

The Japanese Annexation of Korea as Viewed from the British and American Press: focus on *The Times* and *The New York Times**

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Introduction

The Japanese imperial government officially announced the annexation of Korea on August 29, 1910. However, the actual signature of the annexation was carried out on August 22. Concerned about the furious opposition which news of this treaty might unleash amongst the Korean people, Japan purposefully postponed the announcement of the annexation and implemented a thorough muffling of the press. All public speeches and assemblies were prohibited in Korea, and people were routinely interrogated whenever more than two individuals gathered together. The strong military occupation and stringent press control exercised by Imperial Japan resulted in Korea being annexed without its people being able to put up much of a fight.

However, the foreign press had already started to send telegrams regarding signs of the ‘Japanese annexation of Korea’ on or around August 22, 1910. The foreign press’ inkling that something was afoot was spurred by the Japanese government’s notifying the major powers of the

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fact that an annexation treaty was in the works. Newspapers from countries such as Great Britain, Russia, and the United States, all of which had marked interests in the Far East, reported and analyzed the Japanese annexation of Korea from their own national standpoints. For example, *The Times* of Great Britain, a country which had formed an alliance with Japan, and *The New York Times* in the United States, which was engaged in a dispute with Japan over the Manchurian issue, paid attention to different aspects of the Japanese annexation of Korea. Nevertheless, they shared certain common viewpoints found across all imperialist countries that possessed colonies.

This study seeks to shed light on the contents and characteristics of the reports that appeared in *The Times* and *The New York Times* regarding the annexation of Korea in 1910.¹ These two papers constituted the most influential newspapers in Great Britain and the United States, two countries that wielded great influence with regards to the annexation of Korea. Much as is the case today, influential newspapers had a deep impact on the formation of domestic and international public opinion 100 years ago. Well aware of the foreign press' influence, Korea's emperor and government, as well as its intellectuals, sought to use it to inform the world about the situation in Korea and to obtain the support of the international community for Korea's plight. Examples of such activities included: King Kojong's letter bearing the royal seal in which he stressed the invalid nature of the Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Ŭlsa Treaty) sent to *The Tribune* in England in 1905; the interview conducted with *Courier de la Conference*, the daily published during the Hague Peace Conference of 1907, of the Korean representatives after they had been denied the right to present their case to the Conference; and the interview given by Homer Hulbert and Yi Wijong to *The New York Times*. The advertisement regarding Tokto Island placed in *The New York Times* by a Korean intellectual a few years back should be viewed within the same lens as these actions taken a 100 years ago. In this regard, the analysis of influential English-language newspapers' reports on the annexation of Korea can be regarded as a work of significant academic

value.

This article analyzes the Western world's perceptions of the Japanese annexation of Korea based on an examination of a heretofore untapped source of information in the field of Korean studies: English-language newspapers. To this end, this study reviews the articles that appeared in two English-language newspapers, namely *The Times* (1785~), which can be regarded as representing Great Britain, and *The New York Times* (1851~), representing the United States. Both of these two newspapers are influential dailies in the West and have histories that span over 150 years. Published in imperialist countries, these two newspapers reflected in their articles the interests of their respective countries, albeit from a common imperialist standpoint.

This study analyzes the articles that appeared in these two newspapers relating to the annexation of Korea before and after the actual annexation in August 1910 and reviews the following: 1) how the two newspapers perceived the annexation of Korea; 2) how the interests of their respective countries were reflected in the articles related to the annexation of Korea; and 3) what facts pertaining to the annexation of Korea were deleted, distorted, or amplified.

British and U.S. Policies Toward Japan Prior to the Annexation of Korea

Great Britain's Alliance Diplomacy with Japan

Russia's occupation of Manchuria posed a serious threat to a Great Britain that was at the time engaged in a global conflict with Russia. To this end, Great Britain identified Japan as the perfect partner to aid in its attempts to keep Russian power in check in the Far East, a line of reasoning that led to the establishment of the first Anglo-Japanese Alliance in January 1902 and the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance in August 1905. Under the terms of the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance,

Great Britain not only approved the Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905, but also provided wartime aid to its ally.²

Having emerged victorious in the Russo-Japanese War, Japan sought in the ensuing Treaty of Portsmouth to extract concessions from Russia in Manchuria (railways, opening of ports) and to monopolize the process of opening up Manchuria. Japan seized control over the southern part of the Chinese Eastern Railway (CER) that served as the economic backbone for the Manchurian market, and subsequently renamed it the South Manchurian Railway in June 1906. In August of that same year, Japan established the post of Governor-General of Kwantung within the leased territory of the same name and set up on the Liaodong peninsula. Japan's forced economic monopoly began in a full-fledged manner following its replacement of customs officials in Niuzhuang with Japanese nationals.

These moves on the part of Japan had the effect of sharpening the major powers' interest in Manchuria. More to the point, Russia and the United States used the first and second Russo-Japanese Convention as well as the neutralization of the Manchurian Railway as implements with which to curb Japan's attempts to monopolize power in Manchuria. Conversely, rather than opposing Japan's establishment of hegemonic rights in Manchuria, Great Britain, which was then at odds with Germany, chose to stand by its ally's actions, which it perceived as being conducive to the stabilization of the political situation in Europe.

In the aftermath of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905, Koreans strongly opposed the policies of the first Resident-General of Korea, Itō Hirobumi, which were aimed policies to improve the administration of Korea. Examples of this opposition included Kojong's resistance amidst expectations of Western intervention, the anti-Japanese armed struggle waged by the righteous armies, and the National Debt Repayment Movement. The pressure on, and criticism of, Japan's 'protectorate rule' within the domestic and international community consequently increased exponentially to the point that the Japanese government decided in April 1909 to move ahead with the annexation of Korea.

Japan began to notify the Western powers of its intention to annex

Korea in June 1909, with the first step being the holding of preliminary negotiations with Great Britain. The position of the British government on the Japanese annexation of Korea was that of supporting Japan as long as the concessions it had secured for itself were not impacted. These existing concessions were intricately linked to commerce and the principle of extraterritoriality. Worried that the preferential tariffs and other privileges secured from Korea in the past might be lost, there initially emerged a great deal of internal opposition to the sudden Japanese annexation of Korea within Great Britain. To this end, Great Britain immediately set out to minimize the damage that might be caused by the annexation.

The British government demanded that even after annexation the Japanese government continue to adhere to the tenets of the Korean-British Commercial Treaty (or Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Korea) of 1883. In early August 1909, the two countries agreed to maintain the tariff rates in Korea at the same level for the next ten years. While consular jurisdiction in Korea was finally abolished in January 1911, foreign settlements were, after negotiations with the concerned countries, dismantled in April 1914.³

The United States' Efforts to Curb Japanese Influence in Manchuria and its Tacit Approval of the Japanese Annexation of Korea

Having just entered the stage of monopoly capitalism, the United States sought to advance into Manchuria through the railways. This led to the formation of a competition system that also involved Russia and Japan, two countries that had already staked out interests in Manchuria. Furthermore, Washington's decision to limit Japanese immigration to the United States in 1907 had the effect of pushing the conflict with Japan to the brink of war. However, the Roosevelt government (Theodore Roosevelt, September 1901-March 1909) launched a diplomatic overture to Japan that eventually resulted in the settling of the crisis through the Root-Takahira Agreement of November 1908.

For its part, the ensuing Taft government (William Howard Taft, March

1909-March 1913) adopted an anti-Japanese diplomatic course. As a result, the pressures applied by the U.S. on Japan moved from the individual to the government level. This new period of tensions between the two sides was caused in large part by the United States Secretary of State Philander Chase Knox's calls for the neutralization of the Manchurian Railway through the international management of all the railways in Manchuria.⁴

The United States' calls for the neutralization of the Manchurian Railway greatly impeded the interests of the dominant powers in Manchuria: Japan and Russia. For Japan, Manchuria was a spoil of war that had been gained at a great cost in the Russo-Japanese War. Thus, it could not accept the neutralization of Southern Manchuria. Japan, as well as Russia, expressed their objection to this proposal and jointly responded to the U.S. attempts to enter Manchuria through the second Russo-Japanese Convention signed in July 1910. During the process of preparing this convention, the Japanese government secured the approval of Russia regarding the annexation of Korea.⁵

However, the United States adopted a different attitude toward the Japanese annexation of Korea. Although at odds with Japan over Manchuria, the United States perceived the annexation of Korea as a foregone conclusion and did not exhibit any special reaction to the news. The Taft government also did not raise any objections to the Japanese annexation of Korea, thus following down the path of the Roosevelt administration, which had been the first of the major powers to accept Japan's establishment of a protectorate over Korea at the time of the Russo-Japanese War, an acceptance that was solidified through the conclusion of the Taft-Katsura Agreement of 1905.⁶

The Process Leading up to the Forced Annexation of Korea

Japan implemented the preliminary steps needed to pave the way for annexation in Korea itself.⁷ On May 30, 1910, the Japanese government appointed former War Minister Terauchi Masatake to be the third

Resident-General of Korea and oversee the annexation process. Thereafter, the subsequent steps to be taken, such as the principles of governance of Korea and the rights that would be bestowed upon the Governor-General, were mapped out during a cabinet meeting held on June 3. To ensure that they would be able to put down any opposition on the part of the Korean people to the Annexation Treaty, Japan pushed through a memorandum that granted them all policing rights in Korea on June 24, and then proceeded to abolish the Korean police on June 30. These preliminary steps having been completed, Terauchi arrived in Korea on July 23 to oversee the last measures that had to be carried out to complete the annexation of Korea.

After negotiations with the pro-Japanese minister of government, Yi Wanyong, the 'draft of the Annexation Treaty' prepared by Japan was approved during a cabinet meeting of the Korean government on August 18 without any special amendments. On August 22, 1910, a perfunctory royal meeting was convened in Ch'angdök Palace's Hüngbokhön Hall during which Emperor Sunjong appointed Yi Wanyong as a plenipotentiary representative of the emperor who would be endowed with full authority. That same day, the Annexation Treaty was signed by Yi Wanyong and Terauchi at the Office of the Resident-General.

The Annexation Treaty was composed of a preamble and eight articles. The preamble stated that the decision to forge ahead with annexation was based on the need, "To maintain peace and stability in Korea, promote the prosperity and welfare of Koreans, and at the same time ensure the safety and repose of foreign residents." While Article 1 stated that, "His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes the complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea." Article 2 stated, "His Majesty the Emperor of Japan accepts the cession mentioned in the preceding article and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan." This charade of a letter being sent by the emperor of Korea to his counterpart in Japan petitioning the latter to annex his country was intended to cover the colonial nature of Japan's forced annexation backed by military violence

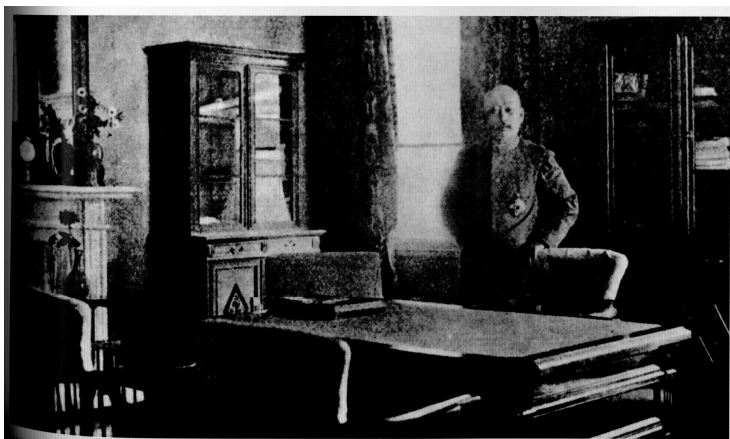
and pressure.

The Japanese government immediately proceeded to send out notification of the conclusion of the Annexation Treaty as well as the related proclamation to the major powers. Nevertheless, concerned about resistance from the Korean people, Japan kept a lid on this news in Japan and Korea for a little while longer. The Japanese Residency-General rapidly imposed control measures such as the regulation of press reports, prohibition of speeches and assemblies, and the preemptive arrests of hundreds of blacklisted people. It called the foreign reporters living in Seoul to the offices of the Japanese Resident-General in the afternoon of August 28 to inform them of the Annexation Treaty. At this time, Japan demanded that all newspapers report this announcement *en masse* on August 29. Thus, Japan officially announced the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty a week after it was actually signed.⁸

<Picture 1> Yi Wanyong



<Picture 2> Terauchi Masatake at the site where the Annexation Treaty was signed (History of Japan-Korea Annexation)



The Annexation of Korea as viewed from *The Times*

Support for the Annexation of Korea based on the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

The influential British daily, *The Times*, was established by John Walter in 1785, at which time it was known as *The Daily Universal Register*. Three years later, its name was changed to *The Times* (1788), and it quickly developed into an influential paper whose commercial news and commentaries played a significant role in the formation of public opinion in Great Britain.

The relationship between the editor of *The Times* and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was so close that it was often referred to as the mouthpiece for the British government's foreign policy. A man named Valentine Chirol was in charge of reporting on East Asian matters from 1899 to 1912. Chirol, who had visited East Asia on several occasions, fully expected that Japan would emerge as a formidable foe for Russia.⁹

Factors such as its nationality and nature, as well as the path it took to

collect news sources related to Korea and its relationship with the British government, can all be regarded as having provided the background to the formation of *The Times*' line of reasoning with regards to the matter of the annexation of Korea. In other words, the close relationship that existed between the newspaper and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the British government's amicable policy toward Japan should be kept in mind when taking a look at the reports that appeared in *The Times* regarding the annexation of Korea.

The first articles regarding the Japanese annexation of Korea began to appear in *The Times* on August 25, 1910, or three days after the signing of the Annexation Treaty. The paper quickly exhibited its support when Japan announced the annexation of Korea. More to the point, it expressed support for Japan's "choice," which it regarded as the most sound and in fact only way to resolve the current situation in Korea. It stressed that although Japan could easily have withdrawn from the Asian continent it decided to implement the annexation of Korea because it could not just let Korea, which had proven that it was unable to ensure its independence alone, fall prey to other countries. Thus, its support for Japan's invasion of Korea was rooted in the belief that the direct causes of the annexation were Korea's incapability and Japan's noble sense of responsibility.

The Times was not the only entity to believe in the inevitability of Korea losing its independence based on its inability to stand alone at the time of the annexation of Korea. Rather, there were widespread suspicions, and in particular in imperialist nations, as to whether Korea could maintain its independence.

The contents and characteristics of the discussions on the independence of Korea that were carried out at the governmental, press, and individual levels within the international community changed drastically after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Having emerged victorious in this conflict, Japan forced Qing to accept the tenets of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, an agreement that effectively brought an end to the debate over whether Korea was a vassal of China or an independent country. Thereafter, the debate revolved around the question of 'whether Korea

had the capacity to maintain its independence' and 'whether Korea was only an independent country in name, or actually an independent country.' In other words, the issue of the independence of Korea entered a new stage in the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War, namely that of whether Korea could actually become and remain an independent country. The conflicts between Russia and Japan occasioned by the Triple Intervention of 1895 had the effect of making the issue of the 'independence of Korea' bubble to the surface. By the time Korea found itself having become a Japanese protectorate in the aftermath of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), *The Times*, based on the equation of the 'impossibility to maintain independence = annexation,' had already concluded that Korea has reached its terminus point.

The Times indirectly explained that although Itō Hirobumi's rule during the protectorate era had been based on Japan's sense of sympathy for its poor neighbor, Koreans had wasted Japan's good intentions and actually managed to make the state of their country worse.

While the exact status of Korea remained somewhat vague and indeterminate, a recurrence of international complications was always possible, even though at present unlikely. There was no possibility of conceding complete autonomy to the Koreans; for they had shown themselves quite unfitted to administer the affairs of their country without external aid. The experiment of a protectorate and a dual Administration had unquestionably broken down. The Korean administrators were constantly at cross purposes with the Japanese advisers who stood behind them. There was no unity of purpose, and misunderstandings were incessant. If autonomy was impossible and the dual Administration a failure, what alternative remained but annexation?¹⁰

The paper explained that Koreans had shown themselves incapable of enjoying their independence under the protectorate governance structure. It also asserted that Korean officials had continuously created conflicts

and misunderstandings with the Japanese advisors. It further argued that the royal family had refused to accept Japan's good intentions to help it correct its misrule and ineptitudes or to cooperate in the suppression of insurgents.

In addition, *The Times* pointed out that the annexation of Korea was inevitable both from the standpoint of the efficiency of the protectorate governance structure and economic efficacy.

Thus Korea became in effect a protected state, and the progress she made, though it could scarcely be called radical, was certainly not unsatisfactory. But it was not to be supposed that a system of divided authority could ever be really efficient. On the one side stood the Resident-General, virtual ruler of the country; on the other the Emperor, nominal Sovereign. No contrivance, however skilful, could avert friction or prevent intrigue. Every careful onlooker saw that the Koreans never could be thoroughly reconciled to Japanese control so long as their country retained titular independence. Moreover, the system was costing Japan from 20 to 30 million yen (£2,000,000 to £3,000,000) annually. What seems to be imminent now may be said therefore to have been long in sight.¹¹

Thus, the combination of the inefficiency of the dualistic administrative structure, composed of the Resident-General and the Emperor, and the financial burden of two to three million pounds a year incurred by Japan made its decision to abandon its policy of patience and push through with annexation inevitable.

Then how did *The Times* perceive the matter of the validity of the Korean-British Commercial Treaty (or Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Korea) signed in 1883. Although Great Britain's basic understanding of the Korean government and its status was rooted in the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Korea signed in 1883, its Far East policy was based on the tenets of the Second Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1905, and in

particular the provisions of Article III:

. . . Japan possessing paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea, Great Britain recognizes the right of Japan to take such measures of guidance, control and protection in Korea as she may deem proper and necessary to safeguard and advance those interests, provided always that such measures are not contrary to the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations . . .

Thus, Great Britain's perception of the annexation of Korea was based on its relationship with Japan rather than that with Korea. In other words, Korea was perceived as a subject of annexation rather than as an independent country.

The Times not only introduced the text of the Annexation Treaty as well as the preamble announced on August 29, but also described the situation in Korea right after the announcement of the annexation as follows.

It would be hard to imagine anything more peaceful than the appearance of Seoul at the present moment. The capital of what ten days ago was the Empire of Korea and is now the Japanese province of Cho-sen lies flooded with September sunshine, surrounded by a guardian ring of beautiful, if barren, hills; its palaces and gateways, even its squalid streets, offer the traveler a sight so picturesque and so attractive that after a very few days he begins to understand, almost indeed to share, the warm affection that residents in Seoul feel for their city. Contented-looking Koreans idle over their work, or strut about the filthy streets in well-fed good-natured laziness, wonderful figures in their white robes and their hats that for absurdity and ugliness and, some of them, for size outrival the most extravagant productions of the Paris milliner; there are no outward signs of friction between them and the numerous Japanese in the city; no Japanese troops are seen in the streets, though there is a small guard at the Residency-General and the 65th Regiment have their barracks a mile or two beyond the walls.¹²

The Times described the streets of Korea after the annexation as being peaceful. Thus, ironically, the actual site where a country had been deprived of its sovereignty was described in a flowery manner. No signs of the Japanese military or physical conflicts could be found. Meanwhile, Koreans could be seen enjoying their everyday lives in a relaxed and satisfied manner.

What was the actual situation on the ground? Based on its judgment that ample military power would be needed during the annexation process, Japan had already begun to draw all of its military forces stationed throughout Korea to Seoul in May 1910. Individual battalions travelled to Seoul via back roads and in a deferred manner so as to not arouse the suspicion of the Korean public. By the time August rolled around and annexation became imminent, people were prevented from going out at night; some time later all outings were prohibited. Rigid precautions were taken at fortress gates, strongholds, royal palaces, the Residence-General, house of the commander, and the houses of Korean ministers. On the day of the annexation (August 22), military police patrolled the Seoul area as a part of 15-hour shifts. From that time onwards, any group consisting of two Koreans or more was interrogated by the military police.¹³ However, *The Times* brazenly reported that the situation in Korea was a peaceful one in which nary a riot or disturbance could be found.¹⁴

The Times, a newspaper from the same imperialist country that ruled over other nations such as India and Egypt, expressed its concerns and expectations regarding Japan's management of its new colony. To begin with, it stressed the fact that although Japan had now entered a higher political sphere, there still remained many tasks to be resolved. It then went on to explain that although Japan's expansion had been motivated by political and economic necessity, it was nevertheless important to secure the trust of the Korean people. It added that Japanese acceptance within the international community would be based on its ability to show Koreans the material advantages gained from annexation, and pointed out that Japan had in the past fomented anti-Japanese sentiment by applying excessive military force.¹⁵

Basically, *The Times*' perception of the annexation of Korea was in line with that of the British government. Great Britain selected Japan as its ally in its attempts to contain Russia in the Far East; in this regard its approval of Japan's annexation of Korea should be regarded as having been motivated by the contents of the first Anglo-Japanese alliance treaty of January 1902 and the second Anglo-Japanese alliance treaty of August 1905. More to the point, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was given priority over the relations with Korea that had begun with the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Korea in 1883.

The Times explained that the annexation of Korea was in essence a natural conclusion for both Korea and Japan. Armed with good intentions, Japan had attempted to change Korea through reforms. However, instead of cooperating with the reforms, everyone from the emperor to the government officials in Korea, a country that had no ability to maintain its independence on its own, obstructed Japan's efforts. Consequently, as Japan's protectorate rule proved to be inefficient from both an institutional and economic standpoint, it was left with no choice but to push ahead with annexation. Furthermore, *The Times*, reporting on the situation in Korea, included the distortions that Japan's military occupation in fact represented a peaceful presence, and that the military struggles waged by the righteous armies (*üibyöng*) were little more than riots initiated by malcontents. Based on the imperialist standpoint known as 'invasion=civilization,' the paper regarded the Japanese colonization of Korea as a sign that the former was in the process of joining the ranks of the 'higher level' nations.

Interest in Changes in Extraterritoriality and Trade Tariffs

Although the British government expressed its support for the annexation of Korea, it demanded that any disadvantages caused by the suddenness of annexation be properly addressed. The issues that Great Britain particularly focused on were related to commerce and the principle of extraterritoriality. *The Times* also released articles that

showed a marked interest in these two issues.

All the treaties that Korea had established with other countries were automatically rendered invalid as a result of the Japanese annexation of Korea. These were automatically replaced by the treaties that had been established between Japan and these other countries. For Great Britain, the Korean market was a place in which it could enjoy much lower tariff rates and greater extraterritoriality than Japan. However, annexation meant that it would lose the advantageous tariffs and legal privileges that they had enjoyed in Korea.

The Times paid close attention to the possibility of any move backwards in terms of the interests that they had enjoyed in the past. First, *The Times* perceived the tariff-free rights as being more important than that of extraterritoriality, and focused on whether Great Britain would be able to protect its interests in Korea.

The question of trade is more serious. Next to those of Japan, the goods of Great Britain figure most largely in the list of Korean imports. According to the latest available returns, Korea buys annually Japanese products to the amount of about 21 millions sterling. British exports to Korea represent an annual value of nearly three-quarters of a million, largely cotton goods, while the exports of the United States and China to Korea have a value of less than half a million each. It is probable that part of the China returns represent British goods re-exported from Shanghai, and it is an undoubted fact that the direct British trade with Korea has been steadily increasing. We could not contemplate with indifference the possible extinction of this growing trade, by the extension of the new Japanese tariff to Korea; but we rest assured that no such course is contemplated by the Japanese Government. That question apart, the annexation of Korea by Japan may be pronounced to have become practically inevitable. We do not rejoice over it, and we do not doubt that Japan herself takes the step without enthusiasm; but it has been plain for some time that the incorporation of Korea within the Empire of Japan was the only sound solution of the many

difficulties which have arisen.¹⁶

The Times expressed its concerns about the damage that might be incurred as a result of the fact that new treaties had to be signed with Japan to replace those reached between Korea and Great Britain, which had automatically been rendered invalid by the annexation, and that existing treaties with Japan featured tariff rates that were relatively higher than those that had prevailed in Korea in the past. These tariff rates used in Japan now had to be applied.

The British and Japanese governments had engaged in negotiations to adjust the tariff rates found in the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Amity and Commerce prior to the actual annexation of Korea. For the British side, the most pressing issue was the application of new tariff rates that would inevitably be occasioned by the annexation of Korea. The negotiations ended with the British government announcing in early August that it would essentially approve the tariff measures implemented by Japan in the aftermath of its annexation of Korea. A mutual agreement was also made to maintain the tariff rates at their current levels for the next ten years.¹⁷

As far as the decisions made by the two governments were concerned, *The Times* forecasted that the two countries would amicably resolve the tariff issue, expressing its faith that Japan would not damage the interests of Great Britain. This judgment can be regarded as being based on its determination that the annexation issue was one that revolved around 'political factors' rather than commercial ones.¹⁸

On the other hand, *The Times* also used an episode to point out the problems that could be caused by the eradication of extraterritoriality. The example it raised revolved around the story of two American women who had made full use of the legal rights that had been secured by their consulate to marry American missionaries stationed in Korea, only to suddenly see their efforts rendered invalid by the annexation.¹⁹

However, *The Times* perceived that the abolishment of extraterritoriality was an inevitable side effect of the annexation of Korea

and did not take any excessive actions. It contented itself instead with stating that it did not have any concerns about the disappearance of the privileges of extraterritoriality that British nationals had heretofore enjoyed in Korea. The paper argued that, “The British community in Korea is small and the fears occasioned by the fact that treaties have to be amended with Japan have long been dissipated.”

However, *The Times* did request that Japan actively respond to the problems that might emerge during the transition towards the abolishment of extraterritoriality.

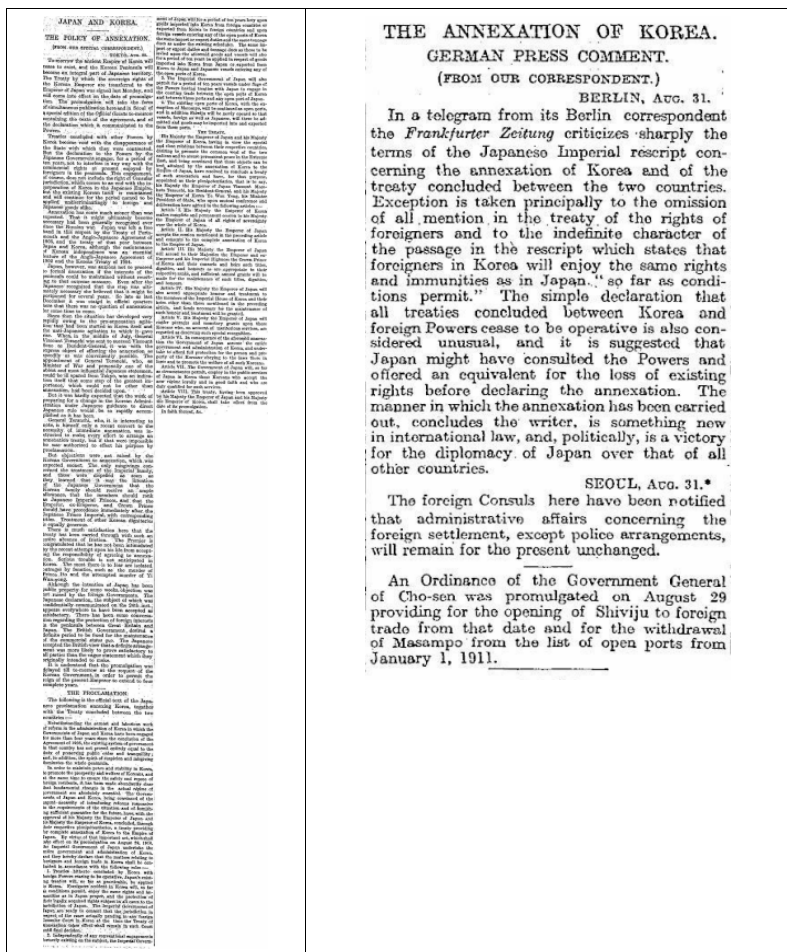
We pointed out the other day that the disappearance of extraterritorial privileges in Korea need cause no apprehension. At the same time, it has to be remembered that the Korean judicial system is still in its infancy. It will be specially incumbent upon the Japanese Government, if it is desirous of preserving the general though mild approval with which the annexation has been received, to ensure that the new Korean Courts exercise their jurisdiction for some time to come with a full recollection of the foreign rights now annulled. The judicial system is not yet very efficient; some strain will be placed upon the susceptibilities of resident foreigners who resent the termination of their privileges; and the working of the Courts will be watched not without anxiety.²⁰

Aware that an effective legal system had yet to take root in Korea, *The Times* expressed its concerns about the distrust of foreign nationals residing in Korea, and asserted that the Japanese government had a responsibility to actively interfere in Korea’s legal system and to manage the system in an advanced manner.

The Times focused on the impact that annexation would have on the trade tariffs and privileges that Great Britain and foreigners has respectively enjoyed in Korea prior to this act. However, much like the British government, it perceived drawbacks in terms of these two issues as being inevitable outcomes of the annexation process and did not make

excessive waves in this regard. As such, the annexation of Korea was determined to be in keeping with the interests of Great Britain and the preservation of the Anglo-Japanese alliance in the Far East from a political and diplomatic standpoint, if not a commercial one.

<Picture 3> Articles from *The Times* pertaining to the annexation of Korea



The Annexation of Korea as Viewed from *The New York Times*

The New York Times was created by a group led by Henry J. Raymond in New York, in 1851. It was born in an era in which large newspaper companies backed by the large-scale accumulation of capital that was taking place in cities such as New York were appearing on the scene. *The New York Times* was subsequently purchased by Adolph Ochs, in 1896, who rapidly revamped the newspaper into an internationally prominent daily rooted in the slogans of, “All the News that’s Fit to Print” and “Giving the news, all the news, in concise and attractive form.”²¹

As far as the provision of news reports emanating from Korea were concerned, *The New York Times*, much like *The Times*, did not receive articles from its own special correspondent dispatched to Korea. Rather, its articles came from other media outlets, such as Reuters and AP, special Far East correspondents, and various newspapers in Tokyo. However, *The New York Times* should be perceived as one of the foreign papers that had the most extensive relationship with Korea. It conducted an interview with King Kojong’s special envoy Homer Hulbert in which he highlighted the compulsive nature of the Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (Ŭlsa Treaty) and appealed for diplomatic support from the international community. It also reported in an extensive manner on the activities of Yi Sangsöl and Yi Wijong, who had been dispatched to the Hague Conference in 1907.²²

The New York Times exhibited great respect for the 26th U.S. President, Theodore Roosevelt, and actively supported his domestic and foreign policies. Although it supported the Republican Party at the time the Taft government was inaugurated, it subsequently adopted a critical attitude toward the government and Republican Party for its failure to keep its election pledges to the people.²³

Let us take a look at the articles that appeared in *The New York Times* pertaining to the annexation of Korea based on the assumption that the nationality and characteristics of *The New York Times*, the process through which it collected news related to Korea, and its relationship with

the current government all influenced its line of reasoning.

Support for the Japanese Annexation of Korea

The *New York Times* regarded Japan's move to abolish the Korean police in June 1910 as having been the result of the Korean emperor's voluntary surrender of policing rights to Japan, a move which it perceived as a sign that the annexation of Korea was drawing closer.²⁴

In an article published on August 18, or shortly before the conclusion of the annexation treaty, *The New York Times* stressed that the independence of Korea had already come to an end with the signing of the treaty concluded on November 17, 1905 (Ŭlsa Treaty). Furthermore, the article went on to argue that King Kojong's abdication in 1907 had made it clear that it was only a matter of time until the Hermit Kingdom was officially annexed by Japan. The article foretold the annexation of Korea, stressing the fact that, "The long-awaited annexation of Korea by Japan is about to become a reality."²⁵

The New York Times essentially supported the annexation of Korea, and towed the official line advocated by the Japanese; namely that although Japan had tried to maintain the status quo in Korea, it inevitably found itself having to pursue annexation because Korea had proven itself unable to maintain independence on its own.

The New York Times had the following to say about the process and methods used by Japan to bring about annexation.

The act of annexation will be severely criticized, doubtless, as the manner of administration previously has been. But it would be extremely difficult to select the Government which would comply with the scriptural condition for casting the first stone. Japan has taken over Korea with little pretense that it is not actuated by its own interests. It has sufficiently valued those interests to fight two bloody and costly wars in their defense. The position of Great Britain in Egypt, of France in Madagascar, of Germany in East Africa, of the United States in the

Philippines does not rest on bases any more clearly democratic than that of Japan in Korea.²⁶

The New York Times explained that as far as the annexation of Korea was concerned, Japan had already paid a very high cost in the form of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Furthermore, it assessed that Japan had implemented the annexation of Korea in a more “democratic” manner than had been the case with other major imperial powers with regards to their colonial holdings. It asserted that Japan had followed a similar course to the United States who despite having “no interest in annexation” now found itself having complete control over the Philippines following its war waged with Spain in 1898 over the fate of the colonized people.

In addition, *The New York Times* expected that none of the other major powers would severely criticize Japan. It concluded that Great Britain’s fear of Japan establishing an alliance with Russia if it pushed it too far would ensure that no serious disputes would emerge between the two. Meanwhile, Germany, fond of its status as an “honest intermediary,” would not intervene on the Korean peninsula or in Manchuria. For its part, the United States, while at odds with Japan over the issue of Manchuria, did not have any particular reason to oppose the annexation of Korea.

At odds with Japan over the Manchuria issue before and after the annexation of Korea, the U.S. government came out in favor of the annexation. In fact, Japan’s extension of its right over Korea had already been accepted by the time the Taft-Katsura Agreement, which was signed by the Roosevelt administration in 1905. Although it did not give in to Japan on the Manchuria issue, the ensuing Taft administration nevertheless acquiesced to its annexation of Korea. Using the same reasoning as that advocated by the U.S. government, *The New York Times* stressed the fact that the annexation of Korea represented a separate issue from that of Manchuria.

Meanwhile, *The New York Times* worried about changes in the open ports policies that might be occasioned by the annexation in the future.

Although Korea and the U.S. had concluded the United States–Korea Treaty of 1882 (the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation), the paper stated that this treaty would become invalid once Korea was officially controlled by Japan, a situation that in its eyes would inevitably result in an increase in the tariff rates applied to foreign goods entering Korea. Furthermore, it also asserted that the U.S. government needed to keep an eye on its Japanese counterpart so as to protect the rights that had been secured under the previous treaty with Korea, and called for negotiations with Japan on this matter.²⁷

The import tariffs imposed in Korea in 1910 were much lower than those that prevailed in Japan. With the exception of luxury goods, on which it could impose a tariff rate of up to 30%, the Korean government could not impose *ad valorem* duties of more than 10% on goods imported from the United States. Meanwhile, U.S. goods exported to Japan did not enjoy conditions that were as advantageous as those applied to the goods that made their way into Korea.²⁸ As far as this issue was concerned, *The New York Times* predicted that U.S. trade would inevitably suffer once the Japanese tariff rates were applied to Korea.

The New York Times responded to the Japanese government's announcement that it would leave Korean ports and tariffs as is for the next 10 years by stating that Korea would, after annexation, "suck up a great amount of Japanese financial resources for a prolonged period of time that will inevitably have to be covered by its own trade tariffs."²⁹

Meanwhile, *The New York Times* pointed out that the tariff issue would impact relations with not only the United States, but also the other major powers. It was especially concerned about the impact that this matter would have on the Anglo-Japanese relationship. To this end, it stressed that a new tariff system would not only place a heavy burden on British trade, but that the application of higher tariff rates on Great Britain than other major powers would in all likelihood result in damaging the amicable relations that existed between the two countries.

Much as was the case with *The Times*, *The New York Times* expressed its concern that U.S. economic interests in Korea would be damaged once

the new treaties governing tariffs went into effect. In addition, it also pointed out the negative impact that this would have on not only trade with the United States, but also the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This approach was contrary to that of *The Times*, which expressed its faith in the Japanese government and did not take issue with any particular matter.

The Criticism of Japan's Efforts to Stifle the Press

Contrary to *The Times*, *The New York Times* continuously took issue with the secretive nature of the annexation process and the sudden announcement of the annexation. In an article titled, "The Japanese Big Stick,"³⁰ published on February 20, 1910, the paper pointed out that Japan was turning Korea into its colony using the very "basic" method of military coercion. In another article titled, "Japan Sphinxlike on Plans in Korea," released on that same date, *The New York Times* criticized the attitude of the Japanese government and pointed out that Japan's annexation of Korea was being carried out in a "furtive manner."

Though nothing official can be learned to confirm the reports that negotiations for the annexation of Korea by Japan are now proceeding, many signs indicate that annexation is imminent. Long conferences between officials are constantly in progress. Visits are frequently interchanged, and great activity is noticed in the Japanese offices.

The censorship has been placed on an even more rigid basis than before, and Tokyo newspapers containing reports on the situation in Korea are confiscated at Fusan upon their arrival in this country.

The entire country has been placed under a strong military guard, and a number of Japanese war vessels are now patrolling the coast of Korea. The situation indicates conditions of extreme tension, but officials maintain a sphinx-like attitude, refusing to make any statement regarding annexation.³¹

More to the point, *The New York Times* explained that regardless of

whether the annexation of Korea would in the end go ahead or not, the Japanese government was nevertheless promptly moving ahead with its preparations for annexation. It went on to add that articles from newspapers in Tokyo that might impede annexation were being confiscated before they made their way into Korea, and that government officials refused to accept or deny that annexation was imminent.³²

Fearful that annexation might somehow be derailed if news leaked out in Korea and the international community, the Japanese government further strengthened its censorship over Korean and Japanese newspapers. For example, Interior Minister Hirota summoned the owners of Japanese newspapers right before the official announcement of the annexation and demanded that they not publish any unapproved information related to the Korean situation. He explained that under the current circumstances, such reporting would make it further difficult for the Japanese government to implement the annexation of Korea. The Japanese newspapers agreed with him and refrained from releasing any articles related to the annexation prior to the official announcement.³³

Within Korea proper, Korean newspapers were thoroughly censored and the sale of Japanese newspapers was not permitted.³⁴ The Japanese government created an atmosphere of terror by mobilizing the military police to prohibit any kind of political assembly or public speech, and mercilessly arrested anybody who did not abide by this *diktat*. Although the annexation was imminent by mid-August 1910, the impending fate of Korea was thoroughly covered up to the extent that Koreans had no idea that comprehensive negotiations on the subject of annexation were being carried out at all.³⁵

The New York Times, which was dependent on newspapers in Tokyo for its news about Korea, published reports related to the annexation that kept in mind the extreme control Japan exercised over the local press. While it released telegrams from Korea stating that the “strongest censorship” was being exercised,³⁶ it nevertheless held back from criticizing the Japanese government’s secretive ‘annexation’ of Korea that was being made possible by this suppression of the press.³⁷

The New York Times also reported that the annexation was implemented without any major resistances within Korea proper, let alone amongst the major powers. It reported that “the imperial family of Korea would receive honor, status, and funds”³⁸ and that King Kojong and Sunjong “gladly” agreed with the “very generous conditions” suggested by Japan.³⁹ The only demand made by King Kojong was that he be allowed to continue to use his royal title instead of that of “Grand Duke.”⁴⁰

As far as the Korean people, who could not obtain any information under the stringent suppression of the press being exercised by Japan, were concerned, *The New York Times* reported that Koreans had accepted the news of the upcoming annexation with general indifference. More to the point, it reported that, “Realizing the inevitability of annexation, many of the leaders of Korea have little interest in the change to their country’s status. As a precaution, all public assemblies have been prohibited. The announcement of the annexation of Korea will be accepted by the Korean people without any major opposition.”⁴¹ It described the reaction of Koreans to annexation as follows: “while the king and leaders wholeheartedly agree with this move, the majority of Koreans are relatively indifferent. The riots can be regarded as the recourse of those malcontents who were excluded from the annexation process”.

Here, the term “malcontents” was used to refer to the members of the anti-Japanese righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*). According to *The New York Times*, they initiated “riots” because unlike the Korean royal family, aristocrats, and government officials, their futures had not been guaranteed by this process. However, it added that these “riots” against annexation were arising in a sporadic manner. Viewed from the standpoint of Korea as a whole, the American daily did not expect any serious disturbances or widespread objection to annexation to arise amongst the Korean people.⁴²

However, the reality on the ground was very different. Korean righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*) had already been formed nationwide before the annexation, with the Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905 (*Ŭlsa*

Treaty) serving as a major rallying cry. 2,929 battles were waged between the Japanese military and Korean righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*) from 1907 to 1910. The number of battles reached its peak in 1908. Over 140,000 people participated in the Korean righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*), 17,688 of whom died for their country.

<Table 1> The struggles of the Korean righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*)⁴³

		1907 (August ~ December)	1908	1909	1910	Total
Number of battles		323	1,451	898	147	2,819
Number of soldiers		44,116	69,832	25,763	1,892	141,603
Damages incurred by the Korean righteous armies	Deaths	3,627	11,562	2,374	125	17,688
	Injuries	1,592	1,719	453	54	3,800
	Captured	139	1,417	329	48	1,923
	Weapons seized	1,235	5,081	1,329	116	7,824

On September 1, 1909, Japan implemented a “grand punitive raid” that would last forty days. Seeking to round up all of the insurgents based on a large-scale force composed of two infantry regiments and an engineering platoon, the Japanese forces summoned the heads of townships and villages in the besieged areas and proceeded to arrest any individuals who, after violent interrogation, were suspected of being members of the righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*). They also disguised their soldiers as spies to collect information. As a result of this “grand punitive raid,” several heads of righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*), including Sim Namil, An Kyeong, Kang Mugyǒng, and Chǒn Haesan, were arrested and executed and over 2000 members were killed, injured, or captured. The efforts at suppression waged by the Japanese forces resulted in the righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*) in the Chǒlla area fading from the scene and the overall struggles of the righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*) being weakened until annexation. However, battles to root out the righteous armies (*ũibyǒng*) emerged in the Sobaek Mountain Range located on the border between the provinces of Kangwǒn, Chungch’ǒng and Kyǒngsang, as well as in the area near Hwanghae Province, in or around November 1910, or

shortly after annexation.⁴⁴

Let us take a look at Korean materials that show the actual circumstances in Korea at the time.

(Japan) sent an additional 2,000 military police to strategic points within the provinces and sought to help the military police by increasing the number of reconnaissance patrols. Furthermore, it dispatched scores of naval ships to Inch'ŏn and Pusan to show off the power of the Japanese military. It forced newspapers to shut down and dismantled organizations and associations. They also arrested anybody from the elite who had shown any signs of leadership. The military police and policemen rigidly lined the streets and roads with their loaded weapons in search of any sign of trouble.

The Annexation Treaty was forcibly pushed through and announced on August 29. . . . On that day, many people expressed their grief and resentment by committing suicide. However, as all the newspapers had already been closed down and all public gatherings were prohibited, none of these actions were brought to life. In addition, the Japanese police threatened families of those who had committed suicide in the name of the nation not to reveal what had happened to the outside world.⁴⁵

Despite the emergence of various incidents such as Japan's coercive military suppression, brutal precautions, press control, dismantlement of anti-Japanese organizations, arrest of patriotic figures, and the suicide of Koreans in the name of the nation that took place before and after the annexation, Japan concealed all of these facts from the outside world. Similarly, *The New York Times*' reports also featured a distortion of these facts. However, such perceptions of the annexation of Korea were not limited to *The New York Times*, rather they were also shared by other Western newspapers.

<Picture 4> Korean righteous army members (ūibyōng) being executed by the Japanese military



<Picture 5> Articles from *The New York Times* related to the annexation of Korea

JAPAN SPHINXLIKE ON PLANS IN KOREA

Nothing Admitted or Denied, but Preparations for Annexation Seem to Go On Briskly.

CENSORSHIP IS STRICTER

Washington, with Treaties Involved, Expects Formal Announcement of Changed Status at Any Time.

SEOUL, Korea, Aug. 19.—Though nothing official can be learned to confirm the reports that negotiations for the annexation of Korea by Japan are now proceeding, many signs indicate that annexation is imminent. Long conferences between officials are constantly in progress, visits are frequently interchanged, and great activity is noticed in the Japanese offices.

The censorship has been placed on an even more rigid basis than before, and Tokio newspapers containing reports on the situation in Korea are confiscated at Pusan upon their arrival in this country.

The entire country has been placed under a strong military guard, and a number of Japanese war vessels are now patrolling the coast of Korea. The situation indicates conditions of extreme tension, but officials maintain a sphinxlike attitude, refusing to make any statement regarding annexation.

The New York Times
 Published August 20, 1910
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JAPAN IS ABOUT TO ANNEX KOREA

Tokio Newspapers Publish Special Editions Announcing This Decision.

NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEGUN

It is Expected They Will Be Concluded in Two or Three Days—Resident General Outlines Conditions.

SEOUL, Aug. 17.—The long-awaited annexation of Korea by Japan is about to become a reality, according to reports Japanese sources. Special editions of the *Yomiuri Shimbun* were published today in Tokio.

The dispatchs announce that the final negotiations for the annexation were commenced yesterday by Gen. Oka, Japanese Resident-General in Korea, and Resident-General Hiram Bingham of the United States.

The conditions upon which Japan will give up the province are announced, and the residents of the Korean Colonies will be notified in two or three days and that the formal proclamation of the act of annexation may be effected.

The United States, it is said, and other powers are having extra sessions with the great dispatch.

Since the present Resident, Hiram Bingham, is known to have been planning to resign, it is believed that he will be replaced by Gen. Oka, who was detailed for his post in the 1907-1908 season following the first year the Japanese Resident-General in Korea.

The matter of Korea to Japan is believed an indication of the trend that this continent will take from relations to the administration of the country. Korea have also entered in new economic arrangements of annexation would, it is understood, be the important part of foreign trade relations.

The Japanese government has been reported merely as a matter of fact.

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The New York Times
 Published August 18, 1910
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Conclusion

This article analyzed the contents and characteristics of the reports related to the annexation of Korea that appeared in *The Times* of Great Britain and *The New York Times* of the United States before and after the Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty of 1910. Both newspapers boast a history that spans in excess of 150 years, and continue to be internationally influential dailies. In 1910, these two papers, as representatives of their home countries of Great Britain and the United States, also helped shape public opinion in favor of imperialistic expansion.

The two newspapers fundamentally accepted the Japanese annexation of Korea. They reflected the official position of the Japanese government regarding the annexation, namely, that circumstances in Korea had made it inevitable. Moreover, they also adhered to the logic of imperial expansion under which annexation would result in the further development of Korea. This can thus be regarded as the moment in which the issue of the 'independence of Korea,' which had been used to legitimize Japan's growing territorial encroachment, arrived at the terminus known as the 'inevitability of annexation.'

Both newspapers reported on the 'annexation of Korea' from the standpoint of Western imperialism. The violence carried out by Japan was covered up in the name of alliances and treaties, and the reports on the annexation process were devoid of the Koreans' positions on this matter. Korea's righteous armies (*ũibyõng*) and independence movements that rose up against this Japanese violence were decried as 'riots' initiated by malcontents.

Although the two newspapers adopted the common position of the 'inevitability of annexation,' which can be regarded as having been characteristic of all Western imperialist countries, differences in their line of reasoning, which reflected the positions of their respective countries, were nevertheless evident.

The Times' analyses and outlook with regards to Japan's colonial rule in Korea were rooted in Great Britain's own colonial management in

countries such as India and Egypt. While it focused on the impact that annexation would have on the trade tariffs applied to Great Britain in Korea as well as on the privileges enjoyed by foreign nationals in Korea, in keeping with the position of the British government, *The Times* refrained from creating an uproar over these issues, which it perceived as inevitable outcomes of the annexation. As far as the annexation of Korea was concerned, it determined that the preservation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would advance the interests of Great Britain from a political and diplomatic standpoint.

On the other hand, *The New York Times* showed itself to be more critical of the annexation of Korea than *The Times*. Contrary to *The Times*, which expressed its faith in the Japanese government and did not raise the issue of tariffs, *The New York Times* pointed out that the tariff issue would have a negative impact on not only trade with the United States, but also the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This can be regarded as a criticism that was in fact motivated by the conflict between the United States and Japan over Manchuria. Other differences between *The New York Times* and *The Times* included the former's pointing out of the secretive nature of the Japanese government in regards to the annexation process, its highlighting of Japan's muzzling of the press, and its steady reporting about the internal situation in Korea.

As such, these two influential newspapers reporting on the 'annexation of Korea' was not only rooted in the imperialist mindset that prevailed in their respective countries, but also in the desire to protect the interests of their countries. For them, Korea was a basket case that was bound to be annexed, and little importance was attached to the relationships with Korea that had been respectively forged through the United States–Korea Treaty of 1882 (the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation) and the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Great Britain and Korea in 1883. Their reports about Korea were rooted in the relationship between Japan, the main actor in the annexation of Korea, and their respective countries. As a result, the facts surrounding the military violence committed by Japan and the forced annexation of Korea were

seriously distorted or altogether deleted from the reports prepared for the Western public. The formation of such public opinion had the effect of further isolating Korea within the international community.

Notes :

- 1 The study of how the global media viewed the Japanese annexation of Korea can be regarded to be in its initial stages. Naraoka Sochi, “Yōngguk esō pon It’o Hirobumi wa Han’guk t’ongch’i” (Itō Hirobumi’s rule in Korea from the British point of view), in *Han’guk kwa It’o Hirobumi* (Seoul: Seonin, 2009); Ch’oe Tōksu et al., *Choyak ūro pon Han’guk kūndaesa* (Modern Korean history as viewed through treaties) (Seoul: Yōllin Ch’aektūl, 2010); Yu Sūnghūi, “19 segi mal-20 segi ch’o sōgu òllon ūi Han’guk kwan” (The Western press’ perception of Korea during the late 19th-early 20th century) (M.A. thesis: Yōnse Taehakwōn, 2006).
- 2 For more on Great Britain’s policy toward Korea, please refer to Ch’oe Munhyōng, *Kukche kwan’gye ro pon Rō · Il chōnjaeng kwa Ilbon ūi Han’guk pyōnghap* (The Russo-Japanese war and the Japanese annexation of Korea as viewed from the standpoint of international relations) (Seoul: Chisik Sanōpsa, 2006); Han Sūnghun, “Ūlsa nūgyak ūl chōnhuhan Yōngguk ūi Taehan chōngch’aek” (Great Britain’s policy toward Korea before and after the Japan–Korea Protectorate Treaty of 1905), *Han’guksa hakpo* 30; Ch’oe Tōksu et al., *Choyak ūro pon Han’guk kūndaesa*; Kim Wōnsu, “4 kuk hyōpcho ch’eje wa Han Il pyōnghap ūi kukche kwan’gye, 1907-1912: Yōngguk ūi tongmaeng hyōpsang kwa yōn’gye hayō” (The four-party cooperation structure and the Japanese annexation of Korea as viewed from the standpoint of international relations during 1907-1912: with a special focus on Great Britain’s alliance diplomacy) *Tongbuka yōksa nonch’ong* 29 (2010).
- 3 Unno Fukuju, *Han’guk pyōnghapsa yōn’gu* (A history of the annexation of Korea), trans. Chōng Chaejōng (Seoul: Nonhyōng, 2008), 437-444.
- 4 For more on the United States’ policy toward Japan, please refer to Ch’oe Munyōng, *Kukche kwan’gye ro pon Rō · Il chōnjaeng kwa Ilbon ūi Han’guk pyōnghap*; Ch’oe Chōngsu, T’ūksa T’aep’ūt’ū ūi che 2 ch’a tae Il pangmun kwa Mi · Il choyak ch’eje, 1907-1908: Han’guk pyōnghap ūl chungsim ūro” (Special envoy Taft’s second visit to Japan during 1907-1908 and the

- Japanese-American Agreement: with a special focus on the annexation of Korea), *Tongbuka yōksa nonch'ong* 29 (2010).
- 5 Ch'oe Tōkkyu, "Kando munje wa Ilbon ūi Han'guk pyōnghap: 1909-1910" (The Chientao (Kanto) problem and the Japanese annexation of Korea: 1909-1910), *Han'guksa yōn'gu* 145 (2010).
 - 6 Ch'oe Munyōng, *Kukche kwan'gye ro pon Rō · Il chōnjaeng kwa Ilbon ūi Han'guk pyōnghap*, 413-414.
 - 7 For more on the process which the Japanese government pursued on the road to the annexation of Korea, please refer to Shakuo Shunjo, *Chōsen heigōshi* (History of Korean annexation) (Seoul: Chōsen Manshūsyā, 1926); Unno Fukuju, *Han'guk pyōnghapsa yōn'gu*; Sō Yōnghūi, *Taehan cheguk chōngch'isa yōn'gu* (A Political History of the Taehan Empire) (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2005), 386-387.
 - 8 Shakuo Shunjo, *Chōsen heigōshi*, 573.
 - 9 Naraoka Sochi, 110.
 - 10 "Korea and the Japanese Tariff," *The Times*, August 30, 1910.
 - 11 "The Policy of Japan," *The Times*, August 25, 1910.
 - 12 "Korea, The Annexation and After," *The Times*, October 1, 1910.
 - 13 Yamabe Kentaro, *Han Il happyōngsa* (A short history of the Japanese annexation of Korea), trans. An Pyōngmu (Seoul: Bumusa, 1991), 280-282.
 - 14 "Feeling in Tokyo," *The Times*, August 30, 1910.
 - 15 "The Annexation of Korea," *The Times*, August 25, 1910.
 - 16 "The Annexation of Korea," *The Times*, August 25, 1910.
 - 17 Unno Fukuju, *Han'guk pyōnghapsa yōn'gu*, 441-444.
 - 18 "Korea, The Annexation and After," *The Times*, October 1, 1910.
 - 19 "Korea and the Japanese Tariff," *The Times*, August 30, 1910.
 - 20 Ibid.
 - 21 Ch'oe Chōnggho and Kong Yongbae, *Segye sinmun ūi yōksa* (History of global newspapers) (Seoul: Nanam Ch'ulp'an, 2005).
 - 22 For more on the interviews conducted by the special envoys to The Hague Conference in New York, please refer to Koen De Ceuster, "1907 nyōn Heigū t'ūksa ūi sōnggong kwa chwajōl" (The Korean delegation to the 1907 Hague Peace Conference) *Han'guksa hakpo* 30 (2008).
 - 23 Elmer Davis, *History of the New York Times 1851-1921* (General Books, 2010) 122-123.
 - 24 "Japan to Police Korea," *The New York Times*, June 21, 1910; "Korean

- Annexation Near—Japan Formally Takes over Police Administration of Kingdom,” *The New York Times*, July 1, 1910.
- 25 “Japan is About to Annex Korea,” *The New York Times*, August 18, 1910.
- 26 Ibid.
- 27 “Japan and Korea,” *The New York Times*, August 26, 1910.
- 28 *The New York Times*, August 20, 1910.
- 29 “Korean Tariffs to Hold Ten Years,” *The New York Times*, August 29, 1910.
- 30 *The New York Times*, February 20, 1910.
- 31 “Japan Sphinxlike on Plans in Korea,” *The New York Times*, February 20, 1910.
- 32 “Japan and Korea,” *The New York Times*, August 26, 1910.
- 33 “Japan Announces Korea’s Annexation,” *The New York Times*, August 25, 1910.
- 34 “Korea as a Nation to End this Week,” *The New York Times*, August 22, 1910.
- 35 “Korea Now Japanese,” *The New York Times*, August 23, 1910.
- 36 “Korean Annexation Terms,” *The New York Times*, August 21, 1910.
- 37 *The New York Times* also pointed out Japan’s press control during the Russo-Japanese War and recalled the difficulties it had obtaining any reliable news because of the Japanese government’s censorship of the newspapers. See Yu Sünghüi, 42-43.
- 38 “Korean Annexation Terms,” *The New York Times*, August 21, 1910.
- 39 “Korean Sovereignty Ended,” *The New York Times*, August 27, 1910.
- 40 “Cling to Royal Title,” *The New York Times*, August 28, 1910.
- 41 “Japan to Police Korea,” *The New York Times*, June 21, 1910; and “Korean Annexation Near—Japan Formally Takes Over Police Administration of Kingdom,” *The New York Times*, July 1, 1910.
- 42 “Japan Announces Korea’s Annexation,” *The New York Times*, August 25, 1910.
- 43 Unno Fukuju, *Ilbon üi yangsimi pon Han’guk pyönghap*, 181.
- 44 Unno Fukuju, *Ilbon üi yangsimi pon Han’guk pyönghap*, 181-183.
- 45 Pak Ŭnsik, *Han’guk tongnip undong chihyölsa* (History of the Korean independence movement), trans. Kim Do-hyung (Seoul: Somyöng Ch’ulp’an, 2008), 94-95.