



1919

AN OPEN LETTER

BY

THE WOMEN OF KOREA

AN OPEN LETTER

SISTERS:

The untold sufferings which we have braved cheerfully are unknown to the world. The womanhood of the East is patient and suffering by nature. But the Japanese oppression in our land has exceeded the limits of our endurance and when we could no longer bear our sacred institutions and civilization to be so ruthlessly trampled upon by the Japanese, we gave expression to our feelings to the world in the form of innocent demonstrations hoping that by so doing our sacrifices would attract the notice of the womanhood of other lands and that they would give us their sympathy and a helping hand for their sisters in Korea, if they really deserved sympathy and aid, right now when the hand of militarism is so hard upon us, and when the barbarities and outrages committed on innocents and helpless Christian women of Korea would continue unchecked if the womanhood of the world does not even raise a voice in protest.

It has always been said that the duty of the strong is to protect the weak. We are indeed weak. We need your strong hand. We appeal to you, our mothers and sisters in all the lands of the world to stand by the side of justice and truth and at least raise a voice in protest against the tyranny we are suffering.

It is obviously impossible to give full details of what we have endured but the following few facts will suffice to show what our unhappy lot has been for the last ten years.

We place the following facts before you and leave it to you to decide the way in which to lend us your help and sympathy. If religion and civilization have any impression upon your mind we trust our cry for justice and sympathy will not be in vain.

1. During the demonstrations in Korea hundreds of girls have been killed in cold blood by the Japanese police and gendarmes because they joined the national movement. Their story is too heart-rending to be described here.

2. A young Korean girl aged about twelve was stabbed by a Japanese gendarme because she was mentioning "Japan has deprived us of our independence. We can bear the oppression no longer." She was the only member of the family left, her parents having been already killed by the Japanese.

3. More than two thousand Korean girls have been already sent to prison, their chastity having been violated by the Japanese soldier who publicly insulted and dragged them half naked from their homes.

4. A Korean child who was flying the original Korean flag in the street was confronted by a Japanese soldier who asked her what she was doing. On her replying that she was seeking for the independence of Korea she was killed there and then.

5. A Korean girl student was being taken to the prison for crying "Long Live Korea." On the way she was whipped mercilessly by the Japanese soldier who told her not to talk about Korean Independence. Then she was flogged publicly but she cried "I can gladly die for my country. I know you too well, you Japanese, I will never tell you the names of my associates." Now she was greatly tortured and her legs twisted till she fainted.

6. It is very common for the Japanese soldiers to strip off the clothes from the Korean girls and march them naked through public streets, still not a single case of confession has yet been recorded. The pitiful voice of the torture of the Korean girls in the prison house is heard long way off.

7. On March 3 at Maingsan village, some Japanese soldiers seized a leader of a meeting in the village and led him away to the gendarme station, and the members of the meeting followed the soldiers to the station hoping in some way to effect the release of their leader. The soldiers permitted the members to enter the court yard of the gendarme station and when all had entered closed the gate, and then the soldiers set to work shooting down all of them in cold blood, 56 were thus shot but three in some way effected their escape. Among these fifty three about fifteen were women.

8. At Sinchang village the soldiers broke the bell belonging to the Methodist church. The wife of the pastor of that church was attacked by the soldiers. She was pregnant at that time. The soldiers beat her with their guns so that at the time of this report there was no possibility of her recovery. The soldiers knocked two other women over with the butt of their guns, knocking them into a ditch and getting down on their knees and levelling their guns at the women fired. One of the women was over fifty years of age. These incidents in Sinchang village were seen by Mr. S. L. Roberts, personally.

9. On Thursday, April 17 in Chai Am Ni village, Suwon, a number of christians were shut up in a church, and were fired upon by the soldiers and then all of them were either wounded or dead the church was set on fire, in this way ensuring their complete destruction. Many other villages were destroyed in the same manner.

Descency does not permit us to expose the Japanese brutalities committed on innocent and patriotic Korean girls and we hope that the above-mentioned few examples will give the reader some of the treatment given to us by Japan, who is now one of the Big Five.

We are Christians and we believe that christian sympathy will not be denied to us. We request that all our sisters in the christian lands will pray to God Almighty for our deliverance. Are you ready to tolerate the era of an unexampled oppression practiced on us, the innocent devotees of One who sacrificed Himself for the emancipation of the world? What more can we say, "Our heart is full, and we are muzzled." But we hope that our christian sisters living in the world will do something for us and that our cry for sympathy will not prove a cry in the wilderness.



The Ruins of Wha Su Ri village after the Japanese soldiers destroyed it by fire and murdering its inhabitants. Now nothing remains but a huge heap of broken tile, dirt, and brick.

On April 11, early in the morning, some time before daybreak, the villagers were suddenly aroused out of their sleep by the sound of firing and the smell of smoke. Running into the open they found soldiers and police setting fire to the houses and shooting and beating the people. Leaving everything they fled for their lives, old and young, the mothers with their babies at their breasts, and the fathers with the younger children, all of them to the hills. But before they could make good their escape many were shot by the soldiers, many were wounded and beaten while a number were arrested and taken to jail.



After the first surprise the Japanese authorities turned loose the soldiers on the Koreans. This picture shows how one of them was slashed and cut up all over the body by merciless Japanese soldiers



At Wha Su Ri, Suwon.

The woman standing in front of the hut had three children, one of whom, killed by a Japanese soldier, is seen in the picture covered over with a piece of cloth. The other two children are evidently mourning over their dead brother, and also for their father who was also killed.



A Korean girl student killed by the Japanese police and abandoned
at the roadside while traveling from Seoul to Suwon.



A view of the remains of earthenware in Wha Su Ri village after it was destroyed by Japanese soldiers.



A view of the remains of the charred ruins of the woodwork, and of the ashes and debris in Wha Su Ri village, Suwon.

A Japanese police is trying to explain away the atrocities committed in Suwon to a foreigner who came for investigation. The reader must know that it is very hard to get pictures or any written document concerning the independence movement out of Korea.

of the signers of Korea's Declaration of Independence
15 were Chundo Kyo, 16 were Christians, 1 was
Buddhist + 2 ———.

(acc. to jap. authorities 15 of the leaders are
X'ns (from Syen Chun Sta. report, 1919.)

The Independence Movement and the Missionaries

by Samuel H. Moffett

On March 1, 1919, the largest and most influential group of Westerners in Korea was the Christian missionary community. There were some 631 missionaries in Korea that year, of whom 491 were Protestant.¹ It is with the first reactions of this group to the Korean Independence Movement that this brief paper will be concerned.

The Independence Movement of March 1, 1919, was a turning point in the history of Korea under Japanese rule.² It was a public uprising and massive protest against Japanese imperialism imposed upon the peninsula beginning with the protectorate of 1905 and the annexation of 1910. Korea's smouldering resentment was fanned by the post-war peace conferences in Paris and Woodrow Wilson's call for "self-determination of small nations." It was sparked into flame by the death of the last real Korean king, Kojong, on Jan. 21, 1919, and the flame exploded into open fire in March when Korean patriots secretly organized a nationwide, non-violent demonstration for freedom timed to take advantage of the King's state funeral scheduled by the Japanese for March 3. Two days before the funeral a Korean Declaration of Independence was signed, read in public at what is now Pagoda Park in Seoul, and circulated with amazing speed throughout the peninsula. There were 33 signers: 15 Christians, 15 Chondokyo and three Buddhists. Police and military response was quick and brutal. But the demonstrations continued for months.

The role of the Western missionary in the movement has sometimes been exaggerated in two very different directions. It has been claimed by some that they actually instigated and directed the demonstrations. Lieut. Gen. Kojima, at that time Commander of the Japanese Gendarmerie in Korea, directly accused the missionaries of starting the protests, and he was supported in the allegation by "a prominent official of the Japanese War Office" who declared that "missionaries are behind the Korean mobs."³

On the other hand, some modern nationalist Korean critics of the missionary movement imply that the general missionary attitude was pro-Japanese and anti-Korean. They do not realize perhaps that thereby they are unconsciously adopting a second Japanese propaganda line of 1919,

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namely, that the missionaries had no part in the movement and that therefore the Western world could discount as pure nationalist propaganda the wild Korean claims of injustice and persecution. A Japanese-controlled editorial in *The Seoul Press* for March 14, 1919 was headlined, NO FOREIGNERS IMPLICATED IN KOREAN UPRISINGS.⁴

I would prefer to judge Western missionary reaction and involvement by the original accounts and records of the missionaries themselves, as preserved in letters, manuscripts and reports, both published and unpublished, from the actual period in question. Most of my source material comes from the first sixty days of the demonstrations, March and April 1919. The material can be divided into two main categories: (1) personal viewpoints and actions of individual missionaries; and (2) the officially stated position of their missions in Korea.

I. Personal Reactions

Since the first category is personal, perhaps I may be forgiven for beginning on a very superficial level: my own reaction to the Independence Movement (the *sam-il undong*). It was simple and direct. It had to be, for I was only three years old. My earliest memory as a child is of Japanese soldiers or police, with fixed bayonets, breaking into the room in our home in P'yōngyang where my younger brother and I were supposed to be taking an afternoon nap. They were looking for incriminating documents and demonstrators hiding from the law. But to my brother and me the shouts of "Mansei" and the excitement in the streets seemed like some gigantic happy game, so when the soldiers threw open the door we greeted them with the glad cry we had been hearing so much: "Mansei." It was, of course, a forbidden and dangerous word, a shortened substitute for *Choson Tongnip Mansei*—the slogan of the movement. My father's face went pale, expecting retaliation. There was a moment of tension; then the soldiers broke into a laugh, and left. It wasn't much, but at least I can say I was in the *sam-il undong*.

My oldest brother was more active. He was 15, and on March 3, hearing the noise of shouting he climbed high in an oak tree in our yard to look across to where a crowd of thousands had gathered on the Soongsil College athletic field. Japanese soldiers were trying to clear the field, and seemed to be hauling down a forbidden Korean flag which had been raised on the school flagpole. He saw my father, S.A. Moffett, walk up to the flagpole and either lower the flag himself or take it from a Japanese officer who was already tearing it down (accounts differ). As

president of the college, Moffett told the Japanese he was claiming the flag as foreign property. He told the excited crowd, "I will keep this flag until the day when Korea is free to fly it again."⁶

My mother's reaction was complete astonishment. She wrote in her diary for March 1 that the missionaries in P'yōngyang had been taken utterly by surprise when, at a memorial service attended by some 3,000 Presbyterians for the late Emperor Kojong, the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Rev. Kim Sun-Du, instead of closing the meeting after the benediction, held the crowd for a public reading of the Declaration of Independence.⁷ It was obvious that the missionaries—with the single possible exception of Frank W. Schofield, who was asked the night before by a friend to come and take pictures of the reading of the Declaration in Pagoda Park in Seoul—⁸ not only did not instigate the movement but had no advance warning of its imminence.⁹ The credit for the great non-violent demonstrations of 1919 belongs to the Korean people alone.¹⁰

Foreign involvement was, therefore, only secondary, not primary. But when we pursue this personal family record further to my father's reaction and connection with the movement, it becomes clear that the involvement while secondary was nevertheless real.

It was not entirely by accident, for example, that he was present at the first reading of the Declaration of Independence in P'yōngyang. He was too close to leaders of the Christian community not to sense something of unusual import going on. A colleague, Charles F. Bernheisel, whom he had persuaded to go with him, describes the meeting:

An immense crowd of people assembled in the grounds of the Boys' School (Sung Duk) near Central Church. After a short memorial service for the late king a man came out, and read the Declaration of Independence and then led the crowd in a mighty shout of 'Mansei' (or Hurrah) for Korean independence. This was repeated three times and then the meeting was adjourned. Three of us missionaries were standing close inside the main gate. When the meeting adjourned we decided to walk down the hill to the main street.. and see how things were going. After walking for some distance down the main street of the city I happened to look behind us and found that we were leading a long procession. As soon as we had quit the school grounds the crowd (which had armloads of small Korean flags) began to leave also, and, unknown to us, had fallen in behind us

and we were thus in the position of leading the procession down the main street of the city. I told the brethren that we must not continue in this position, and they agreed, so we scooted off into an alley and allowed the crowd to follow other leaders.¹⁰

It is not perhaps so surprising, then, that some of the authorities believed missionaries were leading the movement. The missionaries, however, did not long remain mere spectators and involuntary participants. The movement quickly spread, and what began as a non-violent protest was soon met with violent repression. My father (to continue the personal note) was among the first to put his name on the line in public and signed a protest against Japanese atrocities. He very early exposed the wide-spread police brutality as unprovoked and not, as the Japanese claimed, a necessary response to Korean violence. On March 5 he wrote to his mission board in New York his own eye-witness account of shocking events in P'yŏngyang for public dissemination, and unlike most such reports, he specified that it could be attributed to him by name. The day before, March 4, he had insisted that the Japanese inspector of schools, a Mr. Yamada, accompany him on a fact-finding tour and verify his charges. He wrote from first-hand observation of beatings, stabbings, clubbings and kickings of girls 12 and 13 years old arrested and marched through the streets.

The above I saw myself and testify to the truthfulness of my statements. In all my contact with the Koreans these five days (March 1-5), and in all my observation of the crowds inside and outside the city, I have witnessed no act of violence on the part of any Korean.

(Signed) Samuel A. Moffett

Later he wrote:

On March 4th, five theological students from south Korea arrived and entered the dormitory of the seminary which was to open on the next day. Late in the afternoon when the people were fleeing from the soldiers who were pursuing them with guns, beating and kicking them, the soldiers pursued (them) into the seminary grounds. These five theologues were in their rooms sitting down and had not been out with the crowd nor had they joined in the demonstration. Soldiers suddenly broke open the door and dragged (them) out and took them to the police station where despite their denials they were given short-shrift, taken out, arms and legs tied to the four arms of a large wooden cross face

downward, and beaten on the naked buttocks with 29 blows of some hard cane or stick till they were all bruised and broken...

In view of this and the danger to all students of arrest and beating without cause, it was decided to postpone the the opening of the Seminary, and the more than 80 students from all over Korea were dismissed to their homes. This was the more inevitable in view of the fact that last night the firemen were let loose on the village where many of the Academy students live and board, and near midnight broke into houses dragging out young men and beating them... Today when the academy and college should have opened after the ex-emperor's funeral, only two students of the academy and eight of the college dared attempt to study, and both were closed until the end of the term this month.¹¹

On March 22 and 24 Moffett attended two important conferences in Seoul between aroused missionaries and leading Japanese officials, including the Minister of Justice (Kokubo) and the Minister of Education (Sekiya). It was held at the Chosen Hotel at the invitation of Judge Watanabe, a Presbyterian elder, and a Mr. Katayama. The judge, as chairman, explained that the object of the meeting was "to talk over matters connected with the present regrettable disturbances." Actually, its purpose was an attempt to enlist missionary support for Japanese administrative authorities in Korea against the independence demonstrations. A private report, marked "Not to be Published" is in my possession and is extremely revealing both of government and missionary attitudes at this stage of the movement.

"You have great influence," the Minister of Justice told the ten missionaries present. "If you put forth your effort to quiet the people you will do much service and in this way you will do much for humanity and for peace."¹²

But his plea was politely rejected. Politically, the missionaries replied, they must remain neutral. They had not instigated the movement, nor could they become tools of the Japanese to put it down. The individual responses of some of the missionaries give a frank and representative spectrum of missionary attitudes in that first month of seething activity. Let me quote from four: Samuel A. Moffett, president of what is now Soongjun University; O. R. Avison, president of what is now Yonsei University; Herbert Welch, then Methodist Bishop of Japan and Korea; and W. A. Noble, a Methodist missionary in P'yōngyang. In essence,

→ Moffett called for justice; Avison for freedom; Welch for neutrality; and Noble for obedience to the powers that be.

DR. MOFFETT: I have lived for thirty years in Korea... (and) speak as a very great friend and admirer of the Koreans. I have come to find that they place a higher value on spiritual and moral things than material. (The Japanese had been stressing the material improvements they had brought to Korea.) The thing which appeals to the Korean is justice and justice has a greater appeal to him than anything of a material nature... I find that they appreciate being treated like men and that manhood and worth appeal to them much more than physical comforts.¹³

DR. AVISON:... I will mention a few things... without which a man cannot be considered to be free: (1) The right to cherish a national spirit... (2) A free man has the right to the use of his national language. (The Japanese had been supplanting Korean with Japanese in the schools.) (3) Freedom of speech... Every man has the right to think for himself and to express his thoughts freely without fear. If this cannot be done... there will be an outbreak in spite of all attempts at repression... (4) Very similar to this is the right of a free press... (5) Associated with these two is freedom of the right to assemble and freely discuss any problem that affects the well being of the people... (6) Every free man is entitled himself to participate in the government... A man cannot be free when he has no voice concerning the laws by which he is to be governed. One thing that has troubled me in Korea during all the past number of years has been the constant display of the sword as the symbol of government... When I go to see Mr. Sekiya at home... when he has doffed his uniform and sword, and look on his benevolent countenance I feel that I can regard him as a friend. But when I visit him in his office, dressed in his uniform and wearing his sword, I stand before him in fear and trembling. Personally I do not think that Mr. Sekiya really likes his sword.

MR. SEKIYA: No, I do not like to wear a sword.

DR. AVISON: So I trust that Japan will stand with the Allies to the very end for the freedom of man.¹⁴

BISHOP WELCH:... May I answer definitely why mission-

aries ought not to intervene? There are three reasons: (1) Interference by missionaries would be ineffective... Most of the demonstrators are non-Christians and outside our influence. I feel sure that even the Christians who have not asked our advice, would not take our advice but... resent it. (2) The people as a whole would resent our interference and the missionary can do his best work only if he has the confidence and affection of the people. (3) It would be highly improper for any missionaries to intervene in a political question. If once admitted that it were proper for missionaries to go into politics it would have to be admitted that they may take part on either side... (Bishop Welch here read the instruction from former Minister Sill in 1897 warning American citizens against taking sides in politics)...¹⁵

A little earlier the bishop had said:

Every missionary being a friend of both the Koreans and Japanese is intensely concerned yet we must assume the position of bystanders. It must be clearly recognized that this movement was not instigated by missionaries; it is not even a Christian movement, for most of the leaders and a great majority of the people are not Christian. It is a national movement, a controversy between the people and the existing government... Of course in such a discussion the foreigner has no choice but to stand in a neutral position... Apart from politics there are humanitarian questions involved but even here we do not want to thrust anything on this company.¹⁶

It was Mr. Noble, the Methodist missionary, who perhaps gave strongest support to the principle of cooperation with government authorities, but even that was coupled with an expression of sympathy for the protesters. Personally Mr. Noble had taught Koreans to be in subjection to powers that be. He said that Koreans felt that under present conditions they had no hope.¹⁷

What is notable in the record of this conference was not this single reference to the Pauline injunction of obedience to government. That had been a standard, but sometimes circumvented, Christian tradition for centuries. Nor was it the general acceptance by the missionaries of a policy of political neutrality. That had not only been urged on them by their home governments since 1897, but had been the official policy of their mission boards since the pattern-setting Conspiracy Trials (the *paek-*

o-in sa-kon) of 1912.¹⁸ What is really remarkable was that in face-to-face confrontation with the Japanese authorities, the missionaries so frankly expressed their disagreement with the government's repressive colonial policies. Dr. Hardie rebuked their "arrogant and overbearing repression," Mr. Whittemore accused them of failure to respect the principle of religious liberty. And Bishop Welch, despite his protestations of neutrality, pointedly noted that "instances are rare where Koreans did any violence until they were attacked by deadly weapons."¹⁹

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Even more denunciatory of Japanese oppression were the missionaries in their private letters. A few, like Frank Herron Smith, who had been a missionary to the Japanese in Korea since the beginning of the occupation in 1905, were widely quoted as apologists for Japan's "benevolent" colonialism. In 1922 Smith was still writing of anti-government activities by Korean "malcontents," and praising conditions in Korea under Japanese administration.²⁰ But such cases were the exception, not the rule. In ever-increasing numbers the missionaries rallied to express their direct sympathies with the movement.

At first the missionaries simply reported their outrage at what they were witnessing in Korea, and tried by various means to evade Japanese censorship and convey their protests to the outside world. Some of the earliest reports were taken to China by Mr. E. W. Thwing, Oriental Secretary to the International Reform Bureau, who was visiting missionaries in P'yŏngyang and Sonch'on (Syenchun) just as the demonstrations broke out. Released to the foreign press in China, their publication caused a sensation. The *Peking and Tientsin Times*, March 15, 1919, carried the headline: THE KOREAN REVOLT. AUTHENTIC STORIES FROM MISSIONARIES. CAUSE AND CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT.²¹

A missionary writes from Sensen, [Sŏnch'ŏn] Korea, March 11th, 1919, as follows: 'In this letter let me tell you something of the Independent Movement in Korea, its cause, character, aim and hope. The cause of this movement lies in the ten years of oppression, cruel treatment, which these people have suffered from their ruthless conquerors. The Independent Movement in its character is most wonderful. It is a peaceful manifestation of the thoughts of the people... The people have no arms, and where the Christians have been in the majority, in almost every instance they have submitted to arrest and cruel beating without opposition. In cases where there has been bloodshed the soldiers have first

fired on the helpless crowd and so infuriated the non-Christian patriots that they have returned violence for violence. What do the Koreans expect, what is their aim?... Their aim is by peaceful means to let the world know that they are unhappy under the Japanese rule, that they are not given freedom and justice and that they wish their condition changed. What do they hope for? First, that this awful military rule in Korea which is like that of the Huns in Belgium may be removed...

Then follow a number of eye-witness reports by missionaries of police violence and cruelty.²²

→ If the first directed contribution of the missionaries to the movement was to alert the outside world through the press, their second was to bring forcibly to the attention of their own government representatives the facts of Japanese infringement on human rights in Korea. S. A. Moffett's first report on brutalities on March 5, for example, went to his mission board in New York for publication. Later, on April 7, 1919, he wrote directly to the American Consul General in Seoul, Leo Bergholz, reporting another outbreak of violence by the police and gendarmes, April 2 to 4. Students from mission schools had been dragged off and beaten, and the schools intimidated from opening for the spring term. The missionary houses were searched. On April 4, Moffett found some sixteen to twenty gendarmes already in his house. He asked if they had a search warrant. They did not. He said, "Of course you can forcibly search but it will be without my consent," and they went on with the search. He wrote:

They were not rude or disrespectful and one said that he did not like the job but had to do as he was ordered... In my study among my secretary's papers in the drawer of his desk they found the following inconsequential things:

1. A copy of the program of the Prince Yi Memorial Service and the Independence service of March 1st written in ink in Korean.
2. An envelope directed to the Theological Seminary... containing five copies of the Independence Newspaper...
3. A small piece of paper with a statement in Korean of the number of men killed at Anju and the numbers of those who had taken part from the several villages of Anju in the demonstration.

None of the above had I ever seen before... (Then) they searched the outbuildings and the guest house. As we were trying to open the door of the guest house ^{when} my secretary came out... They seized him, tied him and according to the statement of my two sons who saw it (I did not), they hit him, kicked him, punched him, his nose bleeding, and one man hit him across the cheek with a short whip. In the empty Korean house they found two copies of a mimeographed notice in Korean, thin paper rolled up into a small ball and thrown away. The detective told me that a boy had confessed that several of them had taken my mimeograph from the study and printed notices in that empty house...

The whole population is fearful of unlawful beatings ...²³

In Seoul a number of missionaries, including H. H. Underwood, E. W. Koons, W. G. Cram and Dr. Frank W. Schofield formed a committee of investigation to verify the facts of Japanese persecution of Christians.²⁴ Schofield wrote signed letters to the Japanese press denouncing the administration's mishandling of the situation.²⁵ Underwood managed to get an eye-witness account of the massacre and church-burning at Che-am-ni to friends in America where it was read into the *Congressional Record* of July 17, 1919.²⁶ S. A. Beck, a Methodist missionary with the American Bible Society in Korea, placed photographs of atrocities in the hands of Senator Norris of Nebraska who protested Japanese brutality in a fiery speech on the floor of the Senate on July 15, 1919.²⁷

Mrs. W. L. Swallen of P'yōngyang was the sister of Congressman William Ashbrook, a prominent Republican. Through her daughter Olivette, who was studying in Chefoo, China, she managed to get facts and case histories to her brother not only for publication in Ohio newspapers, but for official action by church groups in America, and eventually to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.²⁸

Mrs. Swallen wrote from P'yongyang, Apr. 23, 1919:

"My dearest Olivette: I am enclosing some of the things I have been gathering. When you have read them send them on to Wilbur (her son). He can send them on to Will (the congressman) and he can have them printed in the *Independent* if he won't put our name to it... We are neutral, but some of the true facts must be known... It would make your hair stand on end to hear some of the things we have heard. Just this p.m. Song Moksa... has just returned from Hanchung where his daughter-in-law was stripped of

her clothing, and her hands tied behind her back, and she was tied up for five hours, that is, was hung up by her arms. When she was let down she could not get her arms in front of her body until some one rubbed them and helped her. It's been a month or more and she does not yet have the use of her hands. His son is in prison. She was used this way because she hollered, "Hurrah for Korea: Mansa." The latest we have heard of the persecutions of the Christians was this p.m. and occurred at So-a-mul 20 *li* from here in Dr. Moffett's territory last Sunday. They, the police, went to the church, beat some of the officers in front of the pulpit, took the church rolls, hunted up the Christians and beat whole families from one house to another... We thought the statement which you saw—that 12,000 had been killed; 45,000 put in prison—was exaggerated, but many here think it is not exaggerated. The prisons are full everywhere... Don't worry... God is not dead; He loves these people more than we do...²⁹

→ Among the documents and reports sent by Mrs. Swallen to her brother were page after page of eye-witness reports of atrocities collected by missionaries in P'yōngyang, Chairyung, Syenchun, Seoul, Andong, Pusan and elsewhere. This was the third contribution of the missionary community to the Independence Movement: the collection of statistics and the verification of injustices. Here is a sample page:

Evangelistic Condition of Western Circuit, Pyeng Yang Station

Number of churches in district	58
Number meeting regularly	53
Number meeting irregularly	2
Number not meeting at all	3
Number burned	0
Number damaged	5
(The damage done being broken doors & windows, destruction of books, rolls, pulpits & lamps)	
Number of pastors in territory	14
Number on their job	9
(2 were hiding a while but working now)	
Number arrested, now in jail	3
Number unable to work	2
Number arrested, later released	1

Number of helpers (lay evangelists)	14
Number on their job	7
(Working carefully, but not doing much)	
Number arrested	0
Number not able to work	3

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Remarks:

The church in general seems paralyzed. Men, especially are afraid to meet for worship for fear of being arrested. Particularly true is this of the officers... In most of the churches where pastors and helpers are at work, the work is done very quietly so as not to arouse suspicion. In some of the churches the people fear to have the helper call, least that call should subject them to suspicion and arrest. In four churches the fear of arrest is so great as to have greatly interfered with the farming. The men are not able to put in their crops.

Particular Instances Noted.

At Morak—where the people of a number of villages gathered for a demonstration... the police, one Japanese and two Koreans, are said to have fired into the crowd, killing a number and wounding others. This enraged the crowd which surrounded the three policemen and killed the two Korean policemen. The Japanese, having sheltered in the police quarters, kept firing out of the window, whereupon the buildings were set on fire and the Japanese finally killed. After this, the gendarmerie of Kangsa were notified and gendarmes and police were sent who damaged the church, breaking doors, windows and lamps and made many arrests. The pastor's house is also said to have been damaged.

At Pansyuk—a number of officers came and tore down the bell-tower and... broke all the glass in the windows of both the church and school-house... All the Bibles, hymnbooks, church and Sunday School rolls and all the school records were destroyed... They caught and bound eight men whom they stripped and beat in the church yard; and one of these was burned with matches on the tenderest part of his body. This was told me in the presence of many others and by one of the men who was beaten...

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Three women were stripped naked and beaten because they

would not tell where their husbands were (most likely they did not know...) These three were Leader Paik's wife, Elder Choi's wife and Elder Cho's wife. The two former were beaten so badly that two weeks after when we were informed of this they were still not able to come to the church. The latter, Elder Cho's wife, herself told the missionary that she was taken out of her house by two officers, one a Japanese, the other a Korean, was taken away from the village by these two men, out to a pine grove... and forced to take off all her clothes and was beaten terribly there by them while sitting on the ground...³⁰

The material quoted above is just one page of thousands which the missionaries of Korea filtered out through Japanese censorship, breaking down all efforts of the authorities to hide the "incident" from the world. One staid Presbyterian single lady, Miss Alice Butts, unblushingly carried some of the reports hidden in her whale-bone corset across the border into Manchuria. The whole extraordinary missionary effort to investigate, verify, collect reports and make the facts known was undoubtedly the greatest single reason for the sympathetic attention the Independence Movement received almost instantly from the world press. It was not, at first, an organized campaign. It was simply the spontaneous response of good-hearted, honest individuals who loved the Korean people and could not remain silent while they were being abused. And it was not consciously political. As Mrs. Swallen had written, "We are neutral, but the... true facts must be known."³¹

II. Official Missionary Reaction.

Even while Mrs. Swallen was writing those words, the officers of the largest Protestant mission in Korea, the Northern Presbyterians (now United Presbyterians) were meeting in executive session in Seoul, April 22-24, 1919, in a momentous session that was to carry the missionaries beyond mere neutrality. They were preparing a private but official position paper on the situation for their home church. It was the first, and remained the most thorough, statement of organized missionary attitude toward the Independence Movement to emanate from Korea—all the more important because it was not an emotional, individual response, but a carefully formulated statement of consensus. Although never published, and kept confidential in mission board headquarters in New York, it was vitally significant in setting the tone of the forthcoming American

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Total to here
20-6

7:32

churches' official protest which was issued through the Federal Council of Churches in July.³² I have a carbon copy of the 52-page typed text. The full title is "The Present Movement for Korean Independence in its Relation to the Mission Work of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). A *Private* Report Prepared for the Board of Foreign Missions By the Executive Committee of the Chosen Mission at Seoul, April 22nd-24th, 1919."³³

It begins with a sketch of the historical background of the Japanese annexation, noting a Korean resistance movement from 1907 to 1909 that cost 21,000 Korean lives and 1,300 Japanese, but even-handedly paying tribute to the good intentions of the first Japanese Resident-General, Prince Ito. Singled out for special criticism in this section is the ominous omnipresence of the police and gendarmes in Korea and the crippling inadequacies of the Japanese judicial system. The ratio of police and gendarmes was one to every 1,224 Koreans and in the most recent year for which statistics were available (1916-17), "one person in every 200 living in Chosen experienced the judgment of the police box."³⁴ As for justice in the Japanese law courts, the report tersely sums up its complaints with the flat charge that under current procedures "there can be no security for either foreigner or Korean against injustice and inhuman treatment."³⁵

Despite the severity of their criticisms, the missionaries took special pains not to appear disloyal to constituted government. They frankly admitted two earlier cases of confrontation between missions and the Japanese authorities. The first was the so-called Conspiracy Case of 1912 when missionaries and Korean Christians had been falsely accused (and six Koreans found guilty) of an alleged assassination attempt on the life of Governor-General Terauchi; the second was the refusal of the Presbyterian Mission to conform to the Imperial Educational Ordinance of 1915 which banned Bible teaching from the curriculum. Nevertheless, the report concluded, "All relations with the civil officials have continued cordial and harmonious."³⁶ Some may have noted the absence of any reference to Japanese military authorities in that phrase, but the fundamental principle of acceptance of governmental authority was reaffirmed as it had been formulated by the Mission Board in 1912 during the Conspiracy Case:

It is the unvarying policy of the Boards and their Missions loyally to accept the constituted governments of the countries in which Mission work is carried on, to do everything in their power to keep the missionary enterprise free from political movements...³⁷

The next section, however, is a rather startling contrast. The stern

religious convictions of these missionaries could never allow them to equate loyalty to government with silent assent to observed injustices and oppression. The following eleven pages of the report, sub-titled "History of the Independence Movement," is the most blistering indictment of Japan's fourteen years (1905-1919) of misrule on the peninsula ever drawn up by an official body of foreigners in Korea up to that time. In sixteen terse accusations, summarized from the Korean Declaration of Independence and other sources, it spells out the anguish and legitimate grievances of the Korean people and sympathetically reports their demand for independence. The grievances are bitter:³⁸

- ✕ 1. Loss of independence through gradual assumption of power by the Japanese under various pretexts and in spite of explicit promises. The Korean people never assented to annexation...
- ✕ 2. Oppression by the military administration... It is asserted that the administration of the past nine years has been a reign of terror for the Koreans... contempt... oppression, injustice and brutality, whole-sale arrests... intimidation and torture...
- ✓ 3. No liberty of speech, press, assembly, or of conscience.
- ✕ 4. An intolerable system of police espionage...
- ✓ 5. Koreans have no share in the government...
- ✓ 6. Unjust discrimination in salaries...
- ✓ 7. Denationalization, an attempt... to make one race into another by restricting and regulating the racial language (Korean) and forcing the adoption of Japanese ideals... The two peoples are essentially different and Korea does not want Japanese ideals and institutions.
8. Unjust expatriation of all Koreans living abroad... and restriction of emigration.
9. Unjust expropriation of crown lands...
10. Discrimination in education...
11. Debauching and demoralizing Korean youth... The Japanese system of licenced prostitution has made vice more open and flagrant...
12. ...uncontrolled child labor and the practical enslavement of women operatives...
- ✓ 13. Unrestricted immigration of Japanese... forcing thousands of Koreans into Manchuria...
14. Annexation 'for the peace of the East,' as the Japanese

claimed, is no longer thus justified, and independence should be restored.

15. ... great material improvement... done ostensibly for Korea (is) really done for the Japanese in Korea... Annexation has meant the systematic exploitation of the country and its resources...

16. The 33 signers of the original Declaration of Independence have been unjustly treated...

The demands of the Koreans, they conclude, are "nothing short of absolute independence." Had the authorities met the agitation in a more understanding way, the report says, the Koreans might have settled simply for reform, "but the use of sword and gun and fire has so roused the people that they will be more insistent than ever for absolute independence and the suppression of the present movement will doubtless only mean another outbreak later on."''

The concluding sections of the *Private Report* deal with a brief history of the current demonstrations and of the movement's relation to the Korean church and the missionaries. The general attitude of the missionary writers of the report is not left in doubt. They are obviously strongly sympathetic to the Korean cause. For example, with quiet approval they quote the answer of Yi Sang-Chay, of the Y.M.C.A., to police interrogators. "Who is the head of the movement?," he was asked. "Do you know?" "Yes," he said "Who? Tell us who," they asked eagerly. "God," he answered calmly. "God at the head and twenty million Koreans behind it."''

Church involvement, the report carefully points out, was not organizational except in the sense that all the teachings of the Christian faith are "unconscious preparation of the Christian community for taking part in such a movement." Church participation was through individual Christians of whom "ninety-nine percent plus are in their hearts in favor of the present movement."''

More directly pertinent to the subject of this paper is the section, "The Relation of Missionaries to the Movement."'' The key phrase is: "No neutrality for brutality."'' It marks a careful, measured step beyond the affirmations of political neutrality which up to then had always been the officially stated policy of the mission.

The step beyond neutrality was prefaced by a definition of the kind of neutrality which the missionaries felt that they had so far scrupulously observed. They had neither instigated nor advised an independence movement:

Except for the admitted fact that they are propagators of a gospel which has more than once been accused of turning the world upside down, missionaries have had no direct relationship to this present movement... It arose without their knowledge. Their advice as to the inception and direction of the movement has not been sought...⁴⁴

But neither would they allow themselves to be used to suppress the movement. They explicitly rejected the strenuous efforts of the Japanese authorities "to persuade the missionaries to side with the Government and use their influence direct and indirect for the suppression of the revolt"⁴⁵ In fact, they said, they no longer felt able to agree to any further conferences of the sort already held with Japanese leaders in March;⁴⁶ lest these be used to compromise them in the eyes of both Koreans and Japanese.⁴⁷

Having thus expressed the kind of neutrality they could accept, they forthrightly rejected as cowardly and unchristian a neutrality which could demand the closing of the eyes to inhumanity and the silencing of the tongue to protest:

It is too much to expect that missionaries representing the Gospel of Christ... should sit silent when inhuman atrocities are being inflicted upon a helpless and unresisting people. Even right thinking Japanese, Christian or non-Christian, would not do so... If reporting to the world the brutal inhumanity with which the revolt in this country is being suppressed be a breach of neutrality then the missionaries have laid themselves open to the charge. 'No neutrality for brutality'...⁴⁸

27 m.
9 m.
36 mm.

Conclusions

This is a good point at which to bring to a close this brief survey of one important segment of foreign opinion of the Independence Movement in its earliest weeks.⁴⁹ Within less than sixty days missionary reaction, which was to have a formative influence on world opinion, had moved through five distinct stages.

The first was surprised non-participation. On March 1 the missionaries, close though they were to the Korean people, had no advance knowledge of the protests. The second was immediate sympathy. Missionaries were outraged by the brutality with which the authorities tried to suppress the movement; they sympathized with its goals, but hesitated publicly to endorse its methods. The third stage was indirect support. Within a week missionaries were actively seeking to publicize the protests

abroad, asking recognition of the justice of the Korean demands, and criticizing the Japanese handling of the situation. The fourth stage was direct but involuntary involvement. In the early days of the movement missionaries had been struck, beaten, detained and, by April, one had been arrested and found guilty of direct participation in the movement.

Finally, by the end of April, the first official but still private statement of organized missionary support for the protests was issued and circulated abroad. Thus the Korean Independence Movement found in this quick sequence of events and reactions its strongest and most effective source of foreign support: the community of Western missionaries in Korea.

ADD So far I have been talking about the political aspect of missionary involvement in the independence movement. As a missionary, I am even more interested in what I did for Christian mission in Korea. ...

NOTES

1. *Korea Handbook of Missions 1920*. Federal Council of Korea: Yokohama, 1920. The page of statistics inserted at the back omits 39 O.M.S., Salvation Army and unattached missionaries listed on pp. 60-62. The Seoul Press, 1920, states there were then 136 Catholic and 4 Orthodox missionaries in Korea.

2. The best overall survey and critical analysis of the movement is by Frank Baldwin, "The March First Movement: Korean Challenge and Japanese Response." Columbia, Ph. D. dissertation, 1969. It is particularly valuable for its use of little known Japanese sources. Korean sources are too numerous to mention. Standard works are the *Samil undong sillok* by Yi Yong-Nak (Record of the March First Movement, Pusan: Samil Dongjihoe, 1969); the National History Compilation Committee, *Hanguk Tongnip Undong-sa* (History of the Korean Independence Movement), 5 vols. Seoul, 1965-1970.

3. *Peking and Tientsin Times*, March 15, 1919.

4. *The Korean "Independence Agitation": Articles Reprinted from the "Seoul Press."* The Seoul Press: Seoul, May 15, 1919, p. 1ff. The editorial states, in part, "... missionaries were very good friends and assistants of the administration in the past, as they continue to be... They have always striven to make their followers law-abiding and, when occasion demanded, were active in restraining them from going to extremes... We... positively assert that no foreign missionaries are implicated in the recent trouble..." (March 14)

5. The slogan "Choson tongnip mansei," which can be roughly translated "Long live Korean independence," was popularly shortened to simply "Mansei."

6. Fifty-four years later, my brother James who had smuggled out the flag in 1920 when he went to school in the U.S., brought it back to keep my father's promise and fly it again on the Soongjun University campus. See account in *Today at Soongjun Univ.*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Nov. 1974), and a handwritten memo by James Moffett dated Sept. 10, 1974.

7. Personal notes, Mrs. L. F. Moffett. March, 1919.

8. Frank W. Schofield, "What Happened on Sam Il Day March 1, 1919" in In-Hah Jung, ed., *The Feel of Korea* (Seoul: Hollym, 1966) p. 277

9. Shannon McCune's account of the activities of the McCune family in Sŏnchŏn on March 1, and of their father in P'yŏngyang on March 1, and in Seoul on March 3 corroborates this observation. Shannon McCune, *The Mansei Movement*, Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii, Center for Korean Studies, 1976. pp. 5-8, 16-19.

10. Charles F. Bernheisel, *Forty-One Years in Korea* (unpublished manuscript in my possession), p. 76 f., from a letter dated April 4, 1919.

11. Letter, dated P'yŏngyang, March 5, 1919, with the added notation to a colleague who was to get the letter out: "Dear Blair: Send copies to the Board or use in any way you may wish. I told these same things to Japanese officials here and in Seoul. S.A.M."

12. *Report of First Session of Unofficial Conference, Chosen Hotel, March 22nd, 1919; Second Session, March 14th* (sic), 1919. (Unpublished typescript), 10 pp. The missionaries were Bishop Welch, Airson, Moffett, Gale, Gerdine, Hardic, Brockman, Whittemore, Noble and Bunker.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 6, 7

15. *Op. cit.*, p. 6

16. *Op. cit.*, p. 4

17. *Op. cit.*, p. 2

18. A. J. Brown, *The Korean Conspiracy Case*. Northfield, Mass., 1912, p. 3.

19. *Report of First Session...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 6 etc.

20. F. H. Smith, "The Japanese Work in Korea," *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, Formosa...* 1922. Japan, 1922, pp. 360-365.

21. Perhaps George S. McCune.

22. *Peking and Tientsin Times*, March 15, 1919. The same issue carried other missionary letters dated Pyeng Yang, March 8 and Syenchur (Sŏnch'ŏn) March 11. Subsequent issues of that paper and the *Peking Leader* were full of letters from Korea. Information from a letter from S. A. Moffett (Mar. 5) appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* as early as March 13, but without attribution.

23. Letter, S. A. Moffett to the Hon. Leo Bergholz, April 7, 1919.

24. *The Japan Advertiser*, Tokyo. Aug. 6, 1920

25. He was still writing in November. See *Japan Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1919.

26. *The Congressional Record*. July 17, 1919, p. 2855 ff.

27. *Ibid.* July 15, 1919, p. 2735 f. See also July 18, p. 2956; Aug. 18 p. 4194-4196.

28. *Ibid.* Oct. 22, 1919, p. 7757.

29. Letter, Mrs. W. L. Swallen to Olivette Swallen, Apr. 23, 1919.

30. The report consists of four typewritten pages. The Western circuit was in the care of Rev. W. L. Swallen. In a handwritten note at the end, Mrs. Swallen adds: "Dear Olivette: I am sending you a partial report of the Western Circuit. I wonder if you could compile some we are sending, have them copied or printed to send to some of our friends. I shall send you a list of names. Please send the sentence of Mr. Mowry to Uncle Will (Ashbrook)." (Eli Mowry was sentenced by a Japanese court on Apr. 19 to six months' penal servitude.)

A similar half-page of statistics compiled by Moffett for Whang Hai Presbytery (incomplete) lists 12 pastors "beaten, otherwise abused, imprisoned, or compelled to flee;" 13 helpers imprisoned with hard labor, beaten, abused or compelled to flee; 27 elders, 28 leaders, 69 deacons, 31 Sunday School teachers, 42 school teachers, and 341 other Christians so treated. Total 563 of whom 7 were shot and 4 were killed.

31. *Ibid.*

32. The Commission on Relations with the Orient of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, *The Korean Situation*. New York, 1919.

33. Hereafter referred to as: Chosen Mission, *A Private Report*... Members of the Executive were Whittemore, Erdman, Adams, Hunt, Roberts, Kagan, and Koons. (Minutes & Reports of the 34th Annual Meeting... Chosen Mission... 1919. p. iii)

34. Chosen Mission, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 6, quoting A. J. Brown, *The Conspiracy Case*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-20.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 f.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 17

41. *Ibid.*, p. 23

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-36

43. *Ibid.*, p. 33

44. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 32

46. See above, p. 7 ff.

47. *Executive Committee, Private Report*, *op. cit.*

48. *Ibid.*, p. 33

49. I am glad to acknowledge an indebtedness to Frank Baldwin's lectures and writings on the Independence Movement. My own sources corroborate some of his conclusions on missionary participation.

Korean Mobs Rioting for Freedom From Japanese Military Control

PING YANG
STATION IS
STONED BY
10,000

By Associated Press

TOKIO (Monday), March 17. Korean demonstrations continued Saturday and Sunday, according to dispatches printed in newspapers, and it is indicated that the national independence movement is remarkably extensive and well organized in some of the strongest provinces.

Reports state the railway station at Ping Yang has been stoned by a mob of 10,000 persons, the Korean national flag being commonly displayed. There is some uneasiness at Seoul, but the situation there is said to be under control.

The movement is notable for its extent rather than its violence. Among those prominently identified with it being government school students, Christian converts have been kept under control throughout the trouble by the missionaries. It is reported.

News papers here show the situation as very grave, and announce that among those arrested in Seoul were three foreigners and nurses from an American hospital. Reports from the interior of Korea state that several more arrests have been

BUTCHERY IN KOREA.

L. B. Jones Mar 21, 1919
**Report Says Dead
 Number 10,000.**

*Number Arrested by Japanese
 During the Demonstration
 Forty-five Thousand.*

*Missionaries Let the World
 Know How Flocks are
 Being Murdered.*

[EXCLUSIVE DISPATCH.]

PHILADELPHIA, March 20.—Ten thousand Koreans have been killed and 45,000 arrested by Japanese within the last two days in the demonstrations for Korean independence, according to a cablegram from Shanghai, which has just reached Dr. Syngman Rhee, representative of the Korean National Association to the Peace Conference, who is now in this city.

Japan has cut all wire communication between Korea and the outer world. Couriers smuggled over the border into China have wired Dr. Rhee as follows:

"Independence movement at Seoul, Pung-yang and other cities increasing. The whole country seems to be following the movement, including government officials (Korean) and all religious schools and institutions. Ten thousand arrested, ten thousand killed. Movement growing daily. Wire to Paris to Zimkynstik (the Korean representative at the Peace Conference) who is on his way there."

Other telegrams giving numbers of killed and arrested give figures which place in round numbers the killed at 10,000 and those arrested at 45,000.

The telegrams advise that demonstrations have broken out all over the country. American missionaries, who until now took no part in the independence movement in obedience to instructions from the mission board here, "cannot tolerate longer butchery of their flocks and are taking measures to let the world know what is going on."

"American women missionaries have been beaten with guns by Japanese soldiers in defense of their flocks, whose part they are now taking, not for political reasons, but for humanity's sake," the message continues.

CHANGES ARE MADE IN

宣言書

Rome's Declaration of Independence.
March 11, 1919

吾等은玆에我朝鮮의獨立國임과朝鮮人의自主民임을宣言하노라此로써世界萬邦에告하야人類平等의大義를克明하며此로써子孫萬代에誥하야民族自存의正權을永有케하노라半萬年歷史의權威을仗하야此를宣言함이며二千萬民衆의誠忠을合하야此를佈明함이며民族의恒久如一한自由發展을爲하야此를主張함이며人類의良心의發露에基因한世界改造の大機運에順應并進하기爲하야此를提起함이니是一天의明命이며時代の大勢이며全人類共存同生權의正當한發動이라天下何物이던지此를沮止抑制치 못할지니라

舊時代の遺物인侵略主義強權主義의犧牲을作하야有史以來累千年에처음으로異民族箝制의痛苦를嘗한지수에十年을過한지라我生存權의剝喪됨이무릇幾何이며心靈上發展의障礙됨이무릇幾何이며民族의尊榮의毀損됨이무릇幾何이며新銳의獨創으로서世界文化의大潮流에寄與補裨할機緣을遺失함이무릇幾何

噫라舊來의抑鬱을宣暢하려하면時下の苦痛을擺脫하려하면將來의脅威를芟除하려하면民族의良心과國家의廉義의壓縮銷殘을興奮伸張하려하면各個人格의正當한發達을遂하려하면可憐한子弟에게苦恥的財産을遺與치안이하려하면子子孫孫의永久完全한慶福을導迎하려하면最大急務가民族의獨立을確實케함이니二千萬各個人마다方寸의刃을懷하고人類通性과時代良心이正義의軍과人道의干戈로써護援하는今日吾人은進하야取하며何強을挫치못하랴退하야作하며何志를展치못하랴

丙子修好條規以來時時種種의金石盟約을食하얏다하야日本의無信을罪하려안이하노라學者는講壇에서政治家는實際에서我祖宗世業을植民地視하고我文化民族을土昧人遇하야한것征服者의快을貪할뿐이오我的久遠한社會基礎와卓犖한民族心理를無視한다하야日本의少義함을責하려안이하노라自己를策勵하기에急한吾人은他的怨尤를暇치못하노라現在를綢繆하기에急한吾人은宿昔의懲辦을暇치못하노라今日吾人의所任은다만自己의建設이有할뿐이오決코他的破壞에在치안이하도다嚴肅한良心의命令으로서自家의新運命을開拓함이오決코舊怨과一時的感情으로서他를嫉逐排斥함이안이로다舊思想舊勢力에羈縻된日本爲政家の功名的犧牲이된不自然又不合理한錯誤狀態를改善匡正하야自然又合理한正經大原으로歸還케함이로다當初에民族의要求로서出치안이한兩國併合의結果가畢竟姑息의威壓과差別的의不平과統計數字上虛飾의下에서利害相反한兩民族間에永遠히和同할수업는怨溝를去益深造하는今來實績을觀하라勇明果敢으로서舊誤를廓正하고眞正한理解와同情에基本한友好的新局面을打開함이彼此間遠禍召福하는捷徑임을明知할것안인가또二千萬含憤蓄怨의民을威力으로서拘束함은다만東洋의永久한平和를保障하는所以가안일뿐안이라此로因하야東洋安危의主軸인四億萬支那人의日本에對한危懼와猜疑를갈수록濃厚케하야그結果로東洋全局이共倒同亡의悲運을招致할것이明하니今日吾人의朝鮮獨立은朝鮮人으로서하야금正當한生榮을遂케하는同時에日本으로서하야금邪路로서出하야東洋支持者인重責을全케하는것이며支那로하야金夢寐에도免하지못하는不安恐怖로서脫出케하는것이이며東洋平和로重要한一部를삼는世界平和人類幸福에必要한階段이되게하는것이라이엇지區區한感情上問題이리오

나아新天地가眼前에展開되도다威力의時代가去하고道義의時代가來하도다過去全世

運命을 開拓함이 오决코 舊怨과 一時的感情으로 써 他를 嫉逐排斥함이 안이로다 舊思想 舊勢力에 羈縻된 日本爲 政家の 功名的犧牲이 된 不自然又不合理的 錯誤狀態를 改善匡正하여 自然又合理的인 正經大原으로 歸還케 함이로다 當初에 民族의 要求로서 出치 안이 한 兩國併合의 結果가 畢竟姑息의 威壓과 差別的 不平과 統計數字上 虛飾의 下에서 利害相反한 兩民族間에 永遠히 和同할 수 업는 怨溝를 去益深造하는 今來實績을 觀하라 勇明果敢으로 舊誤를 廓正하고 眞正한 理解와 同情에 基本한 友好的 新局面을 打開함이 彼此間 遠禍召福하는 捷徑임을 明知할 것인가 또 二千萬含憤蓄怨의 民을 威力으로 拘束함은 다 東洋의 永久한 平和를 保障하는 所以가 안일뿐안이라 此로 因하여 東洋安危의 主軸인 四億萬支那人의 日本에 對한 危懼와 猜疑를 갈스록 濃厚케 하여 그 結果로 東洋全局이 共倒同亡의 悲運을 招致할 것이 明하니 今日 吾人의 朝鮮獨立은 朝鮮人으로서 하여금 正當한 生榮을 遂케 하는 同時에 日本으로 하여금 邪路로서 出하야 東洋支持者인 重責을 全케 하는 것이며 支那로 하여금 夢寐에도 免하지 못하는 不安恐怖로서 脫出케 하는 것이며 또 東洋平和로 重要한 一部를 삼는 世界平和人類幸福에 必要한 階段이 되게 하는 것이라 이엇지 區區한 感情上 問題—리오

아아 新天地가 眼前에 展開되도다 威刀의 時代가 去하고 道義의 時代가 來하도다 過去全世新에 鍊磨長養된 人道的 精神이 바야흐로 新文明의 曙光을 人類의 歷史에 投射하기 始하도다 新春이 世界에 來하야 萬物의 回蘇를 催促하는 도다 凍氷寒雪에 呼吸을 閉蟄한 것이 彼一時의 勢—라 하면 和風暖陽에 氣脈을 振舒함은 此一時의 勢—니 天地의 復運에 際하고 世界의 變潮를 乘한 吾人은 아오 踟躕할 것 업스며 아오 忌憚할 것 업스다 我的 固有한 自由權을 護全하야 生旺의 樂을 飽享할 것이며 我的 自足한 獨創力을 發揮하야 春滿한 大界에 民族의 精華를 結紐할 지로다

吾人이 玆에 奮起하도다 良心이 我와 同存하며 眞理가 我와 并進하는 도다 男女老少 업시 陰鬱한 古巢로서 活潑히 起來하야 萬彙羣象으로 더부러 欣快한 復活을 成遂하게 되도다 千百世祖靈이 吾人을 陰佑하며 全世界氣運이 吾人을 外護하니 着手가 功成이라 다 만前頭의 光明으로 邁進할 따름인더

公約三章

- 一、今日 吾人의 此舉는 正義、人道、生存、尊榮을 爲하는 民族의 要求—니 오죽 自由的 精神을 發揮할 것이오 决코 排他的 感情으로 逸走하지 말라
- 一、最後의 一人까지 最後의 一刻까지 民族의 正當한 意思를 快히 發表하라
- 一、一切의 行動은 가장 秩序를 尊重하야 吾人의 主張과 態度로 하야 금어대사지던지 光明正大하게 하라

朝鮮建國四千二百五十二年三月

日 朝鮮民族代表

孫秉熙	吉善宙	李弼柱	白龍城	金完圭
金秉祚	金昌俊	權東鎮	權秉惠	羅龍煥
羅仁協	梁甸伯	梁漢默	劉如大	李甲成
李明哲	李昇薰	李鍾勳	李鍾一	林禮煥
朴準承	朴熙道	朴東完	申洪植	申錫九
吳世昌	吳華英	鄭春澤	崔聖模	崔麟
韓龍雲	洪秉箕	洪基光		



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SEPTEMBER, 1919

Vol. I., No. 7

WHAT ABOUT KOREA?

BY PROF. H. B. HUBBERT

Formerly Adviser of the Educational Department of Korean Government

The time has arrived when it seems necessary to lay before the American people some facts bearing upon request of the Korean people that they be freed from the tyranny of Japan. This request was made by millions of that nation in a perfectly peaceful way on March 1st, 1919, and was met by a perfect orgy of abuse and persecution on the part of the military authorities there. Thousands of people were beaten, tortured and even killed, and women were treated with obscene brutality.

In order to show the genesis of this remarkable moral and patriotic uprising in which the Koreans, realizing clearly the tragic consequences of their demand, stood up and declared that death is preferable to a continuance of the present situation, it will be necessary to review briefly the course of Japanese policy in that country.

There has never been a time in history, from 600 B. C. to the present time, when Japan has not exhibited a hostile and aggressive spirit toward the Korean people and government. For two thousand years it was a series of robber raids and attempted extortions on the part of Japan, until in 1390 A. D., a Korean general succeeded in inflicting such punishment upon the corsairs that they ceased for a time their raids. But, in 1592, the Japanese invaded the country with an immense army, and it was only after seven years of sanguinary strife that combined Korean and Chinese armies finally expelled the invaders. It is said that 20 per cent. of the Korean population perished in this conflict. It put a stop to Japanese aggression for three hundred years.

When Korea was opened to foreign relations about the year 1882, Japan immediately began to exercise her baneful influence again. In 1884 she organized and supported by force of arms an insurrection in Korea in which every minister of the King's Cabinet was murdered in cold blood before his very eyes. In 1895, after the Japan-China war, though formally recognizing the independence of Korea, Japan made such outrageous demands, economic and commercial, that the Queen of Korea put her foot down and used her great influence to veto the proposition. Therefore the accredited minister of Japan to Korea sent into the palace a band of ruffians, who killed the Queen and incinerated her body, nothing being found but one little finger.

But, not content with this, the Japanese forced upon the King a cabinet of traitors who held the King a prisoner, and through these tools they compelled the King to put out an edict degrading his dead Queen, the mother of his children, to the position, virtually, of a prostitute! Perhaps the reader will see why the Koreans have never been eager to accept "western civilization" at the hands of the Japanese.

But Korea managed to hold off the Japanese until

after the Japan-Russia war. It will be remembered that at the beginning of that war, Japan made a treaty with Korea guaranteeing her perpetual independence. The fact that such treaty was entirely insincere and that the Japanese had no intention of keeping it, has nothing to do with the binding nature of the treaty. But it became immediately evident that Japan had no intention of implementing that treaty honestly. She allowed her people to abuse and rob the Koreans without affording any means for redress. She kept encroaching thus until it became evident that the treaty was, in her eyes, merely a "scrap of paper."

The Emperor of Korea, being aware of the fact that in his treaty with America there was a clause in which the American Government promised to use its good offices if Korea was endangered, and announced the fact to us, determined to appeal to our Government to carry out that important clause of the treaty. The following is a translation of his letter to the Washington Government:

Ever since 1883 the United States and Korea have been in friendly treaty relations. Korea has received many proofs of the good-will and the sympathy of the American Government and people. The American representatives have always shown themselves to be in sympathy with the welfare and progress of Korea. Many teachers have been sent from America who have done much for the uplift of our people.

But we have not made the progress that we ought. This is due partly to the political machinations of foreign powers and partly to our mistakes. At the beginning of the Japan-Russia war the Japanese Government asked us to enter into an alliance with them, granting them the use of our territory, harbors and other resources, to facilitate their military and naval operations. Japan, on her part, guaranteed to preserve the independence of Korea and the welfare and dignity of the Royal House. We complied with Japan's request, loyally lived up to our obligations, and did everything that we had stipulated. By so doing we put ourselves in such a position that if Russia had won she could have seized Korea and annexed her to Russian territory on the ground that we were active allies of Japan.

It is now apparent that Japan proposes to abrogate their part of this treaty and declare a protectorate over our country in direct contravention of her sworn promise in the agreement of 1904. There are several reasons why this should not be done.

In the first place, Japan will stultify herself by such a direct breach of faith. It will injure her prestige as a power that proposes to work according to enlightened laws.

In the second place, the actions of Japan in Korea,

during the past two years, give no promise that our people will be handled in an enlightened manner. No adequate means have been provided whereby redress could be secured for wrongs perpetrated upon our people. The finances of the country have been gravely mishandled by Japan. Nothing has been done toward advancing the cause of education or justice. Every move on Japan's part has been manifestly selfish.

The destruction of Korea's independence will work her a great injury, because it will intensify the contempt which the Japanese people treat the Koreans, and will make their acts all the more oppressive.

We acknowledge that many reforms are needed in Korea. We are glad to have the help of Japanese advisers, and we are prepared loyally to carry out their suggestions. We recognize the mistakes of the past. It is not for ourselves we plead, but for the Korean people.

At the beginning of the war our people gladly welcomed the Japanese, because this seemed to herald needed reforms and a general bettering of conditions, but soon it was seen that no genuine reforms were intended and the people had been deceived.

One of the gravest evils that will follow a protectorate by Japan is that the Korean people will lose all incentive to improvement. No hope will remain that they can ever regain their independence. They need the spur of national feeling to make them determine upon progress and to make them persevere in it. But the extinction of nationality will bring despair, and instead of working loyally and gladly in conjunction with Japan, the old-time hatred will be intensified, and suspicion and animosity will result.

It has been said that sentiment should have no place in such affairs, but we believe, sir, that sentiment is the moving force in all human affairs, and that kindness, sympathy, and generosity are still working between nations as between individuals. We beg of you to bring to bear upon this question the same breadth of mind and the same calmness of judgment that have characterized your course hitherto, and having weighed the matter, to render us what aid you can consistently in this our time of national danger.

Private Seal of The Emperor of Korea.

It will be noted that in sending this letter the Emperor of Korea was fulfilling a necessary part of the contract, for by failing so to appeal, he would forfeit the benefits of the treaty. He entrusted that letter to me to deliver into the hands of the President of the United States. I showed it to the American Minister in Seoul, Korea, and for two reasons. First, I was unwilling to do anything that might look like mere intrigue. I was under no obligation to make public my mission, but as an American citizen I thought it incumbent upon me to acquaint my own authorities with what was to happen. In the second place, it was evident that Japan might attempt to seize Korea at any moment, and I wanted the Government in Washington to know in advance that such a letter was on the way, so that if Japan should use force upon the Korean Emperor and Cabinet during the transmission of that document, the American Government might delay action in regard to recognition of the downfall of Korea until the letter should arrive and could be taken into consideration.

The Japanese suspected that something was on foot. It may be that the American Minister told them. The sequel warrants such suspicion. At any rate, the Japanese immediately began to bring pressure upon the Emperor and his Cabinet to give Japan a protectorate, but it was peremptorily refused. The Emperor was desperately trying to hold them off until the letter should be presented in Washington. Day after day they worked until that letter had passed Yokohama, Honolulu, San Francisco, Denver, and St. Louis. At Cincinnati it was still one day from Washington, and the Japanese were desperate. That night they broke into the palace and filled it with armed Japanese. They brought the Em-

peror and the Cabinet together and made a final and menacing demand for the instant signing of a treaty of protectorate. All protested their utter unwillingness to sign. The Japanese took Mr. Han Kyu-Sul, the Prime Minister, into a side room, and Field Marshal Hasegawa, the same who is now Governor-General of Korea, drew his sword and demanded his consent. It was refused. They left him there under guard and went back to the rest of the Cabinet and asked them if they would sign *now*. Being sure that Han Kyu-Sul had been killed and that they also would be killed, three of them signed the document. But it still required the seal of State. The Emperor had secretly dispatched a man to throw this seal into the lake, but the Japanese managed to secure it and attached the seal to the document. This was done almost at the very instant the letter reached Washington.

As yet, unaware of the tragedy that was happening in Seoul, I sent to the President, saying that I was bearer of an important document from the Emperor. Of course, this fact had been cabled on from Korea by the American Minister, and I supposed that the President would be not only willing, but eager to see the letter, but instead of that, I received the astounding answer that the President would not receive it. I cast about in my own mind for a possible reason, but could imagine none. I went to the State Department with it, but was told that they were too busy to see me. Remember, that at that very moment Korea was in her death throes, that she was in full treaty relations with us, that there was a Korean Legation in Washington and an American Legation in Seoul. I determined that there was something here that was more than mere carelessness. There was premeditation in the refusal. There was no other answer. They said I might come the following day. I did so, and was told that they were still too busy, but might come the *next* day. I hurried over to the White House and asked to be admitted. A secretary came out, and without any preliminaries whatever told me in the lobby that they knew the contents of the letter, but that the State Department was the only place to go. I had to wait till the next day. But on that same day, the day before I was admitted, the Administration, without a word to the Emperor or Government of Korea or to the Korean Legation, and knowing well the contents of the undelivered letter, accepted Japan's unsupported statement that it was all satisfactory to the Korean Government and people, cabled our Legation to remove from Korea, cut off all communication with the Korean Government, and *then* admitted me with the letter.

The following is the receipt which I received:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

November 25, 1905.

(L)
H. B. Hulbert, Esquire,
23 Union Avenue,
Mount Vernon, New York.

Dear Sir:

The letter from the Emperor of Korea which you entrusted to me has been placed in the President's hands and read by him.

In view of the fact that the Emperor desires that the sending of the letter should remain secret, and of the fact that since entrusting it to you the Emperor has made a new agreement with Japan disposing of the whole question to which the letter relates, it seems quite impracticable that any action should be based upon it.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) ELIHU ROOT.

The reference to secrecy was because the Emperor was anxious not to have the Japanese know what was going on. Perhaps it is not the first time that an important document of state has been withheld from public comment, at least, until it has been delivered. The

fact of its being too late was because they held me off for two days until it was too late.

The next day I received the following cablegram from the Emperor. It was taken across from Korea to Cheefoo so as not to be sent over Japanese wires:

"I declare that the so-called Treaty of Protectorate recently concluded between Korea and Japan was extorted at the point of the sword and under duress, and therefore is null and void. I never consented to it and never will. Transmit to American Government.

The Emperor of Korea."

I took that cablegram to the State Department and put it into the hands of the Assistant Secretary of State, who merely said that he would put it on file. Those two documents, which are, or ought legally to be, on file in the archives of the State Department, are conclusive proof of the wholly illegal character of Japan's occupation of Korea. Of course, brute force can and will have its way, but today Korea is *de jure* a free and independent government, and in demanding physical and actual independence, Korea is asking nothing that is not morally and legally her own. The world is talking about Shantung, but Japan's occupation of Korea is fully as illegal as her occupation of Shantung. It is even more illegal, for Japan took Shantung from Germany and not directly from China. I am not defending Japan in Shantung. That occupation is an outrage that calls for and will receive justice in the long run, but Korea was directly stolen without even a decent pretence. In the one case, Japan is the receiver of stolen goods; in the other, she herself is the original culprit. The fact that some time has elapsed does not validate her claim to Korea, nor, in the eyes of respectable people, will the acquiescence of all the Great Powers in Japan's seizure of Korea render that seizure the less damnable.

It has been said that Korea deserved no sympathy, because she made no effort to oppose the act. This is based wholly upon misapprehension of the facts and upon Japan's excellent control of news sources. For five years the Koreans, by thousands, fought as best they could among the mountains, freezing and starving in the winter time. Once an entire regiment of Japanese was overwhelmed and destroyed, their gattling-gun was taken away among the hills. The Japanese called them bandits. If so, then Garibaldi was a footpad, Cromwell was a bandit, Paul Jones was a pirate, and George Washington at Valley Forge was a brigand.

The women of Korea gave their jewels to sell to save their country. Even the prostitutes came by scores and laid at their country's feet the profits of their nameless toil. Never in history has there been shown more splendid patriotism than the Koreans have exhibited.

If it be said that the Emperor was resigned to this ignominious fate, I will show that this, too, is an error. Although a prisoner in his palace in the hands of the Japanese, he delivered into my hands in June, 1907, a letter to each of the Great Powers, the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy, couched in identical terms, of which the following is the letter to England:

To His Majesty the King of England—Greeting:

For many years the Government of Korea has been in friendly treaty relations with the Government of Great Britain and has often received evidences of the good-will of that Power. In this time of our difficulty we feel sure that all people who desire to see justice done will sympathize with us. In order to show that great injustice has been done us, we hereby declare that the so-called treaty of November 18th, 1905, was fraudulent, because, (1) the signatures of certain members of our Cabinet were obtained by intimidation and under duress; (2) we never authorized the Cabinet to sign the document, and (3) the meeting of the Cabinet at

which it was signed was illegal, having been convened neither at our call nor that of the Prime Minister, but by the Japanese themselves.

We denounce that document as invalid in law, and we declare that under no circumstances will we voluntarily consent to the ratification of any instrument which impairs the independence of the Korean Empire.

Furthermore, in view of the violent manner in which the so-called treaty of last November was carried through, we deem it necessary and proper to declare to you that if at any future time any Power shall claim to have obtained our consent to such an agreement, that claim will either be wholly false or will be based upon acts wrung from us by force of arms or under threats of personal violence.

In view of the fact that we are at the present time *de jure* an independent Power, we earnestly request you to reassert your right to establish a legation at Seoul, or at least to prepare for such establishment by helping us to bring the matter before The Hague Tribunal, in order that the validity of our claim to independence may be legally established.

Any further information that may be desired will be given by our fully accredited Envoy, at whose hand we are transmitting this document.

In witness whereof we here affix the Imperial Seal.

Done in Seoul this twenty-second day of June, A. D. 1906, and of the Dynasty the five hundred and fifteenth year.

Together with these letters, he gave me another, constituting me his fully accredited envoy to each of these governments:

By virtue of the power vested in us as the Emperor of Korea and in accordance with the right granted us in the treaties between Korea and the various friendly Powers, we hereby constitute and appoint Homer B. Hulbert as our special Envoy to the Governments of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium and China; and we hereby delegate to him full authority to represent our interests and those of the Korean Empire at the seat of each of those Governments.

In connection with this, we have instructed him to deliver to each of these Governments a document relative to the present political situation in Korea, and to take such steps as may lead to the peaceful settlement of the difficulties which have arisen between our Government and that of Japan.

We hereby give him special authority to secure the adjustment of the matter before the Peace Conference at The Hague.

In witness whereof we here affix the Imperial Seal.

Done in Seoul this twenty-second day of June, A. D. 1906, and of the Dynasty the five hundred and fifteenth year.

When I left Korea with this, in the summer of 1907, the Japanese again suspected, and the very day I landed in America they forcibly deposed the Emperor, and thus automatically canceled my credentials. But the point I make is this, the Emperor to his last hour protested against the enslavement of his people, even at the risk of his life.

* * * * *

The people of America have read in all the papers the indescribable atrocities of which Japan has been guilty during the last few months. And now Japan, whipped to it by public opinion, says that the military party has gone too far and reforms will be instituted. The apologists of Japan have been saying that the Civil

party will change all that. Well, I ask the American public to note that the following things were common occurrences in Korea when the Civil party was dominant there and Prince Ito was the Governor General:

(1) Because three Koreans, maddened by the fact that all their land had been taken by the Japanese for railroad purposes without a cent of immediate or prospective payment, went out one night and tore up a few feet of a construction track, they were taken out and crucified and then shot to pieces. There are hundreds of photographs of this pleasing event.

(2) When a telegraph line was cut near a country village by parties unknown, but presumably by Korean guerrilla fighters, the Japanese came and burned down ten villages, and left the people to freeze and starve during the winter. One old man, over 80 years old, on his knees begged them to spare his home. The Japanese ran him through with their swords and threw his body into the burning rafters of his own home.

(3) Within a stone's throw of my own house in Seoul, Korea, a Korean lived who refused to sell his house to the Japanese for one-quarter its value. One night six Japanese, stripped stark naked, broke into the house and shocked the inmates so that they deserted the house and fled to the country, and the Japanese got the place for nothing.

(4) A Korean merchant came to Seoul to buy goods and placed his money in the hands of a Japanese broker to change for him, but when he came for his money the broker said he had already paid it, although the Korean still held the receipt. Only by the intervention of an American was the Korean able to get his money. The Japanese authorities utterly refused to listen to his claim. There was no place of any kind provided by the Japanese where a Korean could come and ask for justice.

(5) A Presbyterian hospital had forty cases in one month of Koreans who came begging to be cured of the morphine habit which the Japanese had taught them. And although Americans caught Japanese red-handed in the act of selling morphine to Koreans and notified the authorities, not a thing was done to stop the damnable traffic.

(6) The Japanese introduced thousands of prostitutes into Korea and offered opportunities for vice such as the Koreans had never dreamed of, and the spread of venereal diseases was greatly increased.

(7) A woman came to me in great distress, saying that the Japanese had demanded her house for \$25, and that if she did not sell it they would dig under the corner posts and let the roof fall on her. She begged me to buy her house for 5 cents and put my card on the door, which I did, and by so doing saved her house.

(8) A Korean business man leased his store to Japanese who after the first month refused to pay any more and refused to leave. He tried every method to get at the Japanese authorities, but without success. He came

to me, and after several weeks we secured the ousting of the Japanese.

(9) A Japanese asked a country gentleman to give him lodging over night, which the Korean did. In the evening the Japanese drew out a box of pills and said they were good for the digestion. He offered one to his host, who took it. In the morning the Japanese before leaving demanded \$15 as payment for the pill, and as the Korean refused to pay, he went out to the stable, unhitched the Korean's horse and drove it away to market. If the Korean had laid a finger on the Japanese he would have been severely handled, if not killed.

(10) One night two Koreans who had been cruelly tortured by the Japanese police came to my house and talked with me. I published the facts in my magazine, *The Korea Review*. Prince Ito sent to me demanding the names of the men who had come to me. I refused to give them, for it would have meant severe punishment for them.

These are just a few of the many cases that came to me for help under a civil regime, at a time when Korea was governed by a man who claimed to be humane and who was probably the most decent Japanese that could be found. I sent personally to Prince Ito and told him that if he would make some office or tribunal where I could bring Koreans who had been outraged and abused by the Japanese, simply to get a hearing, I would immediately cease from any public comment on Japan's actions in Korea. But he contemptuously refused; in fact, he never even replied. He had no intention of giving the Koreans a "square deal."

For this and a score of other reasons I affirm that Japan's proposal to effect reforms in Korea by establishing there a mixed civil and military regime is ludicrous. The very fact that they include the military shows that they propose to govern Korea by intimidation, whatever be the name under which it is carried out.

There is no right solution of the question except the restoration of the complete independence of the Korean people. They have always been so abused and insulted by the Japanese that the continuation of any Japanese control is simply unbearable. The Koreans will not consent to it, and either they must be made free or else the world must look on and see the rapid extinction of a nation of 18,000,000 people who are intrinsically far more "civilized" than are the Japanese themselves.

Japan, as at present conducted, is an anachronism. There is no room for brutal autocracy in this world from now on to the crack of doom. The sooner the Japanese people come to realize this and determine to take things in hand and oust the bureaucrats, the better for them and for the whole world. The question will never be settled without a complete revolution in Japan. The sooner it comes the better.

—From Congressional Record.

THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT IN KOREA

(Taken from the Report of an American Missionary, whose Name We Withhold)

Ever since the death of the ex-Emperor of Korea, on January 20, 1919, the air has been filled with rumors of various kinds.

The official report stated that the cause of death was due to the rupture of a blood vessel in the brain. The reports given credence by the Koreans generally, however, were either that the ex-Emperor had been poisoned because he would not affix his seal to a paper witnessing to the satisfaction of his people under Japanese rule which was to be used at the Peace Conference, or that

he had committed suicide because of his dissatisfaction with the course events had taken in regard to Korea's relation to Japan, more particularly as a protest against the way in which his country had been annexed to Japan, and against the marriage of his son to a Japanese princess, which, he considered, would seal the fate of Korea forever. In either event, his death was regarded as an effort on his part to save his people from a fate in which he had in a measure involved them. They felt that he had gone the full length toward making reparation, and

in his effort had given the full measure of devotion and that his example was worthy to be followed. People who had hitherto thought of him as weakly submitting to the will of the Japanese rulers now regarded him as a national hero. These rumors were made more credible by a seeming effort on the part of the authorities to suppress the news of the King's death until after the marriage of his son, the date for which had been set for March 25th. Other rumors of secret doings in the palace kept seeping out to the people.

A Korean custom that the King and Queen should be buried in the same spot made necessary the reburial of the Queen's body, and this ceremony brought back to the Koreans the tragic story of the foul play by which the Japanese had rid themselves of the Queen and her anti-Japanese influence.

The Japanese authorities decided to conduct the funeral according to the Japanese custom within the city, and turn the body over to the Koreans for their ceremonies after it had passed outside the city wall. Because of these arrangements it was rumored that the official part of the ceremony would be boycotted. This proved to be true, for on the day of the funeral, March 3d, none of the senior student body from the government or other schools were in their assigned places on the route of march.

Back of these particular incidents connected with the death and funeral of the King, for a long time the Korean people generally have felt themselves hampered and oppressed at every turn by a system of government which they believed was not seeking their higher welfare, and whose dictates were carried out at the point of the bayonet in a crisis and by the strong arm of a cruel and unmerciful police and gendarme system in everyday life. Furthermore, the methods instituted by the Japanese to make the Korean people loyal to Japan not only failed in their purpose, as events have proven, but have reflexly deepened their love for their native land. All of these things had brought the Koreans to a state of desperation which only needed the occasion to make them flare up into action. Those who knew the Koreans well were aware that their studied repose hid hearts seething with anger and resentment.

This, then, was the mental state in which the resolves and purposes to be revealed later were nurtured, but the real occasion of the movement was the Peace Conference and the seeming hope it held out to oppressed peoples everywhere. The Korean mind was sufficiently awake to see that the age of brute force had been done to death as a result of the war, and it was not a long step for them to interpret this great world movement in terms of their own needs and hopes. Why should they doubt the new era when Great Britain, and particularly the United States, had so repeatedly asserted that they were not fighting for selfish interests, but that democracies and small nations might not be oppressed by force of arms? And more especially did they find hope when they heard that Poland and other small nations had regained their freedom, and that great China was struggling to get free.

Furthermore, the speeches and addresses of President Wilson were fully reported in the Japanese press, and so the Koreans learned of the principles upon which the League of Nations was to be founded. A quotation or two is given in order to show how easy it would be for a Korean to think that these principles were applicable to Korea:

"What is the task that this League of Nations is to do?

"First—

"Second—It is a task to provide for the freedom of small nations, to prevent the domination of small nations by big ones."

In an address President Wilson said:

"We would not dare compromise upon any matter as champion of this thing, this peace of the

world, this attitude of justice, this principle that we are the masters of no people; but are here to see that every people in the world shall choose its own masters and govern its own destinies, not as we wish, but as it wishes. We are here to see, in short, that the very foundations of the war are swept away. Those foundations were the private choice of small coteries of civil rulers and military staffs. Those foundations were the aggression of great Powers upon small . . . And nothing less than the emancipation of the world from these things will accomplish peace."

It might easily be established that the case of Korea was not in mind when these words were uttered, but it would be rather hard to explain to the average Korean just why Korea does not come within the purview of the principles announced.

Without doubt here is the explanation of the movement: The state of desperation to which the Japanese methods had brought the Koreans was the powder, and the hope engendered by the Peace Conference and the principles there set forth was the match which set it off. Some such overwhelming hope as this is the only thing that can adequately explain the great psychological change that took place in the Korean mind, as witnessed by their acts and the papers they issued.

Two days before the funeral, on Saturday, March 1st, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, thirty-three leading men, fifteen of whom were members of a politico-religious organization, fifteen of whom were connected with the various Protestant Christian churches and three of whom were Buddhists, issued a proclamation declaring Korea an independent state, and as soon as possible thereafter gave themselves up to the authorities.

The issuing of the proclamation was followed by a celebration in which thousands joined. It took place simultaneously in most of the important centers of the Korean peninsula. In Seoul the people were seemingly wild with joy and surged about the streets, displaying the old Korean flag and shouting patriotic cries.

The police at once imprisoned the signers and began to take steps to put down the uprising by arresting the leaders and using armed force to disperse the crowds. The crowds, true to the order to avoid all violence, did not resist the gendarmes and the police, but seemed to be more than glad to be imprisoned for the "cause." The demonstrators were not violent, but were very persistent, and the police began to be more and more abusive, and resorted to violent methods, even with the girls and women. Such methods necessarily led to some clashes where force was used on the part of the crowds, but it is a fact which can be substantiated by many impartial witnesses that almost all of the violence was on the part of the authorities, and, if at all on the part of the people, only after severe provocation.

During the month of March the demonstrations continued for many days in Seoul alone. The street railway men went out on a sympathetic strike and many shops closed their doors. The city is practically under martial law.

It was during these demonstrations that a remarkable change was observed to have taken place in the Koreans. They seemed to have cast off fear of the police and gendarmes, and, although entirely unarmed themselves, would approach the places where armed forces were stationed, as if offering their bodies for arrest or punishment. To one who knows the abject terror with which the people have hitherto regarded the police, this casting off of fear seems, indeed, a most remarkable manifestation.

As soon as accounts of the affair began to appear in the press it was noticed that the missionaries and the native Christians were accused of being the instigators of the uprising. The following quotation from the Seoul Press of March 14, 1919, should be sufficient refutation of this charge:

"In an interview a representative of ours had with Mr. Katsuo Usami, Director of Internal Affairs, Mr. Usami declared that he was satisfied that no missionaries were concerned in the disturbances. This clear statement by a high and responsible official of the Government ought to dispel any erroneous suspicions that may still linger concerning their attitude."

But if more explicit vindication is needed, here it is; it is the gist of a public statement given by Mr. Sangai Kokubu, Director of Judicial Affairs:

"Rumors have been rife that foreign missionaries incited the disturbances, or, at least, showed sympathy with the rioters. These rumors owe their origin to the fact that among the leaders of the rioters there have been found Christian pastors and students of mission schools, and so it is not to be wondered at that they have gained currency. But that they are entirely groundless has been established by the result of investigation into the matter conducted by the authorities. The authorities have carried out thorough and strict inquiries concerning it, and are satisfied that there is no trace whatever that foreigners instigated the disturbances. Nor is there any evidence that they knew beforehand of the occurrence of the trouble and gave support to the rioters. It is wrong to harbor suspicion against foreigners without justifiable grounds. It is still more to be condemned to spread through the press false reports and baseless accusations against foreigners, fabricating such reports and accusations out of mere suspicion. Such acts will excite the ill-feeling of foreigners against Japan and may cause trouble in international relations. Should any foreigners be found guilty of sedition or similar offense, the authorities will have no hesitation in prosecuting them; but as none has been found responsible for the recent trouble, people at large should cast away whatever doubt they may still entertain against them."

While these high officials take this view, the police and gendarmes in their reports from the interior continue to bring these accusations against the missionaries. Both men and women missionaries have been taken into custody by them on the false charge that they were participating in the disturbances. It is also noted that many of these reports seek to convey the impression that the uprising is confined to the Christians, instead of being national. Not only was the majority of the signers of the original manifesto non-Christians, but students from the government schools have been leaders in the demonstrations that followed. The uprisings throughout the country have, as a rule, been led by others than Christians. All of this shows that it is a general movement, which fact is fortified by the following statement, issued by the central committees of the movement:

THE GRIEVANCES OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE ISSUED BY THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

I. There are two chief reasons for the demand that we make that Korea shall be emancipated from the rule of Japan.

(1) The Korean is much the older of the two nationalities, for it has a history of organized government extending over four thousand three hundred years. During a part of that period Korea sent tribute to the court of China, but this was nothing more than an outward expression of the relation existing between the imperial families of the two nations. Korea was ever the sole possessor of our Korean race, and was never under the actual control of any foreign nation or government.

(2) The Japanese nation is entirely a distinct race from the Korean. She is an island people, and her nakedness of body and mind could only be covered by the civilization she received from Korea and China during the centuries that are past. Her customs, her literature, her very clothing came to her through Korea. Of late years she has added to these the face powder of Western civilization; thus, she becomes the white sepulchre of the East. She gives no evidence of moral force; her actions toward our nation have proved her to be the embodiment of cruelty. The evidence is complete that unification of the Japanese and Korean races is an impossibility.

II. There are five conspicuous injustices on the part of Japan towards Korea.

(1) The dog has bitten the hand of the one who fed it. As an outcome of the China-Japan war in 1894, Japan solemnly acknowledged the independence of Korea, and Great Britain, the United States, France, Germany and Russia have repeatedly acknowledged it also. In proof of this, Japan and the other countries named signed treaties guaranteeing this independence. The Korean people rejoiced at this, and entered heartily upon the task of reform and national development. Unfortunately, at this time Russia began to move her forces southward, and threatened the peace of the Orient and the safety of Korea. As a counter-move, Japan made an alliance with Korea and opposed Russia with military force. True to the close relationship entered upon with Japan, the whole Korean nation gave of her best, either by financial aid or physical labor, and in matters of transportation the Japanese army was faithfully and honorably treated. A large part of the campaign took place on Korean territory, and as a result of this co-operation Japan was victorious over Russia. But when the war was concluded Japan revealed her cruel intention of devouring the whole of Korea, and finally, by personal threats addressed to our Imperial family and by the action of the traitor, Yi Wan Yung, the Articles of Annexation were obtained.

(2) Broken promises. It is very clearly stated in the Articles of Annexation that "Japan shall pay great honor to the Imperial family of Korea, and shall preserve the rights of the Korean people." But what has happened? She has abolished our Imperial family, and has made of the whole of Korea a dumping ground for her own overflow population. This cannot be hidden from the eyes of the nation.

(3) Maladministration of the laws. Our people are of a peaceful disposition, but this is no reason for misrepresenting us as half civilized. In the law courts it is impossible for a Korean to obtain fair treatment when opposed to a Japanese, and when under police examination our people are called upon to endure suffering which cannot be described. There is a definite policy pursued for the depraving of our young people. Young men who neither smoke nor drink are marked down as being "obstinate and anti-Japanese," and determined efforts are made to undermine their principles. Under the pretense of clearing the town of loafers, many young men of high principle have been arrested and attempts made to degrade them. There are many such instances.

(4) The destruction of liberty. Liberty of speech does not exist. No meeting of even ten or twenty persons can be held, no matter what its purpose, without the presence of detectives who have authority to break up and disperse any gathering they choose. Liberty of the press is also denied. No newspaper or book is allowed to be published but such as perplex and mislead the intelligence of the reader. The scheme of education is incomplete and inefficient. There is a determination to limit the knowledge of our students instead of cultivating our intellects. A poisonous hand is plucking up the young trees.

(5) The arresting of thirty-three men. The Japanese have arrested those who signed the manifesto of

independence on March 1st, 1919. They have also arrested several hundreds of men, as well as schoolboys and schoolgirls, who were indignant at the unjust treatment that the thirty-three men received. These hundreds of people have been imprisoned and deprived of food for two and three days at a time, and they bear the marks of cruel injuries. We appeal to humanity against our oppressors. They are worthy of punishment by the God of righteousness, but we would rather pray for them.

III. The future of Korea. "Our present demonstration and solemn manifesto have not been inspired by outside influences. They spring from actual spiritual forces within our own nation. The Japanese government has offered money for information as to who are the ringleaders of this national movement. They offer their rewards in vain, for the leader is God himself, and this movement is rooted in the hearts of twenty millions of the Korean people. Even our youths, our boys and girls, are glad to be arrested and imprisoned for this cause. They are too young to be impressed by outside influences; they respond to the deep spiritual movements of our united nation."

We are convinced that this is our nation's opportunity for self-expression and for the reassertion of the right to national self-determination which heaven bestowed upon us. This is the time for our escape from the hand of the Japanese oppressors. We earnestly appeal to the nations of the earth to set a limit to our pitiful condition and to obtain for us the common rights of humanity. Our confidence and our prayers go out to God. Hear us, O God, and deliver us from the oppressor, for Thou art our strength and salvation. Our trust is in Thee, O God our helper. Amen.

Christian Participation in the Movement

Although official denial and official pressure have been brought to bear forcing certain quarters to drop their false charges in regard to the American missionaries being the instigators of the uprising, yet very nearly all the official news items given out for publication by the police and gendarmes show an effort on their part to brand the uprising as a Christian movement. Many of these reports are on their face entirely false. For example—as where the statement is made that in a certain place a mob of 700 took part . . . most of whom were Christians. Yet reports made each year by the authorities of the Church to the police for the country mentioned stating the number of Christians will prove that there are not more than two hundred Christians in the whole country. And, again, while the Government schools have been even more involved than the Christian, no mention has been made of this fact, but on the other hand the part the Christian schools have taken has been given to the press in Japan and Korea. Out of nine items given in a recent issue of the official organ of the Government, six had this particular bias. This has not happened once, but is repeated day by day, and seems to indicate a real animosity towards the Christians.

Since such charges have been made perhaps it will be proper to say a word as to the part the Christians have played in the movement. It cannot be denied that the Christians are in it, but it can without difficulty be established that it is a national rather than a Christian movement.

The most singular thing in all the demonstrations was the orderliness of the movement and the fact that Japanese civilians, men, women and children, were seen on the streets, and in some instances actually taking part with the police in their maltreatment of the Koreans, yet they were not molested by the Korean crowds.

To one who knows the character of the Christians involved, it is reasonable to think that they are responsible for the insistence that no force or violence be used, which has resulted in the movement being directed at the system of the government rather than against the

Japanese people, either individually or collectively, and the relatively small loss of life among the Japanese.

It is not too much to say that the way the Koreans have conducted the movement has caused a great change in the opinion of most all of the people of other nationalities living in Korea towards the Koreans, and it now seems to be the consensus of opinion that they have exhibited depths of moral courage that entitle them to new respect and consideration, and at least a thorough investigation of the system of government under which they have been forced to live.

Among the charges made by the Korean people against the Japanese administration in Chosen are the following:

1. Constant fear of being apprehended by the police on some groundless suspicion and thrown into prison, there to remain for long periods before being given the privilege of trial; and the employment by the government of an intolerable system of espionage that keeps the home and community in a state of anxiety and apprehension.

2. The denial of the right of petition touching questions of administrative reforms, for to make common cause in a petition against administrative injustice is to suffer arrest and punishment as breakers of Japanese law.

3. The overriding of Korean rights in landed property by the powerful organization known as the Oriental Development Company, which is protected in its operation by the Government.

4. The denial to the people of the right to free speech.

5. Regulations forbidding the use of the Korean language in the system of education and in the courts of justice.

6. Denial of the freedom of the press.

7. The prohibition of public gatherings other than for religious purposes, except by special police permits.

8. Restraint upon travel abroad.

9. Universal discrimination against the Korean in favor of the Japanese.

10. The forcing upon the people of a system of prostitution under government management, thus threatening the moral and physical life of Korean society.

11. The Korean people further say that the process by which Japan obtained control of their country was one of fraud and force, and has never been approved by the rulers or by the people of the country. During a period of ten years they have quietly, though unwillingly, submitted to foreign rule. They resent the policy of trying to make it appear to the world that the Korean people are satisfied with their position. Resentful of the Japanese usurpation in the first place, they have never been mollified and will not willingly remain in this relation. They feel that at this time when the right of peoples to self-expression and self-determination is being considered their cause is entitled to consideration. If they let this time pass without giving expression to their desires and hopes the world would consider that they are satisfied with present conditions, and they will not again have the chance to protest.

12. Repressive measures used in the administration of the law which was promulgated to regulate the propagation of religion in Korea.

The Extent of the Movement

The movement is not only nation-wide, as evidenced by the "riots" and "uprisings" that have been reported in the daily press from all parts of the country, but has permeated all classes and strata of society as well. At one time or another the students, literati, merchants, railroad men, coolies, and even the prisoners, have all taken means to show their sympathy with the movement.

The student class from both government and private

schools has taken an active part from the beginning. This is evidenced by the fact that for quite a while all the schools were closed, and even now only a few schools are open, and these with a small attendance only.

In most of the large centers the merchants have shown their sympathy for the movement by closing the doors and shutters of their shops. This is the people's method, according to an old Korean custom, of showing their disapproval of any act of the government. In Seoul this means of protest was continued for nearly a month, in fact until the authorities declared that to have a closed shop was "a breach of the peace" and sent armed forces to see that the shopkeepers opened up. At the present moment the commercial districts and streets are occupied by soldiers stationed at regular intervals.

The literati have taken part by sending petitions to the government, in one of which the following statements occur:

"Today when the call for independence is given in the streets myriad voices answer in response. In ten days and less the whole nation vibrates to its echo, and even the women and children vie with each other to join in the shout. When those in the front fall others take their places with no fear of death in the heart . . . We hear, however, that the government is arresting people right and left until they fill the prisons. There they whip, beat and torture them until they die violent deaths beneath it. The government also uses weapons till the dead lie side by side, and we are unable to endure the dreadful stories we hear.

"Nevertheless the whole state only rises the more, and the greater the force used to put it down, the greater the disturbances. How comes it that you look not to the cause, but think to cut the manifestation of it off by force? Though you cut down and kill those who rise up everywhere, you may change the face of things, but the heart of it never. Every man has written in his soul the word 'Independence,' and those who in the quiet of their rooms shout for it are beyond the possibility of numbering. Will you arrest and kill them all?"

Eighty per cent of the Koreans are farmers. The large numbers reported to be taking part in the demonstrations in the country districts is proof that the farmers are strongly supporting the movement. Besides this, threats are made that the farmers will not plant their crops if independence is not granted.

The Korean employees on the state-owned railroads, and the street railway employees, have come out on sympathetic strikes. And a careful examination of the injured in the hospitals shows that the coolie class also has furnished a proportionate quota of the people who are engaged in the uprising.

If further evidence is wanted it would seem to be supplied by the fact that the very prisoners in the penitentiary heard of the movement, made Korean flags, and held a demonstration until it was put down by force.

According to law on all legal holidays each householder must display a Japanese flag at his front door. Since the uprising very few Japanese flags have been put out, although two legal holidays have passed. This

would seem to indicate the thought of the people in regard to the matter.

Methods of Suppression

It seems quite evident that the Koreans intended the movement should proceed without armed force or violence on their part. The leaders in the "Declaration of Independence" counselled it; the first, as well as the subsequent issues of the "Independence" paper urged it, and the fact that the Korean crowds who assembled were entirely without weapons of any kind bears this out.

On the part of the authorities weapons were used from the first, although not to the extent that they were later employed as the demonstrations grew and extended, and it is also true that in some places more moderation was shown than in others.

During the demonstrations and for days afterwards large numbers of Koreans, without regard to age or sex, were arrested, and these were cuffed, struck and kicked by the police and gendarmes both while in custody, while being arrested and while on the way to the police stations. Innocent bystanders were arrested, and after being beaten about the head and face, and detained for several days, at times without food, were released without any charge being preferred against them. Many arrests have been witnessed by reputable eye-witnesses, and all state that they have seen no violence toward or resistance to the officers of the law on the part of the Koreans who were being arrested.

In the efforts to disperse the crowds, police and gendarmes armed with swords and pistols, firemen armed with fire-hooks, soldiers armed with rifles and fixed bayonets, and Japanese in civilian dress armed with sticks and clubs, have been sent against the unarmed Koreans. Besides this, mounted police and cavalry have charged into the unarmed crowds, riding down and slashing those who were not able to escape. In consequence, large numbers of Koreans have been wounded and killed—just how many there is no accurate way of ascertaining—but as many as thirty are reported to have been shot down at one time.

Most of the demonstrations have taken place in the daytime, but in some places they have also taken place at night. Soon thereafter, men dressed in civilian clothes were by the authorities armed with sticks and cudgels and put on the street at night. These men were so reckless in their attacks that it became necessary for one of the foreign consuls to address the Governor-General on the subject and soon afterwards this practice was discontinued.

For nearly a month now it has not been considered safe to travel in the country, and the churches have been closed at night because it was dangerous for any one to be on the streets at that time.

In the examination of prisoners there seem to have been many cases of rough and cruel treatment: such as young girls and young women being stripped naked in the presence of men officials and then subjected by them to obscene and vulgar cross-questioning; and men and girls were beaten and otherwise tortured while under police examination.

This statement covers in a very deficient way the outstanding features of the movement.

The Proceedings of the Korean Congress held last April in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. have been printed in Book form with several photographic illustrations. This book is interesting from many points of view, and should be in the library of every student of world affairs. Apply to,

KOREAN INFORMATION BUREAU,

Price, 1.00 per copy

825 Weightman Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

KOREAN BANQUET IN PARIS

A banquet was given by the Korean Information Bureau in Paris to the French and Allied presses and to the "Friends of Korea" on August 6th, at 8 o'clock in the evening, at the Cercle de la Presse Etrangere, 80 Avenue des Champs Elysees, Paris.

Among the guests present there were quite a few friends who had been in Korea, the principal figures among whom were General Payeur, of the Bureau of Reconstruction; Baron de Gunzburg, Conseiller d'etat de la Russie; M. Frandin, Ministre Plenipotentiaire; and M. Louis Marin, Deputy of Nancy. There were also other prominent men connected with the different delegations of the Peace Conference, and a large number of Directors and Redacteurs of the leading Paris papers, as well as many well known correspondents of the leading American, British, Italian and other foreign papers. The Chinese Friends were well represented, including Monsieur Lao, the Consul General at Paris. There were some 80 people in all who attended this very friendly gathering. The beautiful and spacious dining hall of the Cercle was simply but neatly decorated with the Korean national flag and the tri-color of France. At each cover was placed a beautifully printed copy of the Declaration of Independence in French, a copy of "Pauvre et Douce Coree" ("Poor but Sweet Korea"), a most charmingly and elegantly written book on the people and land of Korea, by Monsieur George Ducrocq, who had visited the country, and a little Korean flag as souvenirs. The Korean national flag was also in evidence on the dainty menu cards and other leaflets.

Monsieur Charles Leboucq, Deputy of Paris and Vice-President of the French Chamber of Deputies, presided as toastmaster of the occasion.

After dinner the gathering was addressed by Mr. Kiusic Kimm, Chief of the Korean Delegation to the Peace Conference, on the subject of "The Land of the Morning Calm." Mr. Kimm gave a brief summary of the national existence of Korea as an independent state, her contribution to the culture and civilization of the Far East, and her treaty relations with Japan and other foreign countries which exposed the facts concerning the international injustice suffered by her since 1905 (when Japan assumed the protectorate of Korea). The concluding statements were to the effect that calm no longer reigned in this "Land of the Morning Calm" and that Korea was now suffering more terribly than ever under the iron heel of the alien oppressor. The closing remarks gave a summary of the aims and aspirations of the Korean people and nation, and reiterated the fact that the Koreans never could be "denationalized" in spite of all the oppression and brutal force and cunning methods Japan employed to subject them to the military rule of the Asiatic Kaiser. Mr. Kimm's last sentence was that the Korean people were determined to struggle till the end.

The audience was favorably impressed and deeply touched by this very dignified, calm but forcible exposure of the facts. The address in full is given below.

The program continued with addresses by the following prominent personages, in their respective order.

Mr. Li Yu Ying, Professor of the University of Peking, representing the Chinese friends, gave a very forcible and timely picture of the true meaning and menace of imperialistic Japan with her aggressive policy of continental conquest and expansion into the Pacific regions, and her carefully mapped out program toward mastery of the whole of Asia.

Monsieur Joseph Minor, ex-President of the Duma in Moscow, represented the Russian friends, and remarked that Tsarism and Kaiserism had now passed. He stated

that under the Tsars and their program of aggrandizement, small nations like Korea were always menaced. Today, although the world proclaims the right of small nations and of oppressed peoples, nevertheless the Peace Conference had not yet satisfied all. The small are still the victims of the big. Such is the case of Korea under Mikadoism. But let us hope that we have advanced one step towards overthrowing these various menacing "isms," and Korea can rest assured in the fact that she has many friends in her present hour of struggle for freedom and liberation, as did all the other nations of the west.

Mr. Charles Seldon, of the New York Times, in behalf of the American friends, showed how the times were changing. Kings, princes and autocrats are no longer the masters of the situation. They can no longer dictate. To the contrary they are being dictated to. Korea has lined herself in the march of this new era, and she should be given all encouragement and due assistance in the achievement of the aims of her people who have been brought to the attention of the world's eye of justice.

M. Louis Marin, Deputy of Nancy, spoke very eloquently in testimony of the fact that every Frenchman who had been in Korea had come away with not only the best of impressions, but with an ardent love for Korea, the most beautiful country of Asia, and for the Koreans, such scholarly, peaceful, honest, lovable people. He said Korea is not only the Switzerland of Eastern Asia nor the Asian Italy, but that she is the Belgium of the Far East. He said the people of France who have suffered so much from the recent war in the cause of justice, liberty and humanity, who had fought and struggled for the people's rights, who had crossed the Atlantic to go over to America to liberate an unjustly oppressed people and help establish the first and greatest of modern republics, know that "Pauvre et Douce Coree," (Poor but Sweet Korea), is today suffering an unspeakable injustice in the same way as Belgium had suffered during the last five years. He assured the Korean Delegates that they are right in speaking of the "Friends of Korea," for Korea in her present rightful struggle has many friends among the sons of France who will again go forward if necessary to help another people in their struggle for freedom and liberty.

Mr. Gibbons, of the Harper's Weekly, next spoke in fluent French, remarking on the fact that the recent war had been fought for the rights of the small and weak nations and the present Peace Conference was convened with the idea of the establishment of the principle of self determination for all people. The members of the Peace Conference, however, had perhaps not expected that Asia and Africa would also claim these rights. It now turns out that all peoples of the world, the West and the East alike, whether Europeans, Americans, Asiatics or Africans, are now asserting their common right of humanity; and while the peace conference and the league of nations may not satisfy all demands of every people, it nevertheless means a step toward ultimate realization sooner or later of all these ideals.

Monsieur Charles Leboucq, the Toastmaster, closed the meeting in a most impressive and sympathetic manner, remarking on the great sacrifices and the sufferings of the peoples of Europe, and the noble way in which they had rallied against the common foe. They not only deeply sympathize in the present sufferings of the 20,000,000 of Koreans, but can really understand and feel at heart the experiences they have themselves just gone through. Therefore the sympathy of the French people toward the suffering Koreans is the warmest and deepest that can be imagined. The people of France earnestly

hope for the triumph of right, and will always stand by the cause of justice.

The whole audience was most wonderfully impressed and deeply moved, and many warm hearts were won over to the cause of Korea, judging from the remarks by all those present, and statements made by the press the following day. It was certainly one of the most successful among the many banquets given by the different delegations at Paris.

Address by Mr. Kiusic Kim at the banquet given by the Korean Information Bureau in Paris to the French and Allied Presses, and to the "Friends of Korea" at the Circle de la Presse Etrangere, Paris, August 6th, 1919:

"The Land of the Morning Calm."

Excellencies and Gentlemen:

I take this opportunity, in the name of the Korean Delegation and that of our Bureau of Information, to thank you most sincerely for your kind presence, which signifies your sympathy for our cause and friendship toward our people. I must ask you to forgive me, however, my inability to express myself freely in French while I shall try to say a few words to you on Korea.

Korea, the Land of the Morning Calm, with her beautiful rugged mountains, romantic rivers and silvery streams, is a land which may be called the Switzerland of Eastern Asia because of her unsurpassed sceneries.

Although she is a country of some 84,000 square miles in area, with more than 19,000,000 inhabitants, Korea is little known to the Occident except as a "Hermit Nation" recently absorbed somehow by that wonderfully expanding empire of the "Rising Sun." During the Seventeenth century a map was published in Holland on which Korea was shown as an island! This error was due to her unique geographical position—a little peninsula secluded off the eastern corner of the Asiatic Continent, precipitating into the great basin of the Eastern and Yellow Seas. In this respect she has been well compared to Italy of Europe. The three coasts of the peninsula dotted with numerous islands were difficult of access to the inexperienced foreign navigators. The great mountain barriers on the northern frontiers kept out the Mongol hordes and the Tartars of China, as well as the migrant peoples of Siberia. One writer remarks: "During the Seventeenth century two or three dozen Dutch navigators were wrecked off the Korean coasts at different periods, some of whom had to spend the rest of their lives there. Others escaped, among whom was one Hendrick Hamel, who wrote a book on the country, which gave very little information."

It is quite certain that the aborigines of Korea mixed themselves with the other Asiatic races: The Tunguses, the Manchus, the Mongols and the Chinese, and with the Aryan race of Indian through the Dravidians of the south. These facts have been verified by competent authorities, such as the Ethnologist Keene of Great Britain, and Prof. Homer B. Hulbert of America. Du Halde, the great geographer of the Eighteenth century, described the people of Korea as "generally well built, sweet and docile in character . . . They are given to arts and learning and they love dances and music." During the numerous wars which she has had with China and Japan in the course of her long national life, she has always shown great valor and had never been conquered in spite of the repeated invasions by her powerful neighbors. The Korean people have always been ardent lovers of peace and have never entertained the ambition for territorial conquests. They have fought, and fought bravely, only when compelled by necessity, but never from desire or for the object of aggrandizement.

The legendary history of Korea dates back from Tan Kun, her founder, 23 centuries before Christ. Her history has not been peaceful, there were invasions and counter-invasions by China and Japan, such as the attempted conquest of Korea by Genghis Khan in 1218,

and the Japanese invasion under Hideyoshi in 1592. But sooner or later Korea succeeded in repelling the foreign invasion and kept the country free and independent.

The Yi dynasty, which ended August 22nd, 1919, was founded by Yi Taijo, in 1392. An alliance was promptly made with China, recognizing the nominal suzerainty of the latter in order to assure the friendship and help of the great neighbor; but Korea made her own treaties with other nations and administered herself according to her own laws, independent of China.

Korea made her first treaty with Japan in 1876; and this as well as her other treaties—with America in 1882, Great Britain in 1883, Italy in 1884, France in 1886, and with the different other European powers—recognized the complete independence of Korea.

The first treaty of Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902, and the Japan-Korea Treaty of Defensive and Offensive Alliance of February 23d, 1904, at the commencement of the Russo-Japanese war, had expressly guaranteed and maintained the independence and integrity of Korea.

Thus it is clear that Korea had always maintained her independence and national entity during the 42 centuries of her history until the Protectorate was forced upon her by Japan in 1905, and subsequently was annexed to the Japanese Empire in 1910, in direct violation of the previous treaties, particularly the Treaty of Alliance in 1904.

Foreign culture first came from China. During the period of the Silla dynasty the people absorbed much of the Hindu civilization through Buddhism. Korababeh, an Arab geographer of the Ninth century, described the Koreans as having manufactured nails and ridden in saddles; and he mentioned that they wore silk and manufactured porcelains. Again, according to a western writer: "The Japanese archives show that the Japanese themselves first learned from the Koreans the culture of silkworms, weaving of cloths, architectures, printing of books, painting of pictures, embellishment of gardens, manufacture of leather harnesses, and fashioning of weapons . . . The Koreans invented the first movable metal type in 1403, and they used the phonetic alphabet at the beginning of the Fifteenth century. They used cannon and explosives at the time of the Japanese invasion in 1592. The first ironclad in the world was invented by a Korean, Admiral Yi Soon Shin, during the Sixteenth century; it is called 'the tortoise boat' because of its form, and it was largely instrumental in bringing about the defeat of Hideyoshi's fleet."

Today, the calm does not exist in this "Land of the Morning Calm." The gigantic combat which has shaken Europe to the very foundations has had its unforeseen repercussions in the countries of the Far East. The principles so often reiterated during the entire war—Liberty, Justice, the rights of the peoples—have found an echo among the peoples of the East as well as in the West.

The Koreans have taken to heart the declarations made by the European and American statesmen regarding the upholding of such principles. After the signature of the Treaty of Peace between the allied nations and Germany, President Wilson affirmed once more this world consciousness of democratic spirit and the rights of the peoples. Permit me to recall in particular the following sentence:

"The treaty . . . it puts an end to right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation. It inaugurates a new principle by which the nation which has not yet arrived at a political consciousness and the people which are ready for independence, but not yet able to dispense with protection and guidance, will no longer be subjected to the domination and exploitation of a stronger nation."

Today the people of Korea desire their independence and aspire to become a member of the family of nations of the world and to join in the defence of justice and the peaceful development of humanity.

They desire:

1. The safety of life and property.
2. Political liberty by which the Koreans may control their own destiny.
3. Freedom of speech and of the press.
4. Freedom of travel and assembly.
5. Freedom of economic development of the greater interest of Korea and the Korean people, and the right to have free commerce with all the nations of the world.

6. Unhampered social and educational development.
7. Freedom of belief and religious practices.
8. Preservation of the language and culture.

None of the above mentioned rights are now enjoyed by the Korean people. One cannot describe here the true situation of Korea at this moment. The people of Northern France and Belgium can form an idea. Our people have shown that they can never be "denationalized" in spite of everything, and we will struggle till the end.

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

President Rhce appointed a commission composed of three members to look after the Korean interest in America and Europe. The commissioners appointed are Mr. John K. S. Kimm, Seoul, Korea; Rev. David Lee, San Francisco, and Mr. Heunju Sohng. The Executive order creating this commission reads as follows:

1. The President shall appoint a Commission composed of not less than three members, native-born Koreans of good standing.
2. The duties of this Commission shall be to represent, in America and Europe, the interests of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, under the direction of the Provisional Government.
3. The Commission shall have authority to receive funds and disburse the same, subject to the approval of the National Congress; and shall submit an accurate account of all receipts and expenditures and make a monthly report to the Provisional Government.
4. The tenure of office of the members of this Commission shall be at the discretion of the President.
5. The Commission shall elect its own chairman and other officers and committee.

6. The Commission shall make a budget and appropriate money as occasion demands.

Rules Governing the Commission

1. All proceedings of this Commission shall adhere to the usual parliamentary regulations.
2. It shall make periodical budgets for the expenses connected with its work now being carried on in America and Europe, and submit the same to the President for his approval.
3. All moneys, whether contributions, loans or revenues, shall be received by the Commission and deposited in a bank or banks in the name of the Korean Commission.
4. All moneys shall be paid out by checks which must bear signatures of two members of the Commission.
5. A complete set of books shall be kept accurately, recording all receipts and expenditures. These books shall be subject to inspection and examination by experts when so ordered by the National Congress or by the President.
6. The Commission shall make a report of its work every three months to the President.
7. The Commission shall consult with the President on all matters appertaining to public business.

CORRESPONDENCE

Japan Vs. America

(Extract from Japan Weekly Chronicle)

The other day we translated from the New Era an article by Lieutenant General Sato, in which he described how Japan had been repeatedly under the necessity of rushing into China to protect the country from other people. He further develops this theme in an article in the Osaka Asahi, reaching the logical conclusion that Japan must get into China and Siberia as well quickly and completely, in order to keep out for good the incursions of America, which are more dangerous than any of the previous perils from which Japan has saved China.

"It comes to this in the final analysis, that the cause of the great war was a clash between two parties of capitalists. What we call militarism, navalism, and commercialism are all but measures for enriching and strengthening the country to which we belong. As a result of the war, the greatest part of the world's wealth has been absorbed by America. This accumulated wealth will be invested in Russia and China without fail. Such investment, duly supported by force, is what I may call capitalistic imperialism. America is now very boldly pushing forward her capitalistic imperialism in the East, and at the same time she is gaining the heart of the people by peaceful methods, and contributing to civilization and jus-

tice. Japanese and Chinese are of the same race and civilization, and are bound to stand and fall together. Though in such a close relationship with our neighbor, we have done nothing to enlighten China by civil undertakings. In such circumstances, relations between Japan and China necessarily become more and more estranged, and Japanese business men sustain heavy losses in consequence.

"It is most urgent now that the war is finished that we consider how to protect ourselves against the attacks of capitalistic imperialism. We should, though very late in the day, take steps for guiding the Chinese in civilization, and cultivate a firm and permanent friendship, but we can not expect to reap good results thereby in a short period. It is, of course, necessary to augment our military and naval strength to resist invasion, but that involves great expense and time, and cannot be realized at once. Taking these considerations into account, we find it both urgent and imperative to reconstruct the nation. As reconstruction does not mean a complete recasting of the nation, it may easily be realized in a comparatively short period if the nation is in earnest. To begin with, I should like to advise the nation to carry the following three measures into effect:

- "1. The nation must act up to the true principles of universal conscription. Next time we take up arms at least one-third of the male population should be pre-

pared to stand at the front. The nation is becoming effeminate at present, and is physically deteriorating, while British and Americans have very strong constitutions, and have become very courageous through the age military training at schools and regard all the schools as so many barracks. That the Japanese people lack public spirit and power of acting in unison is chiefly due to the absence of training in discipline and courtesy. Military training at schools and regard training is necessary to cure these defects.

"2. Continental development of the nation is important. The Japanese population is increasing by over 600,000 every year, and we must plant the surplus population somewhere. America and the British colonies, however, are closing their doors against our immigrants, and we cannot be particular about where we go. We should go to China, Siberia, and everywhere, and thus effect a continental development.

"3. We should give international education to the nation. The present Japanese nation knows very little of foreign languages, customs and manners. In fact the present state of our country is like that of an Eta village. It is no wonder that our delegates could not take active part in the Peace Conference. If things go on as at present, Japan must suffer the pain of international isolation. If her army and navy be very strong, then it may be all right, but as far as she must maintain her prestige by diplomacy, it is absolutely necessary that she should give international education to the nation."

Korea and the Peace Conference

The treaty of peace has been signed between the governments of the allied and associated Powers and Germany. The significance of and the benefits which may be derived from this treaty were pointed out to the world in a statement by President Wilson in Paris, prior to his departure for Washington. The following is the text in part of the message:

"It does away with the right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation and substitutes a new order under which backward nations, populations which have not yet come to political consciousness, and peoples who are ready for independence but not yet quite prepared to dispense with protection and guidance, shall no more be subjected to domination and exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the League of Nations.

It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality; the rights of minorities, and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance and confident hope."

By President Wilson's eminent position in world affairs and at the Peace Conference, his interpretation of the Peace Treaty, quoted above, shall be taken to represent the collective opinion of those who co-operated in drawing up the document, which is unprecedented in the history of "treaty making." The far reaching significance of this document is universal in application; concerns all the peoples and the subject peoples of the allied and associated states as well as the erstwhile enemy states. This humanitarian principle has been accepted by all nations, and was made the battle cry of this war; and the opinion and the moral power of the entire world were rallied to the side of the allies. Even before America entered the world conflict, Great Britain, at the outset, proclaimed to the world that she went to war to defend the neutrality of Belgium and other small nations; France was forced into it to defend her inalienable right of

nationality; Japan joined in the affray with promise to restore to China the much-disputed Tsing-tao.

Lastly, when America, guided by President Wilson's fourteen points, threw in her unlimited power of democratic army and national resources on the side of the Allies, the defeat of the Central Powers was an assured fact; and thus Prussianism was brought to an end and became a historical fact of yesterday at Versailles, where it was born forty-eight years ago. It is more than a military victory. It is the greatest victory for right and justice versus might and militarism. In other words the Wilsonian principles have been firmly established as the guiding spirit in international dealings.

The principles upon which the right of self-determination rests have been applied to the subject peoples of the Central Powers, and in consequence, many states came into their own and now are about to enjoy their new found freedom and self-expression. May they ever be free from alien oppression! The writer is of the oppressed nationalities. He cannot understand why these principles are applied only to the subjective peoples of the Central Powers and not to those, excepting Filipinos, of the allied and associated powers, by whom the principles were promulgated. If these principles are to become a reality, they must be universally applied within as well as without the allied and associated powers.

The recent independence movement in Korea calls for the readjustment of the Korean problem, which is a problem of the whole Far East in the new light of the new world conditions. No other subject nation is more justified than Korea in her claim for freedom. The claim is supported by unimpeachable evidence. Korea has existed over forty-two centuries as a nation of a distinct race, with an unbroken history of which one can be proud. Her written and spoken language is unique and one of the most highly developed among the languages of the civilized peoples. Korea, the "Land of the Morning Calm," with an area of 82,000 square miles, with beautiful rugged mountains, romantic rivers and streams, and productive fields, has been and is the birthplace of 20,000,000 homogeneous people. Her literature and art were most abundantly and richly developed as early as 2000 years ago, which attracted scholars from her neighbors, China, Japan and Mongolia. Can such a people ever be kept down under the heels of an alien power? The answer is given in the present movement of the Korean people. Can such a people ever be denationalized and assimilated by an alien power? The hopeless failure of the present Japanese policy and administration in Korea is more than an answer.

On March 1st of this year the people of Korea rose as one against the Japanese military domination and declared the independence of Korea. The demonstration of passive protest took place simultaneously in all the principle cities, towns and villages throughout the peninsula. Their only weapons were the manifestos, their only violent action was the shouting of "MANSEI" (Vive la Coree!). Never a military barbarism revealed itself more outstandingly than in the Japanese method of suppression of these demonstrations. The soldiers, gendarmes, and policemen, with machine guns and fixed bayonets, were turned loose upon the crowd of unarmed men and women, old and young.

The cruelties and brutalities practiced upon the innocent women and children are not only unspeakable but inconceivable to any human mind other than Japanese. The atrocities committed by the Prussians on the Belgians and the French, and by the Turks on the Armenians are far surpassed by the Japanese.

I have before me a map of Korea, printed by the Japanese authorities in Seoul, on which are marked the different revolutionary centers, numbering more than 300. In view of such an overwhelming evidence, the intellectual world cannot be made to believe, extensive and powerful as the Japanese propaganda may be, that this movement is the work of a few malcontents,



Delegates and Staff of Korean Mission to Paris Peace Conference

After the thirty-three representatives who signed the glorious Declaration of Independence were thrown into a dungeon, the movement kept on throughout the thirteen provinces. Demonstration after demonstration took place; such unconquerable spirit facing the modern firepieces without apparent fear. Under the oppressive conditions such a spontaneous uprising of 20,000,000 people seemed impossible, especially to those who have visited Korea and known the Japanese military network and espionage system there. It came as a thunderbolt out of the blue sky to the Japanese usurpers, who were feasting themselves, believing that the last spark of Korean national life went out with the death of the ex-Emperor, whose funeral was to take place on the 3rd of March. On that day they hoped to bury our IMMORTAL KOREA in the same grave with the ex-Emperor. But the fire of nationalism rose again with renewed flames which spread over the whole land, and thus, the IMMORTAL KOREA once more showed her real self. She has shown to the world that she cannot be destroyed.

It is now an open secret that the recent pacific demonstrations were timed for the psychological moment. The people read and heard that all the Powers had assembled in Paris to uphold justice and liberate all the oppressed peoples; they rose with the belief that the case of Korea must be heard and the unspeakable wrongs righted for the benefit of 20,000,000 of oppressed, starving, tortured people. They knew full well what would be done to them by the Japanese, but death caused no fear for these people, because under the military tyranny they suffer more than the pain of death itself. They prefer to die fighting than to submit to the life of torture and slavery.

While the butchery of human beings, sanctioned by the Japanese Government, was in full swing, the Korean

societies in China, Siberia, Hawaii and America lost no time in co-operating with the movement in the homeland. Out of four delegates, chosen by the Korean people, only one succeeded in getting to Paris, while the other three were unable to come, for they could not secure the necessary permission from the government under whose protection they are refugees. The Japanese Ambassador there saw to it that no Korean is allowed to leave the country to come to Paris, and thus wished to prevent the Peace Conference from hearing the Korean claim for independence and of the inhuman atrocities of Japan. The farflung espionage system of military Japan was once more outwitted by one of the four who reached Paris safely from somewhere (the name of the place and how he came will remain a secret for the time being, lest the Japanese will spread the net as it was done in America). The difficulties and the disadvantages our able delegate, Mr. J. K. S. Kimm, met and overcame while en route to and upon arrival in Paris are numerous and adventurous. So another point was scored by Korea against Japan, and our claim and appeal were presented before the Peace Conference on behalf of 20,000,000 enslaved, famine haunted and tortured people—bereft of all freedom of life and political liberties, rising as one unit with unflinching determination in a life and death struggle.

I will try to the best of my ability to tell those of whom he is a representative and for whom he is laboring against formidable odds, something about the man and his work. It is intended for those of our countrymen and those foreign friends of Korea who have not had an opportunity to know him. Mr. J. Kimm S. Kimm was born in 1881 in Seoul, Korea. He received his first training in a Korean Government school before he came to America. Upon graduation, with honors, from Roan-

oke College, Virginia, he returned to Korea and engaged himself in Christian educational work for ten years until 1913, when he was forced to leave his country because of the intolerable persecution and coercion by the Japanese authorities. Ever since he has been living the life of an exile, always working for the unity of the Koreans within and without, and above all for the restoration of Korea to the Koreans, never losing an opportunity to solidify the foundation of the future independence. If I am permitted to express my opinion I wish to say that no better man was chosen for his present difficult task. I have every confidence that more success will be brought home to us.



HON. J. KIUSIC KIMM
Chief Delegate to Peace Conference
for the Republic of Korea

There are at present six of us in Paris, including the writer, who has been a soldier of the American Expeditionary Forces in France until a few days ago, when discharged to join the delegation. Mr. Kimm is chief of our delegation and Mr. Kwanyong Lee is alternate delegate, who has studied at Oxford University, in England, and the University of Zurich, Switzerland. Mr. Lee is an able writer. During his many years of stay in Europe he has acquired an enviable knowledge of international affairs and insight of European politics. Messrs. Kin T'ang, Lyuh Woon Hong (Wooster University, '18, Ohio), and Cho Yong Eun (M.L.I., Meiji University, Japan)—the latter two joined us recently from the Far East—and myself make up the entire Korean delegation. Since the addition to the personnel the burden of work has been taken off Mr. Kimm somewhat, but every member is as busy as he can be. The readers may imagine what the difficulties were to him when he first came here alone. What he went through and how he managed the thousand and one other things will never be known, for he declines to impart the secret. "Things had to be done and were done somehow" is all I got out of him.

To go back to the subject of this article, the Claim of Korean People and Nation, was filed with the Peace Conference officially on May 10th and acknowledged by the members of the different delegations. The conference as an official body has not acted upon the claim. The reason for the silence on the part of the conference is obvious and requires no explanation. However, the Korean delegation was received by a certain member of the conference in behalf of a friendly delegation, as was the case of Ireland. Once for all time the aspirations of the Korean people were recorded at the world's Peace Conference. The summarized document is as follows:

"The Korean people want complete independence of their country and desire to become a member of the Society of Nations, so that they may have:

"1. Safety of life and property—free from discrimination, persecution and massacre, such as practiced by the Japanese in Korea.

"2. Political freedom, whereby the Korean peo-

ple may control their own destiny and be free from taxation without representation.

"3. Freedom of speech, press and assembly.

"4. Freedom of economic development for the best interests of Korea and the Koreans, and that they may have free commerce with all the nations of the world with equal opportunity and protection.

"5. Unhampered social and educational development.

"6. Freedom of religious belief and practice."

Copies of our official claim were sent to all the press and the different Parliaments and political bodies of Europe, including the Vatican. It is worthy of note that our Publicity Work has made much satisfactory progress. Four months ago the Korean question was almost unknown and ignored in Europe. Now the entire European nations recognize it as a serious problem requiring immediate adjustment. We cannot afford to relax our efforts at this time, but we must continue and extend our propaganda with reinforced energy in order to take advantage of the growing world opinion in Korea's favor and to put our cause in the right light against the falsifying representations by the enemy publicity agents.

Our next court of appeal is the League of Nations, which is empowered to deal and to do justice in international dealings of any member of the league. The just claim and aspirations of Korea and the Korean people will be presented to this highest international tribunal, which shall and must decide upon the invalidity of the treaty of annexation of Korea by Japan in direct violation of treaties and repeated declarations of Japan to guarantee and respect the independence to Korea as well as the Korea-Japan Alliance of 1904. Long before Germany became an outlaw from the civilized nations for making a "scrap of paper" out of solemn treaties, Japan was an old hand at treaty-breaking, there being no such thing as honor in the minds of Japanese statesmen. The method and process of Japanese treaty-breaking is well told by F. A. McKenzie in his book, "The Unveiled East" (Chapter IV).

The reign of terror in Korea must be removed, the wholesale robbery and outrages upon our women and young girls must be stopped; all these horrible wrongs must be righted. It is for the tribunal to right the wrongs of 20,000,000 people and free them from slavery. Nothing less than complete independence will undo the wrongs. If the principles upon which the tribunal is founded are to be lived up to there must be no other decision, but restoration of Korea to the Korean people. Let us go forward to the day of triumph of our just cause.

Yours,

EARL K. WHANG.

Hidden Sufferings of the Koreans

This Article Was Written By a Korean Schoolgirl
In Honolulu.

Korea, "Land of the Morning Calm," where freedom and happiness of any nature have been ruthlessly swept away by the Hunnish Japs, faces a most critical situation. The land of the glorious old civilization has been devastated since the occupation by the Japanese. Our history of forty centuries, together with other books, have been burned; the old treasured writings of Korea have been entirely destroyed; the Korean language is forbidden; newspapers and magazines are prohibited; and public meetings have been strictly forbidden.

The Japanese have never obtained anything except by force. The Germans have used force in the destruction of innocent people to further their own ends, so also the "Huns of the Orient" are doing the same cruel deeds, but the enlightened world seems blind to this.

Our people have very substantial and enduring qualities; they cannot be discouraged. They endure patiently with dogged perseverance; they have become inured to every form of hardship. They have been deprived of their property and means of livelihood. It is the auto-

cratic government, run by corrupt officials, who grind down the poor people mercilessly with unjust taxes. Children of a tender age have been compelled to work in factories, day and night, under unhealthy conditions, which means the destruction of their intellectual and physical strength. These are the unjust means used against the young people of Korea. Thrifty and persistent in their character, they have endured unbearable sufferings and are yet true Koreans, although the Japanese have used their best efforts to exterminate our race.

Korean scholars are not permitted higher education. The history of a proud Korea is excluded from the schools to make way for Japanese culture. The schools of Korea, that is the so-called common schools for the children, are inferior to those of Japan. The course of study is limited to secondary education only. In these courses the study of Political Economy, Political Science, History, Law and Literature, which are helpful in developing one's mind, are forbidden. They exclude all European or American history and literature. They prevent any Korean students to go abroad for an education, because they might bring in western ideas which are considered "dangerous thoughts" by the Japanese. The Koreans are compelled to worship the Japanese Emperor's tablet and picture, and are ordered to celebrate Japanese holidays, and this conflicts with the Christian ideals of our people. Can any one blame a people, subjected to this mental and spiritual slavery, for arising and appealing to the world for self-determination?

Everybody is familiar with the tragic story of the Belgians, fleeing from their homes to escape the ruthless fury of the Hun; thousands of unfortunates died of starvation, leaving their bodies upon the roadside to mark the line of march. Then remembering one's attitude toward the Huns, brings to us the sad realization of the suffering of our own people, cruelly slaughtered by the Japanese. The Japanese authorities in Korea have introduced a reign of frightfulness worse than that inflicted by Germany upon Belgium, more like that of the Turks against the Armenians.

The entrance into the war by the most peaceful democracy in the world was of epochal importance. The great American nation declared that it would not remain neutral in the conflict between right and violence; civilization and barbarism. It declared at the same time that it was not fighting for self-interest; desiring neither conquest nor compensation, only to help win a victory for Law, Liberty and Humanity. And so we saw all America rise and sharpen her weapons for the common cause.

Should not the accepted principles of freedom and national rights laid down by President Wilson triumph, not only in Europe, but in all the world? Will not the liberty loving Americans bring the scenes of unjust treatment of the Koreans by the Japanese before the public and help us win our independence for Korea?

SOONIE CHOY.

Honolulu, T. H.

First Korean Students' Conference in Dinuba, Cal.

Some 500 Korean students residing in California held their first annual conference in Dinuba, Cal., on August 14-16. The conference was well planned and systematically carried out. A credit is due to these committees who had charge of the arrangement, and the various speakers sounded many keynotes which produced profound and wholesome sentiment among the audience. The atmosphere of the conference throughout the three days' sessions was intensely patriotic and at the same time many practical ideas were brought out. The proceedings were reported by Mr. Y. Kang, a Korean student to the Dinuba Sentinel, which we reproduce:

With the band ringing high the national anthems of America and Korea, and the huge audience standing reverently in salutation to the colors they adore, the initial meeting of the Korean Students' conference

opened with great success. A large number of the students, ranging from grammar school to university, represented themselves at the meeting, each expressing his point of view in regard to the promotion of national interests. Within the space of rendezvous reigned complete tranquility which reflected the seriousness of the occasion. Each member with sword in heart and filled with patriotic fervor sat noiselessly contemplating only the magnitude of the task they confronted.

After a word of opening remarks by the president and a stimulating address by Rev. Park, the business phase of the meeting opened with the playing of "Over There" by the orchestra, which created a martial atmosphere within the room. The audience gladly accepted the intimation by the tune to send a word over there that the Yankee-Koreans are coming. President Kim then threw wide open the meeting to diplomatic discussions and called for suggestions most pertinent and effective for the need of the hour. Whereupon more than fifty suggestions responded, each carrying one universal thought, unity.

These suggestions fall along three main divisions: (1) Diplomatic activity, (2) military preparation, (3) material accumulation. Advocating the necessity of diplomatic activity, a member emphasized the importance and significance of lessons taught in history. "The United States of America," said he, "would have failed to win her independence had she not secured the aid of France through diplomacy. Similarly, the European war," he continued, "would, in spite of its just cause to the allies, have ended in a fiasco had not this great country interfered, through the allies' diplomatic persuasion. Therefore, if Korea is to win her freedom, which I have no doubt, she must enlist the aid of America, the champion of oppressed nations. One effective method of accomplishing this end would be to organize a team of four-minute speakers who are proficient in English in three principal districts of California—Dinuba, Berkeley, Claremont, and have them preach far and wide the independence of Korea. Our cause is just, and God, who takes the side of the just, will not leave us alone to fight the enemy, but will raise our friends to fight the battles with us."

The person that introduced the proposition supported his project by arguing: "We who are fighting for existence cannot rely upon others to labor for us. That is the law of human nature, a theory of human being. History tells us that of all the nations that won their freedom, not one of them won it through diplomacy, but by actual fighting and bloodshed. Though we hate to foster the doctrine of 'iron-and-blood' policy, nevertheless, that is the essence of victory." Then he went on to say that if Korea is to profit by these examples she must encourage students to specialize in practical lines of art, military training particularly.

A preponderance of opinion seemed to favor highly the suggestion provided for financial accumulation, since money is the lord of all enterprises. Many therefore advanced convincing arguments and theories in regard to the possible means of enlarging the earning capacity of the Korean people.

Also plans relative to a proper application of the sum thus collected was considered. All seemed to favor the idea of supporting the Korean provisional government somewhere in Manchuria with this material contribution. "Yes; to fight, to fly, to sail, to do anything for the realization of victory, we must have an adequate financial background," remarked one member. "So," advised he, "you boys must get out and hug tightly the vines upon which your lives and country hangs." (But grapes are sometimes sour.)

All these splendid ideas will be submitted to final decision tonight, when an hour will be reserved for the purpose.

Having nobly discharged the duties allotted for the day, the first meeting of the Korean students' convention closed triumphantly at 12 o'clock.

—The Dinuba Sentinel.

STUDENT'S CORNER

The Christian people of America are showing more sympathy for our cause than ever before, but there is yet a large number who need the knowledge of the history and the present condition of Korea. Will you tell them about it?

I sympathize with the people of Shantung, for I know what is in store for them under the Jap control. I know it from the experiences of my own country. I found that passive resistance did not bring any relief, except a cablegram from Mr. Hara, to the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America with a promise of reform, and as usual, without giving any time. I believe the only way one can retain what belongs to him is to use a big stick when a robber comes around. Just reading the Eighth Commandment to the robber does not seem to deter him from carrying out his enterprise.

The other day a prominent American said to me: "It is an awful thing for a Christian to say, but if I were a Shantungese, I would rather see the whole province made a sepulchre or a molting volcano, than turn it over to the Japanese." I wish this sort of spirit would root deeply in the hearts of my countrymen as well as our neighbors—the Chinese—then there will be a permanent peace in the Orient and the Eighth Commandment will become a living law in Asia.

On July 19th, Premier Hara, of Japan, sent a telegraphic promise to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, stating that comprehensive plans of reorganization of the Administration in Korea would be effected—"to promote the lasting welfare of our Korean Kinsmen." Later dispatches from Japan stated that a reform government, with a civilian Governor-General, would be inaugurated in Korea. The Associated Press dispatch of August 14th announced the appointment of Admiral Saito as Governor-General in Korea, and Mr. Mizuno as Civil Governor. This seems to indicate the promise of Civil Government in Korea is like most of the other Japanese promises—made but not kept. The only difference is a General is replaced by an Admiral.

A Far Eastern expert testified before the Senate committee on Foreign Relations that Japan's seizure of Shantung and her further aggression

upon China will bring war in the East within ten years. If China waits ten years before she fights, Shantung will be so thoroughly Japanized that the task will be much harder. Why doesn't China protect herself now instead of waiting for ten years? The chance of success in defending her rights is better now than a decade hence.

Now there is a tendency to "pass the buck" to the League of Nations whenever a difficult and unwelcome problem arises. The League will surely have its hands full if it ever becomes a functioning body. Well, the League need not worry, just "pass the buck" back to where it originally started.

Some Senators think America will not go to war with Japan on account of the Shantung question. Japan knows that, and she is going to keep it. But, then, these Senators and the Japanese statesmen might be wrong in this estimate of the temper of the American people.

Some Senatorial lawyers state that Articles X and XI, of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the special treaty with France, bind the United States legally, while the President says they bind the United States only morally. At any rate, it is binding, so what difference does it make in the result, whether it is moral or legal?

The Peace Conference in Paris ought to have created an International Supreme Court to interpret the meaning of the covenant of the League of Nations and the Peace Treaty in general, as there now seems to be differences of opinion in regard to the real meaning of these stipulations. It will be like many other international agreements, in that it will be the Nation which has the strongest military and economic power whose interpretation will prevail and whose decision will be final.

Secretary Lansing testified before the Senate Committee that Japan would have signed the Peace Treaty even if Shantung was not given to her. President Wilson states that Japan would not have signed it. There seems to be some difference of opinion even among the leaders of the administration.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE KOREAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Victims of the past age, when brute force and the spirit of plunder ruled, we have experienced the agony of an alien oppression during the last ten years; we have been deprived of all rights of existence; we have been stripped of our freedom of thought and speech; we have been denied all opportunities for a just share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

Assuredly, if the wrongs of the past are to be righted, if the agony of the present is to be relieved, if future oppression is to be avoided, if thought is to be set free, if right of action is to be given a place, if we are to obtain a position of free development, if we are to deliver our children from the painful and shameful heritage, the primary necessity is the complete Independence of our Nation. To-day we, each and all of us twenty million Koreans, armed with the principles of justice and humanity, make our stand for truth and righteousness. What barriers are there in our way, which we cannot break?

We have no desire to accuse Japan of falsehood when she charged China with breaking the treaty of 1876, of unjustified arrogance when her buereaucrats treated us as a conquered people, of dishonourable intention when she has banned our dear language and history, of shame when she employed her intellectual subjects in order to advertise our culture (from which she has derived her own civilization) in foreign lands as that of savages, finding delight in bringing us under her heel.

Having nobler tasks, we have no time for finding fault with others; our urgent need is the setting up of this house of ours and not the discussion of who has torn it down. Our work is to clear the future in accordance with the earnest dictates of the conscience of mankind. Let us not resent the wrongs of the past.