

## Official Documents.

### ANTI-FOREIGN MEMORIAL, PRESENTED TO THE KING OF COREA BY THE REBEL PÔH LO-KUAN.

Your servant Pôh Lo-kuan, in great trepidation and fear, prostrating himself a hundred times, sends up this Letter to him from whom all Heavenly blessings flow, our Lord the King. Your Majesty's servant has not even sufficient merit to justify him in dying for his country; yet he dares to present a petition full of

delusions. Your servant therefore begs your Majesty's sanction that he may behead these men. But whether they be put to death or no, Your servant is himself deserving of capital punishment. But am I afraid of being put to death, so that I do not dare to kill them? If I put them to death, and I rebel, that is sufficient cause why I should die myself. That would be great good fortune for me. The death of Your servant would be better for the country than his life, for three reasons: (1) there is no other way to show the sincerity of his father's patriotic love; (2) there are no other means to shame the divided allegiance of Government officials; (3) there is no other way to rebut the contempt of the Japanese Hanabusa. If I am to die, then, what may I not dare to say first? Your servant wishes to explain fully the dangers at present threatening our country, and their origin. I sincerely beg your Majesty not to turn a deaf ear on account of the insignificance of the Memorialist or the contemptible nature of his words, but to investigate his representations thoroughly. Now in the year Jên Chên, when the Dwarf country (Japan) was defeated by Corea, it harboured vengeance and heaped up resentment to such an extent that it took ten years to sharpen a single sword and ten years to perfect a single art. There was no place whither their merchant-vessels and trading-boats did not resort; hand-in-hand they went everywhere and concluded treaties with foreign countries, to delude and deceive the Middle Kingdom, narrowly watching any internal trouble in our country. This they have done for years. Yet though they watched even our ears and cheeks, they were not able to carry out their plans; and for these reasons. Our country uses patriotism and piety as its armour and sword, virtue and rectitude as its walls and fortresses; impregnable by either stratagems or strength. They therefore spread rumours throughout our country that Corea would be ruined by means of her Ancestral Temples. But the temples of Ancestral Worship are the places where virtue is exalted and merit recompensed, where learning is explained and doctrine illustrated; where, through all holy generations the country has been ruled and the state protected by deep counsels and far-sighted precautions. If anything has been done advantageous to the body-politic or calculated to defend the Holy Doctrine, there it is honoured with an Imperial testimonial. When your Majesty first ascended the throne in Your tender youth, powerful nobles conducted the affairs of state on their own responsibility, who were infected with heterodoxy. The Royal, Holy, and Patriotic Temples were then all demolished. This was like the prohibition of the wooden-bow in the Chou dynasty, which only hastened the fall of the empire; or like the precaution taken by Ts'in Shih Huang against the northern barbarians [胡] which actually brought about the speedy destruction of his House.† At the time of the destruction of the temples, arose a great noble, related to You by blood, who obscured your Majesty's intelligence, inciting both those within and without the Palace with the assurance that the Temples were not any benefit to the country; so that all mouths were unanimous on the subject. Therefore the proper love of relatives for one another was swept away and mutual affection destroyed. It was then that he instituted a military

† It was predicted in the reign of Ts'in Shih Huang that the ruin of his dynasty would result from 胡, which he interpreted as referring to the 胡 barbarians in the north, and therefore built the Great Wall. But the prophecy was fulfilled in the person of his son and successor, whose name was also 胡.—Ed.

What reason is there, then, for my audacity? I am the son of a Captain of the Royal Guard, who was raised from obscurity by one of your Majesty's holy and intelligent predecessors, and who has served under three Kings, for more than forty years; such was the benignity showered upon him by your Majesty's ancestors, comparable only to the favour of Heaven and Earth. The parents of your Majesty's servant have been long desirous of making some return for the ten-thousandth part of your Majesty's kindness; but ten years ago his father became useless from a stroke of paralysis, so that he can now neither lie nor sit without assistance, and the very thought of the Royal Family brings tears to his eyes. As for me, Your servant

guard, and precipitated the discussion as to who should be recognised as Heir Apparent. Then in the year Ping Tsz a compromise was concluded, and Government officials who were privy to the plot did not dare to open their mouths. Thus was disaster brought upon the country,—our great and exalted country of a thousand chariots, which had always exercised its own independent rights! What reason was there for our having recourse to Hanabusa, and so reducing our country to such a state of insignificance, forgetting the enmity which forbade us existing under the same heaven with him, and satisfying an avarice which is not even satiated by the swallowing of a tiger? Whatever [the Japanese] ask, we give them; whatever they command, we obey; fearing only lest we do not come up to their requirements! If, after your Majesty has passed a thousand autumns and ten thousand generations, Your successor ascends the Precious Throne, this Hanabusa will say that it was he who established him; and how can we put the stopper on such talk? The Book of Poetry says, "As long as etiquette is not infringed, the four peoples will be upright; when fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers are worthy of imitation, then the people will take example by them." Seditious and anarchy never take their rise otherwise than from [the rulers.] In the first instance, Tsui I-hsüen said, "If the treaty of peace is decided upon, then your Majesty's fortunes are ruined forever;" and, lastly, Hung Tsai-ho said, "If the books of Jesus are allowed to circulate, everybody will rebel against the cardinal virtues and in every family the five relationships will be destroyed." But these representations did not accord with Your Royal ideas, and Tsai-ho's body succumbed to the Great Punishment. Alas, alas, how pitiful! The memorial of the upright Minister embodied what was inseparable from the peace of the country, and what he succumbed to was the natural cause of rebellion. Even in my stupidity, I can see that not one of the officials in your holy Dynasty, like Hsin Ching-chi of the Han Dynasty, can bear to see your Majesty's name handed down to the world and to posterity at the slayer of a noble and a worthy man. It is beyond sighs and groans. Your servant has found out the opinion of all classes—metropolitans, students, and even women. When Tsai-ho was about to undergo his death, it was found that the lock of his prison door would not open; when he was on his way to the place of execution the axle of his cart-wheel broke down three times. If it were not on account of his patriotism, which penetrated even to the Sun and Moon, and his sincerity, which reached to the Gods above, how could it have come to this? Your servant is only angered that he could not walk in the same track, and follow him to death, and wander with him in the regions below the earth; for he cannot endure the sight of a dynasty of five hundred years falling into the hands of the barbarians, and thirty million souls entering the mouths of dogs and sheep. Alas, alas, how painful is all this! For our country is the country of our remotest ancestors; and this country your Majesty has overthrown in Your single person, which is not the way to preserve that which has been committed to Your charge. The Book of History says, "The example set for the Yin dynasty is not far off; it is only in the Hsia dynasty, [immediately preceding it]." Why does not your Majesty take the affairs of ancient times as your example? Li Chi [one of the ancient Corean kings] reverently yielded his right and declined to ascend the Throne; so that the monks and nuns passed in and out of the Forbidden Precincts (or palace) until Hsing Ao established himself as king, and he treated the people as though they were charcoal under his

feat. Our great ancestor, the Great King, raised the Flag of Rectitude, and immediately possessed the Eight Regions, establishing universal peace among all living. All the rules, laws, regulations, and precedents of the country are handed down with care and reverence, lest they should be lost, until they have reached the present day; is not, then, the responsibility of your Majesty both serious and weighty? Above, there is the charge transmitted to You by Your august ancestors; below, the millions and billions of people gazing up at You; both of which it is Your duty to ponder, with fear and trembling. You should rise early and sleep late, avoiding both laziness and recklessness; then would Your State prosper. But You do none of these things; all You think of is the safety of Your own skin. You abolish the laws of Your Royal ancestors; You drain the very blood of Your living subjects. Those whom you ought to treat generously, you treat coldly; those you ought to treat coldly, you treat generously. You seek the assistance of foreign banditti [the Japanese] to pacify the lawlessness of Your own Kingdom; is not this being guilty of remissness towards our national institutions? Even the Five Rulers were unable to make the barbarians their subjects; the Three Princes [三王, Yü, T'ang, and Wên Wang] could not govern them in peace. In the Nine Classics, neither Confucius nor Mencius states what method he cherished [for their complete subjection]. The virtue possessed by your Majesty at the present day is insufficient to make You love those near to You at home, and yet You wish to enter into friendship with the outer world. Your servant not only fears lest the revolution of last year may burst forth again now, but lest the four chief fortresses of the Kingdom may be invested within three years' time, and that under your Majesty's own eyes. For this reason Hsü Yuên-chih—[and ten others],—though without any right to address your Majesty, have no fear of death and punishment, but use straightforward words and sharp remonstrances. These, indeed, are truly patriotic and public-spirited subjects, who honour the Sacred Person and protect the true Doctrine. If your Majesty lent an ear to their expostulations, and adopted the measures they propose, our decrepid country might be rejuvenated. But not only has your Majesty not listened to the unanimous voice of ten thousand tongues, but You have driven the speakers into exile. Even at a General Amnesty, those who had protested against the depraved doctrine [Christianity] and the conclusion of friendship [with the Japanese] were excluded from pardon, were not restored to their families, but are left in prison and chains for their whole lives. You only promote those who adopt the foreign dress, and study Japanese books and arts, thus dazzling and deceiving Your eyes and heart. You are as one who wears shoes on his head and a hat on his feet, in that You take the precepts of the barbarians and raise them above those of Your Royal ancestors. You maintain the office of Hanabusa, and place him at the right of all the princes and ministers. Your servant now perceives that your Majesty's true sympathies [or heart, 本心] are not with us, but with them; You do not condemn what is depraved, but what is right and true. Yao and Shun led the world by benevolence, and but few could keep up with them; [while the King pursues a different course]. The students in the Royal Colleges cannot but sound the praises of Hanabusa, and the Ministers of State are desirous of yielding political administration into his hands. In this case, although your Majesty have the one desire of protecting Your own person, is it possible that it can be done? In front and rear, to the right and to the left, there

is not one who is not a tool of Hanabusa's. If You comply with this state of things, the country will be lost; if You make a stand against it, Your own person will be in danger. Who could have thought that the injury from this peace-confabulation would reach such an extremity as this? But those who do argue in favour of peace, do not do so for the sake of your Majesty's own happiness; it is for the happiness, rather, of the ministers. T'ien Tsz-fang said, "If the ruler of a state once loses his country, it is never heard that he becomes an independent sovereign again." If your Majesty once loses Your country of a thousand chariots, who will again wait upon your Majesty with a thousand chariots more? From this it may be proved that all your Majesty's servants can be party to the conclusion of a peace; it is your Majesty alone who cannot [because he would then become a subject]. It is now said that their weapons are finely tempered and sharp, and their boats light and speedy; the whole world, with its myriad states, is subject to them, and how can Your little country stand against them?—Those who say this do so to frighten and move your Majesty; they know how to praise the advantages of others, but not those of ourselves. This is prohibited by the usages of war, and according to law such persons ought to be put to death. But things which are advantageous in the water, are not advantageous among the mountains. Now the mountains and rivers of Ch'in-chiu are dangerous and remote, and the inhabitants robust and fearless; moreover Chi-tsz taught them the doctrines of the Virtuous and Benevolent ones, so that even these rude country-folk are acquainted with decorum and rectitude. In bygone days, Corea was as mighty as Sui Yang and as prosperous as T'ang Kao Tsu; so it continued until the present dynasty. Japan repeatedly came with her bandits and as repeatedly was defeated and ran away. Coming to the middle year of the reign of Hsien Tsu, there occurred another danger from Japanese invasion. Li Erh and Tsao Hsien prepared plans for repulsing the invaders, but the Government did not adopt them. Afterwards, in the year Jên Chên, came Taiko Hideyoshi, accompanied by a million soldiers, covering the sea, burning our palaces, and violating our Royal Mausolea. Alas, how painful! Can one bear to put it into words? The Royal cortège had to move to the West, and take up its position in the interior; but happily we received the timely assistance of the Imperial Mings, besides a number of patriotic officials [named] whose services in recuperating the country and reinstating the kingly power were pre-eminent. Yueh-hsien, a common wench of some remote village, was yet distinguished by such sincere patriotism as to cut off the head of the invading chiefs; thus striking down the spear of the front-rank men. Ling-kuei, a simple mountain hermit of Wei-chên, knowing how to prove himself grateful to his country, crossed the sea to Japan with an army, every soldier of which was worth a hundred, and compelled the Japanese to pay a tribute of three hundred hides a year; being desirous to exterminate the oxen altogether. Afterwards, three hundred Japanese were delivered yearly, instead of animals. In the time of Jên Miao, the barbarian King proclaimed his independence, whereupon certain high officials [named] condemned him with righteous indignation, and proposed measures of defence; but the Court did not listen to them, so the barbarian soldiers descended on us without warning, and the circumstances were such that we were helpless. Concealing our resentment and suppressing the anguish of our hearts, we made an unconditional surrender; alas, alas, how sad! Who counselled this plan of submission? It was Tsui Ming-chi. At that time there was an officer named Ling

Ch'ing-yeh, who being on garrison duty at I-chou, did not arrive in time to participate in the disasters; so he attacked the barbarian chief half way on his return march, calling out in a loud voice as he plunged into the middle of the ranks, every one of his soldiers doing duty for a hundred, and the barbarians were utterly defeated. Then the vanquished chief showed his conqueror the Letter of Surrender written by the Corean King, at which Ch'ing-yeh wept bitterly and recalled his soldiers. We see from this that no generation in without deep counsellors, intrepid generals, dauntless and courageous warriors; and it depends upon the use made of them whether even the mightiest empire upon earth rises or falls, flourishes or sinks into decrepitude. The finely-tempered and sharp arms, and rapid, light boats [of the enemy], might be of equal advantage to us as to them; what anxiety, then, should we have? Now the bravery and strategic ability of Hanabusa are not equal to those of Sui Yang, T'ang Kao Tsung, Taiko Hideyoshi, or the barbarian King above referred-to, by a very long way; and those in Your Court who are now desirous of entering into amicable relations with him are the descendants of those who acquired merit in the [wars of the] year Jên Chên, and the grandsons of those who gave their vote against the same thing in the year Ping Tsz. They do not think of their ancestors, wearing the impenetrable mail and bearing the sharpened spear, braving the sword and trampling upon thorns in their efforts to raise their country; but, falling under the temptation of bribery, they have promulgated specious and groundless words, and plans which had not been properly discussed. They have divided blood-relations and stirred up sedition in the state. These men are not only criminal towards your Majesty, but also guilty towards their ancestors; not on y guilty towards their ancestors, but also to Tsui Ming-chi [who advised surrender to Japan.] During the trouble of the year Ping Tsz, knowing that the invading army could not be resisted, he went himself and discussed the matter with everybody; with falling tears he spoke of the surrender being necessary,—fearing Heaven and acting in defence of the state. Up till now it has survived for three hundred years. At the time of the surrender, he was reproached with having caused the sovereign to fall into evil ways, and universally condemned. People said, "Write it on the books of history, for the admonition of posterity!" Wherefore, Your servant, often travelling through the Capital, heard this common saying from nobles and high families; the words are still ringing in our ears, our galls are still burning with resentment. The men I impeach do not remember the repeated precepts of their ancestors and fathers, and incur premature destruction.—Huang Tsun-hsien who was first in the Japanese Legation, and is now the Consul-General at San Francisco, this man is also one of Hanabusa's gang. Deluding our country with gifts, he advised us to enter into relations with Japan, to have connection with America, and to bring ourselves into closer relations with China, in order to protect ourselves against Russia. But Japan has been our enemy for a hundred generations; from the very beginning downwards, justice has never permitted us to have friendly relations with her. America is situated at the ends of the earth; what use would it be to connect ourselves with her? China we have been subject to for three hundred years; it is impossible to make our relations closer than they are. Russia has no quarrel with us; why should we be anxious about her designs on us? I am beginning to doubt the disinterestedness of [Huang's] advice. But now I hear that Yü Yün-chung is made an Envoy to China, asking China to let us pay tribute once every five years

[instead of annually]; is this the way in which we are to increase the closeness of our relationship to China? Thus in one day, we suddenly violate the rule that we have been following for three hundred years; is there not cause here for future trouble? Formerly we were in a state of great enmity [toward Japan]: to-day we are in a state of great anxiety, for Hanabusa has been wanting to raise troops and invade us for a long time. Fearing lest China should follow the example of the Ming and come to our rescue, he has hit upon this plan to set China and Corea at variance; when these two states go to war, and are worn out, Japan will just sit down and imitate the fisherman [who devoured the two fighting oysters]. If, then, the plan of Hanabusa be listened to, the country will surely go to destruction; and it is better to die under the Imperial laws than under the hands of barbarians. Therefore I ask that those officials who favour friendship with Japan should be put to death, for the sake of example to the rest. I beg your Majesty to make a clean sweep, and to cut off every one, abolishing that which is depraved without hesitation. In ancient times Shun the Great punished the Four Criminals, and the entire world concurred. Ch'êng Wang put three of his uncles to death, and the government of Chou was undisturbed for a long time. Wei Wang of Ch'i boiled the Minister O, and acquired fresh power among the feudal princes. Among Your officials to-day there are the Four Criminals, the Three Uncles, and the Minister O. When real criminals are degraded and deposed, the Royal House will become undisturbed, the hearts of the people will be loyal, and the enemy will retreat. But if not, nine families will strive for the possession of one fine steed, the guard of royal princes will turn their spears against each other, and the sons of the different branches of the Royal Family will follow at the heels of one another. This is inevitable. And if Your servant knows this to be inevitable, and says it not, then he differs in nothing from the traitors. Writing this petition in his blood, and not knowing how to order his words, with much fear and trembling, he is unable to support the crushing responsibilities of the position.—[Translated for the *N.-C. Herald* from the *Nichi Nichi Shimbun*.]