problems involved in the modernizing process. On such an occasion, his earlier image of an ideal Japan, where a quiet-mannered people lived in peace, disappeared. In place of this ideal Japan emerged a stout state that was building up military strength and economic power to survive in the arena of international politics. In the Japanese society where he found himself, the threat of Russia was a common topic and the theory of balance of power was a common knowledge<sup>51</sup>). It is likely that "Chao-xian Ce-lue," which was hastily written in such an intellectual atmosphere, was substantially influenced by Japanese culture.

As a matter of fact, Huang Zun-xian's proposal for Korea's Japan policy merely asked the Korean government to tie up with Japan, lacking specific contents. His recommendation was too much focused on confrontation with Russia to take into consideration the possible consequences for Korea of the "tying with Japan" policy. He laid aside the Ryukyu issue, the largest pending issue in China's diplomatic policy toward Japan, and Japan's policy on this issue as well<sup>52</sup>). He also disregarded the magnitude for Korea of the possibility of Japan's invading Korea. His favor toward Japanese culture, as expounded in his "Poems on Japanese Miscellany," seemed to disappear tentatively, but his favoritism toward Japan cast its shadow on the whole "Chao-xian Ce-lue," helping to produce a policy recommendation very favorable for Japan. He "knowingly" pointed out problems implicit in Japanese society at the time and severely criticized Japan, but, in reality, under the effect of his Japanese environment, Huang was not able to gain insights into the direction of Japan's policy toward Korea. He was probably caught in the pitfall that "Japan hands" tend to fall into.

### 3. Effects of Chinese Culture

Needless to say, Huang Zun-xian's "Chao-xian Ce-lue" was filled with the effects of Chinese culture. Here, let me add two points of particular interest. First, an anticipated question he set was: If Korea established diplomatic relations with big countries in the West, Korea, as a smaller country, might not be able to endure the burden of providing diplomatic entertainment and protocol for their diplomatic missions. In his planned answer, he again "knowingly" stated that it was an unnecessary concern and admonished for Koreans the protocol of modern diplomacy in detail. By pretending that the question was that of ceremony and was nearly the same as that of the traditional diplomatic protocol between China and Japan, he avoided facing the true question.

Second, the "theorem of balance of power," which was the primary foundation of the argument in "Chao-xian Ce-lue," was quite likely regarded as equivalent to the "using barbarians to control barbarians theory" in traditional Chinese culture and it was almost instinctively used to persuade Korea. In this regard it seems possible to interpret that the whole of "Chao-xian Ce-lue" was a product of the effects of Chinese culture<sup>53</sup>). However, on this particular point, there is a major difference. The method of "using barbarians to control barbarians" was basically a method by which the principal actor (in most cases, China) manipulated one "barbarian" against another, whereas the policy of collective security and alliance in the modern international politics, as proposed by Huang, had a pattern where all other states had to form an alliance to control one single state (in this case, Russia). Little wonder, Korean people concluded that Russia was such an overwhelming superpower.

#### 4. Resistance by Korean Culture

Huang Zun-xian fully anticipated Korean resistance to the policy proposal in "Chao-xian Ce-lue." In fact, the entire work can be seen as a prepared

argument to overcome the resistance he anticipated. The anticipated resistance originated from Korean culture in general, rather than in opposition to his particular policy recommendations. It was already pointed out above that Huang had anticipated Korean reluctance to open the country because of the burden of entertaining foreign diplomatic missions from the West. He also tried to overcome the anticipated Korean attitude of non-commercialism, which can be classed into a resistance originating from Korean culture. The corner stone of the policy he recommended for Korea, that is, the policy of “keeping close with China, creating ties with Japan and allying with the United States”, was really a tough one, consisting of two concepts that straddled across two different international systems. Should any state, be it Korea or China itself, have accepted it, that state was prone to be split into two separate systems. It is conceivable, however, that Huang bet on his hope of Korea’s accepting this almost inconceivable policy on its culture that had been accustomed to the “keeping close with China” for long.

Korean culture, however, adopted a far more fundamental resistance that went beyond Huang’s expectations. “Chao-xian Ce-lue,” which was circulated under the order of King Kojong for the purpose of adopting the open-door and civilization policy, was transcribed by Confucian scholars of opposition camps throughout the country, was circulated for reading, and provoked severe criticism against the new policy initiative and backlashes against Kim Hong-Jip and Huang Zun-xian (and against China)<sup>54</sup>. The Confucian scholars became much more confident in forging Korea into a nation more loyal to Confucian teaching than China under the reign of the Qing dynasty, and took the firm attitude of not hesitating to choose an honorable death as a small nation that respected Confucius. From then on, the ideas of the Korean people were split into two antagonistic camps – the camp of peace and friendship with foreigners and civilization, and the anti-foreign, conservative camp.

## Closing Remarks – the Significance of “Chao-xian Ce-lue”

All the researchers specialized in this particular area are unified in pointing out that “Chao-xian Ce-lue” was an epoch-making event, which caused a major turnaround not only in Korean domestic and foreign policies but also in the international politics of Northeast Asia. The Korean court shifted to a civilization and open-the-country policy, overriding fundamental and deep-seated opposition. In the international politics of Northeast Asia, the rivalries among China, Japan and Russia became increasingly open, which later provoked a renewed advance of the Western powers into this region. In the end, the international rivalries in the region headed toward different directions from those suggested by “Chao-xian Ce-lue,” and particularly for Korea toward a tragic direction.

On the other hand, more than a few developments coincided with those depicted in “Chao-xian Ce-lue.” The meaning of “strengthening itself” was clarified for Korea<sup>55</sup>). Northeast Asia became a major theater of international politics where China, Japan, the United States and Russia confronted one another. However, neither China nor Japan nor the United States took the actions predicted by Huang. All of them betrayed Korea, and in particular the betrayal committed by China was especially substantial. Surely, in the instance of the 1882 mutiny (“Imo Sabyeon”), China tried to protect Korea, but in subsequent years, it never adopted the role of a protectorate state. After it once tilted toward Russia tentatively, Korea moved through a history of hardship under the rule of Japan. “Chao-xian Ce-lue,” which became the watershed in this history, was written down by a Chinese cultural leader within the environment of Japanese culture.

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- \* This is a translation, with extensive revision, of the author's Japanese article, Hirano Kenichiro, "Ko Jun-ken 'Chosen Sakuryaku' Ihon Kyogo: Kindai Shoto Higashi-Ajia Kokusai seiji ni okeru Mittsu no Bunka no Kosaku ni tsuite" (Collating Five Different Texts of Huang Zun-xian's "Chao-xian Ce-lue" (Korean Strategy): On Interactions among Three Cultures in East Asian International Politics during the Late Nineteenth Century), Japan Association of International Relations, *Kokusai Seiji* (International Relations), no.129 (February, 2002), pp. 11-28.
- 1) Huang Zun-xian, *Riben Zashi Shi*, Peking, 1875 (Japanese translation by Saneto Keishu and Toyoda Minoru, Tokyo, 1968).
- 2) Huang Zun-xian, *Riben Guo-zhi*, Taipei, 1982.
- 3) Zhang Wei-xiong (Cho Iyu), *Bunjin Gaikoukan no Meiji Nihon: Chugoku Shodai Chu-Nichi Koshidan no I-bunka Taiken* (Meiji Japan Seen by Literati Diplomats: Cross-cultural Experiences by China's First Envoys to Japan), Kashiwa Shobo, Tokyo, 1999, p.47 and "Annotations" by Saneto and Toyoda to the Japanese translation of Huang, *Riben Zashi Shi*, p.300.
- 4) Zhang, *Ibid.*, part 2 and Huang, *Riben Zashi Shi*, passim.
- 5) Ha Woo-Bong, Moriyama Shigenori, tr., "Kaiko-ki Shushinshi no Nihon Ninshiki" (Perceptions of Japan by the Sushinsa during the Opening Period), Miyajima Hiroshi and Kim Yong-Dok, eds., *Ni-Kkan Kyodo Kenkyu Soshu, vol.2, Kindai Koryu-shi to Sogo Ninshiki, I* (Japan-Korea Joint Research Series, 2, History of Exchanges in the Modern Period and Mutual Perceptions, I), Keio University Press, 2001, p.188.
- 6) "At the departure of the sushinsa, Huang presented 'Chao-xian Ce-lue', a one-volume booklet privately drafted by him." (Tabohashi Kiyoshi, *Kindai Ni-Ssen Kankei no Kenkyu* [A Study of Modern Japan-Korea Relations], Directorate-General of Korea, 1940 [reprint, 1973], vol. 1, p.744.)
- 7) Zhang, *op.cit.*, p.155.
- 8) *Ibid.*, pp.139-149. Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Harvard University Press, 1981) tries to regard "Chao-xian Ce-lue" as Huang's original work. But, according to other more recent studies, it seems not possible to regard it as his original completely. The fact that its author part was written as "Privately drafted by Huang Zun-xian of Guangdong" is not considered to be a sufficient basis for Kamachi's argument. Nevertheless, it is interesting that the work seems to have reflected Huang's own ideas abundantly, although quite likely he drafted it in compliance with the thinking of He Ru-zhang and others.
- 9) Ha, *op.cit.*, p.189.
- 10) "Sushinsa Ilgi" Vol. 2 ("Choson Chaengnyak") in the Korean Committee for Editing the National History, ed., *Han'gok saryo ch'ongso* (Materials for Korean History), Volume 9 (*Sushinsa Kirok*), Seoul, 1958, pp.160-171.
- 11) Harada Tamaki, *Chosen no Kaikoku to Kindaika* (Korea's Open-door and Modernization), Keisuisha, Hiroshima, 1999, for example, says in note 1 on p.265, "There are several different texts of "Chao-xian Ce-lue", but as a



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temporary measure, this book refers to the text found in the collection compiled by the Korean Committee for Editing the National History.”

<sup>12)</sup> “Choson Chaengnyak” in “Sushinsa Ilgi”, Korea University’s Central Library, ed. *Kim Hong-Jip Yugo* (Manuscripts left by Kim Hong-Jip), Korea University Press, 1976, pp.306-313.

<sup>13)</sup> “Choson Chaengnyak”, Huang Zun-xian (original author), Cho Il-Mun, tr. and annotated, *Choson Chaengnyak*, Konkuk University Press, pp.109-120.

<sup>14)</sup> “Chosen Sakuryaku”, (Japan) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, comp., *Nihon Gaiko Monjo* (Diplomatic documents of Japan), vol. 13 (the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji), Nihon Kokusai Rengo Kyokai, Tokyo, 1950, pp.389-394 (Document no.136).

<sup>15)</sup> “Chosen Sakuryaku” owned by Nakamura Shojiro (Chinese classics section, Library of the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo, no.L17 4700). In 1985, in the seminar class on the history of East Asian international relations conducted by the author at the Department of International Relations, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo, Komaba, attempts were made to read, translate and interpret “Chao-xian Ce-lue”, but only up to the first one-fifth. Students participating were Zhang Qi-xiong (now of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei), Sunayama Yukio (now at Aichi University), Tsuchida Akio (now at Chuo University), Kawashima Midori (now at Jochi University), Tomosue Mariko (now at the University of Tokyo, Komaba), Takita Sachiko (now at Yokohama City University), and the late Fujita Yuji. It is Mr. Zhang Qi-xiong who located this particular text formerly owned by Mr. Nakamura. The author’s special thanks go to these former students of mine. For without this discovery and their joint efforts to read the documents seventeen years ago, the original Japanese article would have never been written in 2002.

<sup>16)</sup> However, collations with the other texts reveal that the Nakamura text is neither immune to omissions of words. Therefore, this number does not necessarily correspond to the total number of words in the original text.

<sup>17)</sup> A mark / is inserted where indentation is made.

<sup>18)</sup> Of course, all the quotations from “Chao-xian Ce-lue” below are made from my collated text, but to provide a clue to the text, these first sentences can be found on p.160 of *Han’gok Saryo Ch’ongso* (Materials for Korean History), vol.9 (See note 10 above).

<sup>19)</sup> In identifying differences of wordings among the texts, the following rules are adopted: 1) simplified characters are considered equal to correct characters; 2) characters written in different ways are regarded as the same; 3) characters written in idiosyncratic ways by certain transcribers are considered equal to normal characters; 4) certain two characters are regarded as equal; and 5) certain two characters are regarded as different from each other.

<sup>20)</sup> It does not seem that the punctuation marks added on Text A are all

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correct. But if we use them consistently as the basis for counting the numbers of phrases, there will be no damage to the comparative counting we are going to make below.

<sup>21)</sup> As for the foundation of methods of collation, see Ikeda Kikan, *Koten no Hihan-teki Shochi ni kansuru Kenkyu* (A Study for Critical Approaches to Classic Literature), Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1941, Part II, ch.1.

<sup>22)</sup> They are not completely identical, however. On Text E, there is no addition of “a native of Gaungdong, while a different hand has added “can-zan’ of the Qing” to it.

<sup>23)</sup> (Japan) Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *op.cit.*, p.389.

<sup>24)</sup> *Kaisei Kanin-roku, Zen* (Government Official Registry, Complete and Revised), October, the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji, June, the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji and February, the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Meiji. The Meiji 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> versions give “Nakamura Shotaro”, but these are clearly mistakes for “Nakamura Shojiro”. (Japan) Library of Diplomatic Records kindly provided the following information: Nakamura Shojiro, a native of Nagasaki prefecture, was born in 1855 and employed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1875. He started working as a charge d'affaires for the Consulate in Wonsan in March, 1880, and had been stationed there until he was transferred to the Consulate in Inchon in April, 1894.

<sup>25)</sup> See entry no.13 of Table above.

<sup>26)</sup> For instance, see *Han'gok Saryo Ch'ongso*, p.160, l.7 - p.161, l.1.

<sup>27)</sup> This note is to provide a sample of my text collation. Phrases on the left are selected and others to the right are not. To obviate the tedium, collations will not be shown from the next quotation on.

<sup>28)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.162, ll.9-10.

<sup>29)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.161, ll.11-14.

<sup>30)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.162, l.15 – p.163, l.6.

<sup>31)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.162, l.15 - p.163, l.6.

<sup>32)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.163, l.7 - p.164, l.8.

<sup>33)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.164, l.14 - p.165, l.5. Again, this is a result of my collation with the other four texts.

<sup>34)</sup> The original Chinese expression for this is “星羅碁布” in Texts A and B, “星羅紫布” in Text C, and “星羅碁布” in Text E.

<sup>35)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.161, ll.7-8.

<sup>36)</sup> Zhang, *op.cit.*, p.190 and Saneto and Toyoda, *op.cit.*, p.300.

<sup>37)</sup> Zhang, *op.cit.*, p.140, based on Yu Zheng, *He Ru-zhang zhuan* (Biography of He Ru-zhang), Nanking University Press, 1991, p.3. Harada Tamaki, “Shin ni okeru Chosen no Kaikoku Kindaika-ron: ‘Chosen Sakuryaku’ to ‘Shuji Chosen Gaiko-gi’” (Qing Arguments for Korea’s Open-door and Modernization: “Chao-xian Ce-lue” and ‘Discussions on Diplomacy to Maintain Korea First’), Chapter 9 of Harada, *Chosen no Kaikoku to Kindaika* (Korea’s Open-door and Modernization), Keisuisha,

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Hiroshima, 1999 gives a most extensive analysis of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” and maintains that it contains Terashima Munenori’s influence in its analysis of international affairs (p.249).

<sup>38)</sup> Suzuki Tomoo, “Chugoku ni okeru Kokken-shugi-teki Gaiko-ron no Seiritsu: Shodai Chu-Nichi Koshi Ka Jo-sho no Katsudo o chushin-ni” (The Establishment of a Sovereignty Diplomacy in China: Focusing the Activities of He Ru-zhang, the First Envoy to Japan), *Rekishigaku Kenkyu* (Historical Studies), no.404 (1974), pp.20-34, Harada Tamaki, “Chosen Sakuryaku’ o megutte: Ri Ko-sho to Ka Jo-sho no Chosen Seisaku” (On “Chao-xian Ce-lue”: Korean Policy of Li Hong-zhang and He Ru-zhang), *Kyegan Samchonni* (Samchonni Quarterly), no.17 (February, 1979), pp.202-206, Harada Tamaki, “1880-nendai Zenhan no Min-shi Seiken to Kin In-shoku: Taigai Seisaku o chushin-ni” (The Min Government and Kim Yun-Shik in the early 1880’s: Focusing on Foreign Policy), *Chosen-shi Kenkyukai Ronbun-shu* (Papers from the Study Group of Korean History), no.22 (1987), Motegi Toshio, “Ri Ko-sho no Zokkoku Shihai-kan” (Li Hong-zhang’s Concepts of Control over Tributary States), *Chugoku – Shakai to Bunka* (China: Society and Culture), no.2 (1987), Motegi Toshio, “Chuka Sekai no ‘Kindai-teki’ Henyo: Shin-matsu no Henkyo Shihai” (Modern Transformation of the Traditional Chinese World: Border Control in Late Qing), *Chiiki Sisutemu* (Regional Systems), University of Tokyo Press, 1993, pp.269-299.

<sup>39)</sup> Motegi, “Ri Ko-sho no Zokkoku Shihai-kan” (*op.cit.*), p.101.

<sup>40)</sup> Harada, “Chosen Sakuryaku’ o megutte” (*op.cit.*), p.205.

<sup>41)</sup> For instance, see *Han’gok Saryo Ch’ongso*, p.161, l.13.

<sup>42)</sup> For example, “China loves Korea more than any other country. It has been over one thousand years since Korea became tributary to China, throughout which period China has secured it with virtues and attached it to her with benevolence, never intending to be greedy for its land and people.” (For instance, see *Han’gok Saryo Ch’ongso*, p.161, ll.3-4.) “China, if ever an incident took place in Korea, exhausted resources of the whole country and tried every means in its power to protect it.” (*Ibid.*, p.161, l.7.) “Needless to say, if ever Japan would take an advantage over Korea, China would naturally come to contend against her.” (*Ibid.*, p.163, l.1.)

<sup>43)</sup> Harada, *Chosen no Kaikoku to Kindaika*, p.25.

<sup>44)</sup> Harada, “Chosen Sakuryaku’ o megutte”, p.205.

<sup>45)</sup> For instance, see *Han’gok Saryo Ch’ongso*, p.161, l.8. Here, “the rule” referred to other states’ neutrality in the case of war between two non-signatory states. See footnote 34.

<sup>46)</sup> For instance, see *Ibid.*, p.167, ll.8 – 13.

<sup>47)</sup> In the latter half of the twentieth century, peoples in East Asia, where international relations have been popularized, are divided into the speakers of Chinese, Korean and Japanese and are forced to employ English as the means of international communication. To be superfluous, I

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would like to point out that the current situation is similar to that of the nineteenth century East Asia.

<sup>48)</sup> My exposure to historical materials makes me think that the Russo-Japanese war was the diverging point from transcribed materials to printed materials. To put it in short, ability to read hand-written materials is by all means indispensable for historical research on periods prior to the Russo-Japanese war but not always so for periods after it.

<sup>49)</sup> In such a context, Text D, namely the text in the Japanese diplomatic records, is the least accurate, although it is regarded as the furthest away from the original document. It is regrettable that little attention was paid to the meanings of the “Chao-xian Ce-lue” and the history that the document had been drafted in Japan and returned home to Japan.

<sup>50)</sup> I agree to Tabohashi Kiyoshi’s critique of “Chao-xian Ce-lue” that it contained only “plain diplomatic discussions” and not significant political discourses (Tabohashi, *op.cit.*, p.745).

<sup>51)</sup> Ho Takushu, *Meiji Shoki Ni-Kkan-Shin Kankei no Kenkyu* (A Study of Relations among Japan, Korea and China during the Early Meiji Period) (Hanawa Shobo, Tokyo, 1969) concludes that Huang’s assertion of Russian threat was much influenced by the Japanese argument (p.90).

<sup>52)</sup> Kamachi, *op.cit.*, points out that Huang Zun-xian at that time was doubtlessly concerned with the fate of the Ryukyu (p.112). He must have viewed the fate of small country Korea being overlapped by that of the Ryukyu islands, indeed. However, he seemed to have no such concerns with regard to possible outcomes of the policy he proposed.

<sup>53)</sup> See Harada, *Chosen no Kaikoku to Kindaika*, p.25.

<sup>54)</sup> Ten thousand Korean Confucian scholars led by Yi Man-Son memorialized “Youngnam Manin So” to the King (Its text is found in *Nihon Gaiko Monjo*, vol.14, pp.372-375 and Cho Il-Moon, tr. and annotated, *Choson Chaengnyak*, pp.134-137). The “10,000 man protests” vehemently criticized both the argument of Russian threats and the policy of “keeping close with China, creating ties with Japan and allying with the United States” as baseless.

<sup>55)</sup> Fujita Yuji, *Ajia ni okeru Bunmei no Taiko: Joi-ron to Shukyu-ron ni kansuru Nihon, Chosen, Chugoku no Hikaku Kenkyu* (Opposition of Civilizations in East Asia: Comparative Studies of Anti-foreignism and Conservatism in Japan, Korea and China), Ochanomizu Shobo, Tokyo, 2001, pp.204-205.