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The political problem of Korea

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PREFACE

When Korea was asked to open her country to the trade of the Western world, she was afraid to do so largely because of her experiences in the past. Her history shows that she has always suffered at the hands of foreigners. As soon as Korea was opened and began to acquire some of the Western culture, Japan became an obstacle to her progress. Before long her independence was broken as a result of Japanese intrigue and aggression and her people are living under the yoke of tyrannical oppression.

If one examines the reasons why the peace of the Far East has so often been threatened, and the reasons why the pacific problem is so serious he will soon discover that the great source of difficulty lies with the situation in Korea and that this Korean situation is no less than a world problem. It is the most serious problem of the Far East.

On the other hand, the Japanese militaristic menace is also a serious question. Those who are interested in Far Eastern affairs as well as in the problem of the Pacific Ocean ought to know what the Japanese policy really is. Since Japan has practiced her standard policy in Korea from the beginning up to the present,
it is, therefore, in Korea that we find the best example and those who wish to know what Japan's policy really is, should study the Korean problem.

The writer is by no means anti-Japanese. His patriotism is not merely local nor strictly national; he is rather a dreamer of a World State, of a World Government with World Legislation and a World Court. However, he is a sentimental being like other ordinary persons. When he recalls the cruel and inhuman treatment of his fellow-Koreans at the hands of the Japanese, when he recalls it as he saw it with his own eyes, his indignation arises, not because he is a Korean, but because of the moral sentiment within him which is one of the inborn characters of man.

Although frequent use has been made of the word "Japanese" it is only fair to say that it does not always include every Japanese but only those who stand for the militaristic autocracy that has wrought so much harm to the Koreans. There are some fair-minded and liberal Japanese, although very small in number, and these should not be included with those who align themselves in support of autocratic domination.
The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh under whose direction this thesis was accomplished and also to express his thanks to Mr. C.I. Erickson who gave very kind help in reading and correcting the manuscript.

Since the time was somewhat limited, all phases of the subject have not been covered as fully as might have been wished. In many cases, the facts could be given only in outline. If any mis-statements should be discovered by the readers, the writer will appreciate having his attention called to them.

R.S. Kim

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

"In passing judgment upon the relations of a domi­nant to a dependent people, three main questions by ethical right arise: (1) The justification for holding an unwilling people in subjection; (2) the political and civil rights that should be granted to them; and (3) the regard that should be had for their material and cultural interests. What answers to the questions thus involved have the Japanese given by their dealings with the Koreans?"

Thus Professor W.W. Willoughby, one of the leading political philosophers of today, raises a grave question regarding the Korean situation. Then he definitely points out that the annexation of Korea is unjustifiable, and that the Japanese policy in Korea is a failure.

Ever since Japanese power was established in Korea, Japanese propagandists have everywhere proclaimed that the beneficial administration of the Japanese government in Korea has brought about such wonderful reforms and such great progress, that the Koreans are now a happy and grateful people, under the grace of the Mikado. However,

2. Ibid. p. 38 ff.
the Korean revolution of the last fifteen years, especially that of the last year (1919), belies the statements made by these proclaimers, and the world is beginning to question the professed motives of Japan. But unfortunately, the world is still in the web of the Japanese propagandists regarding the Far Eastern questions, especially regarding the Korean problem.

Korea is one of the oldest among the nations of the earth. Her history dates back to about 2333 years B.C. She has a distinct people, land, and civilization, and up to 1905 she was self-governing and enjoyed her own culture, literature, religion, and customs; she regarded China as her teacher and Japan as her pupil. Yet from time to time Japan has been the most aggressive and barbarous invader of Korea — the ruthless invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi in the closing years of the sixteenth century is an illustration.

In the middle of the 19th century when Japan made certain reforms and adopted a modern military system, she began again to fix her eyes upon her weaker neighbour, Korea. In the latter part of the 19th century when Korea was opened to foreign trade, Japan made several treaties with Korea, all of which were obtained by the use of force or by intrigue. The main
activities relating to Japan's subjugation by Korea are briefly summarized in the following paragraphs:

In 1876 under pressure of military arms, Japan made her first treaty with Korea, and secured the right of trade and emigration in several Korean ports.

In 1882, Japan strengthened her position by a further claim, and secured the right to keep troops in Korea on the pretext of protecting the resident Japanese.

In 1894, Japan went to war with China because she thought that China was an obstacle to Japanese territorial ambition in Korea. Korea was the main battleground in this war.

In 1895, the Japanese, under the leadership of Miura, the Japanese Minister to Korea, murdered the Korean Queen, Min, in a most brutal manner, because she opposed Japanese domination in the country.

In 1896, the Korean king was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. Fearing assassination, he managed to escape to the Russian Legation at Seoul.

In 1898, a Russo-Japanese agreement was framed in which both countries agreed to respect the sovereignty and independence of Korea and to abstain from all direct interference in the internal affairs of Korea.
In 1902, in the Anglo-Japanese treaty of Alliance, the Japanese Government declared that the sole purpose of the Alliance was to preserve the status quo and general peace in the Far East, and to maintain the territorial integrity of the Empires of Korea and China.

On February 9, 1904, Japan went to war with Russia because Japan clearly saw that she could not realize her territorial ambition in Korea without checking the Russian influence that had begun to assert itself in the peninsula. On February 23 Japan made a treaty of alliance with Korea, in which Japan definitely guaranteed the independence of the Korean Empire. But in return Japan demanded the right to use Korean territory on which to carry on her military operations against Russia. Furthermore, Korea was compelled to aid the Japanese troops by supplying both war materials and man power. In August Korea was compelled to engage Japanese advisers in all her financial and diplomatic affairs. These advisers virtually controlled all the finances and foreign relations of the country.

In April, 1905, the control of the postal, telegraph and telephone service of Korea was surrendered to the Japanese.

In November of 1905, Korea was forced to sign an
agreement whereby all her foreign relations were yielded to Japan. Korea thus became a protectorate of Japan.

In March, 1906, Marquis Ito came to Korea as a Resident-General and represented Japan at Seoul. On July 3 of the same year, the Korean palace guard was replaced by a Japanese guard.

On July 19, 1907, the Korean Emperor was forced to abdicate, because he appealed to the Hague conference against the Japanese policy in Korea. On July 25, a new treaty was made by force providing that all laws, decrees, appointments and removals must be submitted to the Japanese Resident-General. In August, Korea was forced to disband her whole army. In December, the Crown Prince, a brother of the new Emperor, was taken to Japan on the pretext of giving him an education in Japan. As a matter of fact he was taken to Japan as a hostage.

In 1908 Prince Ito, the Resident-General at Seoul publicly asserted that Japan had no intention to annex Korea.

In August, 1910, Japan forced the Korean Government to yield all her administrative functions to Japan and then announced to the world that Korea had been annexed
and that all this was done according to the will of the Korean people and their ruler.

These are only a few main facts regarding the Japanese policy of subjugating the Koreans. During that period Japan has resorted to every possible means, -- imprisonment, threats, various methods of torture, and even massacres, -- in order to put down the revolts and protests of the Koreans. Japan quickened all her activity so that she might suppress the rapidly awakening spirit and strong patriotic movement among the Koreans. She imposed numerous obstacles to check the progress of the Koreans because she knew that Korea's progress would prevent the realization in the main land. Hence Japan resorted to both force and intrigues and thereby made treaties and promises, only to break them according to her pleasure because Korea was weak and helpless. Yet Japan is now loudly clamoring for a Japanese Monroe Doctrine in Asia.

The so-called annexation represents the saddest and darkest page in Korean history, not only because it is a national and historical shame to the Koreans but because it thwarts their independent spirit and
they have to suffer untold cruelties at the hands of Japan's inhumane administration. It is no wonder that the people have been in a state of unrest and in the throes of revolution under the martial law of the Japanese militaristic autocracy.

The Korean situation involves a number of problems. Politically, the Koreans have no right of any kind; economically, they are in very serious financial distress; socially, they are the victims of discrimination and are constantly exposed to danger; educationally, they are denied the proper means of instruction; religiously, they have no freedom of thought or of worship. The underlying source of all these problems is the political dictatorship of the Japanese militaristic autocracy. The main problem of Korea is therefore her political problem. All the others arise out of it, and they will be logically solved as soon as her political problem is solved.

Moreover, the Korean problem is not a new problem which has just arisen since the Korean revolution of last year. The revolution has been going on for the last fifteen years, and it will be continued endlessly in the future, if the problem is not justly solved.
The Korean problem, indeed springs from fundamental conditions and possesses a distinct history.

The Japanese Government in Korea has a two-fold policy -- (1) the Koreans must be assimilated to Japan, by force if necessary, and (2) if they will not be thus assimilated, they must cease to exist. Neither of these plans can be carried out. Then what shall the future of Korea be? The Koreans appealed to the recent Peace Conference at Paris but they had no hearing. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea backed by 20,000,000 people is actively working for its final goal, the independence of the country, while the Japanese military autocracy is equally active to crush down the patriotic Koreans, in a most cruel and barbarous way. What shall the end be?

Many difficult problems in Europe and in the Near East have been fairly solved, but the solution of the Far Eastern questions has hardly been attempted, although they have been a source of great vexation almost to the whole world. The peace of the world depends, to a large extent, on the solution of the Far Eastern questions and the peace of the Far East depends largely on the solution of the Korean problem. It must be
be understood that the problems of the Far East have been created mainly by the selfish and aggressive policy of Japan, through her subjugation of Korea and making Korea a breeding place for Japanese imperialism. The threatening place of Japan on the Pacific Ocean is due wholly to her enhanced power on the main land, and this increase of power has been attained only at the sacrifice of Korea.

The Korean problem is, indeed, a world problem. It has been little known to the world because of the far reaching influence of Japanese propagandists and Japanese censorship and because the world is not always ready to listen to the entreaties of a weaker nation. But no matter what the world thinks about the Korean problem, the most vexing part of the whole Far Eastern questions is the Korean situation. And no matter how strong and mighty the Japanese force in Korea may be, the Koreans will ever feel their tragic position and will always be determined to seek the justice that is due to them.
CHAPTER II
GENERAL FACTS ABOUT KOREA

People -- Ethnological Characteristics

Origin: The origin of the Koreans, like that of many other nationalities, is not definitely known.
In physical appearance they belong, in general, to the Asiatic or Mongolian type. In size they are larger than either the Japanese or Southern Chinese but smaller than the Northern Chinese; their average height is about five feet six inches.

The Koreans are, however, a mixed people. Some of the leading anthropologists point out that there is a strong Caucasian element among the Koreans. Keane, one of the leading authorities of the Asiatic races, says that among the Koreans the Caucasian element is even more marked than among the Tunguses. Hutchinson, Gregary, and Lydekker say that the Koreans are mainly of Mongolian stock, but one often meets with faces that look almost English.

According to the native historians' records, the Koreans are the descendants of a stock whose ancestral

1. Underwood, "The Call of Korea", p. 44-5
3. "Living Races of Mankind", p. 156-8
seats were beyond the northern frontiers. Professor H.B. Hulbert, who lived in Korea more than twenty years being one of the leading authorities of the Korean history, points out that while Korea was originally inhabited from the mainland, there had been an admixture; there were maritime settlers or colonists who came to the shores of Korea from the south at the time when north and south Korea were clearly separated, or about 500 B.C.

The most reasonable conclusion, then, is that the peninsula of Korea was populated by an aboriginal people who intermingled with the Mauchus, the Mongols, the Chinese, and the Aryan race. These people united at some remote time and developed a racial character and a national solidarity. They spoke one uniform language, the Korean, which has a distinct alphabet of its own, and they formed the same traditions and beliefs. They have earned an eminent place in the history of culture and "for centuries there crossed the sea from the peninsula a stream of scholars, artists, and missionaries who brought to Japan the social culture of Chosun (Korea), the literature of China, 1. Griffis, "Corea, the Hermit Nation", p. 11 2. "The Passing of Korea", pp. 27-28
Character: In character the Koreans in general differ distinctly from the Chinese and Japanese. They are neither commercially inclined like the Chinese nor warlike like the Japanese. Dr. Horace G. Underwood who had been a missionary in Korea for nearly thirty years made a conclusive statement as follows:

"Considering, then, these three peoples, so closely allied in history as well as geography, we find marked differences. Korea is geographically between China and Japan, and intellectually and physically the people come halfway between these two great nations. They are not as phlegmatic as the Chinese nor as volatile as the Japanese. Without the stolid conservatism, often amounting to impregnable obstinacy, of the one or the easy adaptability, amounting to fickleness, of the other, calmly weighing pros and cons, they are willing to accept change if it is really good and receive what is new without too rashly discarding long-established beliefs and customs. They are not as slavishly bound by superstition, not as devoted to their old religions, not
as faithful, perhaps, to the traditions of the past, as the Chinese, nor so imitative and ambitious as the Japanese.

Dr. Jones, another eminent authority made a more specific and definite statement:

"In character the Korean people are naturally friendly. To those who inspire them with respect and confidence they are the soul of generous hospitality. The Koreans are intellectually inclined, the national ideal is the scholar. Whereas in China the cast of mind is commercial, giving us a nation of merchants, and in Japan it is military, giving us a nation of warriors, in Korea it is literary, giving us a nation of scholars."

In other words, the Koreans are a peaceful people and they love morality above all things. They are also enduring in courage, and when their rights are too unjustly assailed they protest even in the face of death. The Korean revolutionary movement against the Japanese iron hand during the last fifteen years, especially for the last year shows the general characteristics of the race.

1. "The Call of Korea", p. 45-46
2. Quoted by Underwood's "The Call of Korea", p. 46
3. See more about the Korean people in the last chapter of this book under the subdivision, "Are the Koreans fitted for self-government,". Also see Hulbert's "The Passing of Korea" Chapter II.
Population: According to the latest record, the Koreans in Korea number 16,969,000. There are about 3,000,000 Koreans abroad. With a total land area of 128,800 square miles, including all outlying islands, Korea has 132 persons to the square mile. Thus it is quite densely populated with Koreans alone. The number per square mile is not so great as in Belgium or Holland, but it is about the same as in India, Greece, and France. Now the vast number of Japanese immigrants who pour into the peninsula causes many of the natives to leave the country -- "there were 40,000 Japanese in Korea prior to the outbreak of the War (Russo-Japanese War). By 1905, 65,000 had arrived, and others were coming at the rate of about 200 a day".

Land - Geographical Character and Natural Resources. Location: Korea is a peninsula, situated with its many small outlying islands, at the eastern part of Asia. It lies between the Japan Sea on the east and the Yellow Sea on the west, and parallel to the Provinces of Shantung and Kiangshu of China. It is located

between latitudes 33 degrees 46 minutes N. and 43 degrees 2 minutes N. and longitudes 125 degrees 4 minutes E. and 130 degrees 58 minutes E. In the north the peninsula is separated from Manchuria and Siberia by the Tuman and Yalu rivers and by Paikdu (White Head) Mountain; in the south it faces Kynshu across the Strait of Korea.

**Size:** Korea looks small on the map simply because it is situated near the two great countries, China and Russia. But Korea is even larger in size than Great Britain or Italy. The latest record regarding the total area of Korea, including all its outlying islands, is about 128,808 square miles. Of course, ancient Korea was much larger than the present Korea, and it once included the whole Liotong which now covers the most of the Modern Manchuria. But Liotong was gradually lost to China in ancient times.

**Natural Resources:** Korea is rich in natural resources. Its fertile soil yields excellent agricultural products in almost all parts of the country. It is rich in timber, especially in the north. An abundance of fish and other marine products are found.

1. Covering all the outlying islands.
2. Lee, "Historical Relations Between Korea and Japan" (Korean edition) Vol. III, p. 15-16
along its 1750 miles of sea coast. It has rich mineral products of which gold is the most important and coal, iron, ore, natural metallic iron, copper, quicksilver, lead, tin, and silver are found in considerable quantities.

**Climate:** The climate of Korea is, in general, excellent. It is bracing in the north, and in the south it is tempered by the ocean breezes of summer. Spring and autumn are the most delightful and beautiful seasons in the year.

**History -- Legendary and Ancient, Medieval and Modern.**

1. **Legendary and Ancient History.**

   1. **Dankoon Dynasty.** Korea is one of the oldest nations of the world. The Korean history begins with the first king Dankoon, about 2333 B.C. However, there is no exact record about this ancient dynasty. So far as the records of the native historians go Dankoon, a sacred man, appeared under a santal wood tree in Taipaik mountain in the modern province of Pyengan, and was made king by the people. At first his capitol was at Pyeng-yang, and he called his country Chosun which means "morning calm", because the land is in the east and is

1. Underwood, "The Call of Korea", p. 31-33
2. Griffis, "Corea the Hermit Nation", p. 6 ff.
the first to receive the bright and fresh morning sun. Later he moved the capital at the Paik-ak in the modern district of Moonwha of the Province of Whanghai. His religion consisted of sacrifice to Heaven on the Mount Mari, in the island of Kangwha. He taught his people some of the elementary laws of living. In 2267 B.C., Prince Puru was sent to the Tosan Conference in China, which was the first intercourse with other nations.

The Dankoon dynasty continued over a thousand years. Haipuru, the last king of the Dankoon line was driven out in 1122 B.C. when Kija came to Korea, and King Haipuru founded the Kingdom of Puye in the north. This dynasty also continued for over a thousand years.

2. Kija Dynasty: Kija was one of the great sages and nobles of China, being the author of important portions of the classic basic book, the Shu Ching. He was a refugee from China at the time of the fall of the Shang dynasty in the 12th century B.C. After the overthrow of the Tyranny of Shang, Kija was highly honored by Wu Wang, the Conqueror. However,

1. There is still a religious creed in Korea bearing the name of Dankoon called Dankoon Dyo.

2. Kija was imprisoned by the Tyranny. For details, see Griffis, "Corea, the Hermit Nation", p. 12, ff.
he refused this honor and with his 5,000 followers he departed into the east, now Pong-ten and Kwang-reng Sen. In 1122 B.C. he was made king of Chosun.

Kija had great colonizing ability. When he came to the east he was accompanied by various men of art and science and all the necessities of a self-supporting colony. He soon learned the native language, and then taught the people law and ethics. Among his teachings, Paldokyo (Eight Principal Laws) was the most famous. Under him Chosun became highly enlightened. At Pyeng Yang there still remain his tomb, earthen walls, squire fields of his method of cultivation.

In 221 B.C. Korea lost its northern territory of over 2000 li. by General Chin-kai of the Kingdom of Yen. A little later another native of Yen, Wei-Man came to Chosun with many followers and found asylum

1. Kija told Mu-Wang that his duty to the deposed sovereign forbade him to serve the new one whom he regarded as a usurper. See ibid.

2. Some authors state that Kija did not really become a king of Chosun, but his descendants usurped the title.

3. A li is about 1/3 of an English mile.
under the aegis of the King. Finally, in 194 B.C. he drove the King, Ki-june from the throne and declared himself the King of Chosun. The exiled King Ki-june, the forty-second ruler of the Ki-ja dynasty, sought refuge with Ma-Han in the South of Korea, and took the title of the King of Mahan.

3. Wei-Man in North and Sam-Han in South: The rule of Wei-man, the self-made king of North Korea was a very short one. His grandson, Eu-kye, tried to conquer eastern and southern Korea where several self-governing peoples lived, and he thus disturbed the peace of the East. The Emperor of China Han Mu-te warned him of his impending folly but he didn't listen to the friendly advice. Finally, in 109 B.C. the imperial army of Han Mu-te conquered him and all Northern Korea was divided into four commands: Rak-Rang, Rim-tun, Hyen-to, and Chin-pon. They were practically self-governing in their internal affairs, and China gradually lost them to Korea until the Kingdom of Koguryu was established in 36 A.D.

At this time in the South of Korea, the part south of the Han River, there were three small self-governing peoples called Sam-Han or Three Hans, namely Mahan, Chinhan, and Penhan. Mahan was westerly located,
chining the Yellow Sea in the north and facing Japan on the south, its territory covering the modern provinces of Kyengkevi, Choongchung, and Junla. King Ki-june, as already mentioned, found refuge in Mahan and became King of Mahan. His dynasty continued for over two hundred years. It was absorbed by the Kingdom of Paikchei in 9 A.D.

Chinhan was at the east of Mahan bordering on Kangneung in the modern province of Kangwon on the north, and on Penhan on the south. Its territory covered the modern Kyengsang province. Chinhan was composed chiefly of refugees from China at the time when the Chin dynasty was building the great Chinese wall and imposing heavy burdens on the Chinese people. When the refugees came to Mahan, they were allowed to stay in the eastern part of its territory and it was this territory that, however, gradually became Chinhan. The people were practically under the rule of Mahan because most of their kings were from Mahan, although their culture was higher than that of Mahan and Penhan. At the south of Chinhan was Penhan being at the southern part of the modern

province of Kyengsang. The Penhan people were similar to the Chinhan people in both manner of living and customs; the only difference was that the Penhan people were physically superior to those of Chinhan. Both Chinhan and Penhan were absorbed into Siula when the Kingdom of Sinla attained its great power in the South.

4. Period of Three Kingdoms: The greatest epoch of the ancient history of Korea is the period of Samkook or the Three Kingdoms, namely, the Kingdom of Kokurye, of Paikchei, and of Sinla.

**Kingdom of Kokurye:** The founder of the Kingdom of Kokurye was Ko Chu-mong who was born in the family of the King of Pu ye. He founded an independent state with his capital at Jolpon, in 37 B.C. He aimed to restore all the lost territory in the north during the dynasties of Dankoon and Ki-ja. Hostilities began between Kokurye and China in 12 A.D. and lasted for several centuries. Kokurye was in constant

warfare with China and her sister countries, Sinla and Paikchei. Her army often crossed the Liao and sometimes advanced as far as the northern Shan-hsi of today. Throughout the whole of Southern Manchuria their fortresses and other historical places may still be seen.

In 28 B.C. the territory of Kokurye was extended to the sea and to the north. In 247 Kokurye took possession of the commandery of Rak-rang and made his capitol on the site of Pyeng-yang. The period of the greatest achievement was from the end of the fourth century to the beginning of the sixth century. Under the kings Kwangkaito and Changsu, Kokurye aided Sinla to drive out the Japanese invaders. In 512 A.D. China, under the Emperor Shu Yang-kwang, sent an army of over a million men to the western bank of the Yalu for the purpose of destroying Kokurye. Three hundred thousand of them crossed the Yalu and attacked Pyeng-yang, but they were all badly defeated by the army of Kokurye, led by the great General Eulji Moonduk. Only seven thousand of those three hundred thousand men went back to the Yalu alive.

In 645 A.D. China, under the Emperor Tang Taichong, sent an army of 300,000 to invade Kokurye, but the Chinese force was again driven back by the great General Yang Manchoon. China made several other attempts at invasion but without success.

After the great General Chunhap Somoon died, his two sons Namkun and Namsang fought each other for the purpose of obtaining the dominant power in the country. Finally Namsang called on foreign powers to intervene. In 668 A.D. the united army of Sinla and China came to conquer the Kingdom of Kokurye, and its whole territory gradually came under the control of Sinla.

Kingdom of Paikchei: The Kingdom of Paikchei was founded in 18 B.C. at Hanam by Ko Onjo, son of the King Dongmyeng of Kokurye. He crossed the river Han, and assumed the kingship among the Southern people who lived on the west of Mahan. This new state, like Kokurye, grew as a result of war. It absorbed the weak neighbours, and annexed Mahan in 9 A.D. For a

long time Paikchei retained the north bank of the river Han and even part of the Whanghai province but in 475 it was driven back by the force of Kokurye into the middle and lower valley of the Keum-kang and the valleys further south.

While it extended its territory by warfare, Paikchei also developed a great deal in art and literature. Paikchei established friendship with Japan, and it was Paikchei that enlightened the uncivilized Japanese with her religion, art, and literature including the Chinese classics, Confucian philosophy and the teachings of Buddha.

In the time of the King Euja, the country fell into luxury and leisure and neglected its defensive power. In 660 A.D. the rival country, Sinla, with the aid of its ally, China, came and crushed the Kingdom of Paikchei. Thus these three kingdoms came under one sovereign, the king of Sinla.

The Kingdom of Sinla and Its Unification: The Kingdom of Sinla was founded among the Chinhan people by Park Hyekkesi in 57 B.C. and it gradually expanded by absorbing the weak neighbours. Chinhan and Pyenhan,
as already mentioned, were all absorbed by Sinla.

On account of her geographical position, Sinla was isolated for a long time until at the beginning of the sixth century when she became inspired by Chinese culture. Now the Kings of Sinla reorganized their armies and widened their ambitions. Thus Sinla was organized into a strong military force and was able to drive back the Japanese invaders, who, ever since the beginning of the Christian era had constantly attacked the eastern coast of Sinla.

The allied force of Sinla and China, as said before, conquered the Kingdom of Kokyŏ and Paikchei, and the Kingdom of Siula then formed the three Kingdoms into one. It was the first time in the history of Korea that the whole peninsula came under one sovereign. It was done largely through the successful military genius of General Kim Eusin.

The material prosperity of Sinla left its imprint on Kyengchu, but the city was burned by Japanese invaders in the sixteenth century.

1. Madrolle, "Korea", p. 12
The kings of Sinla were succeeded by the descendants of three families—Park, Syek, and Kim. The Sinla dynasty ended in 935 whereupon the Korye dynasty began under the leadership of Wang Kun. The beginning of the Korye dynasty marks the end of the ancient history of Korea.

Concluding Observation: In this era of Three Kingdoms there was frequent warfare which naturally encouraged militarism. Each of these three independent states had its own policy in dealing with foreign nations. Siula was in alliance with China against the Japanese and she was hostile to her sister kingdoms Paikchei and Kokurye; Paikchei was in alliance with Japan, and hostile to Sinla and Kokurye; Kokurye stood courageously alone; and made constant warfare against China and was always hostile to Sinla, Paikchei, and Japan.

At the same time, these Three Kingdoms did not neglect religion, art, or science. Buddhism and Confucianism, Chinese art and literature were introduced and became well implanted. These Three Kingdoms, especially Paikchei and Sinla, then carried this culture to Japan.

The legendary records of the Japanese say that under the mythical Empress, Jingi, they came and conquered the peninsula in 200 A.D. and made it a tributary.

1. Huibert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 72-77
state. However, there is absolutely nothing in Korean annals to corroborate this. As Professor Hulbert said, "it is merely a fanciful tale, in which gods and goddesses and other extra human agencies are involved".

With reference to the paying of tribute, it should also be noticed that the customary usage of the word "tribute" in the Oriental histories has been very loose and ambiguous in meaning. While the Japanese claimed that Korea sent tribute to Japan, on the contrary there are several places recorded in the Korean annals that Japan sent tribute to Korea. There is no doubt that when a smaller or weaker state sent some token of friendship to a bigger or stronger state, it was recorded as tribute. Here is a clear instance. "On the occasions of Lord Macartney's mission to China in 1793 and of Lord Amberst's in 1816 as ambassadors of George III, the usual complimentary present which they offered to the Emperor is described in the Chinese official gazette as tribute, and the ambassadors themselves as tribute bearers to a superior power".

II. Medieval History

Finding of Korye: The Medieval History of Korea begins with the Korye dynasty. The founder of Korye was Wang Kun. He was a great general under Koong Yei who rebelled against Siula and carved out a kingdom for himself in Kyengkeui and the northern part of Kangwon. Koong Yei was assassinated by his soldiers whereupon Wang Kun took his place, and assumed the title of King of Korye. He allied himself with King Kyengsoon of Siula against Chin Huen, another rebel from Siula who made himself King of Paikchei in 892. Wang Kun overthrew this adversary and finally secured the abdication of King Kyengsoon of Siula in 935. He gradually unified Siula and Hu Paikchei into one kingdom, and the whole land of Korea came under one sovereign again.

More Buddhistic and Less Confucian Influences:
Many changes now took place. The old aristocracy and native hierarchy of the ancient dynasties disappeared.

1. The word "Korye" in the Chinese origin, Koy-ri, literally means "high and lovely" which was used to designate the high hills and lovely water body in the landscape of Korea. Koy-ri in Chinese, Korea or Corea in English, La Corée in French, etc. are all derived from this word "Korye".
The Korye dynasty accentuated the Chinese influence over its institutions and customs and adopted the Chinese system of examinations, and her hierarchy by administrative officials. The distinct difference between the new society and the old was marked by the domination of the bonzes, the rivalry between civil and military officers, the multiplication of slaves, the birth of a caste of administrative nobility, and the formation of a class of Confucian scholars. Buddhism was especially greatly encouraged by both King and people; expensive monasteries were built; the bonzes being royal tutors, often controlled the policy of the court. At the same time Confucianism was also encouraged, especially under the great scholar Ahn Yu.

**Foreign Invasions:** Now the caste system weakened the social structure and at the same time the strife between the bonzes, the civil and military officials was a menace to the whole country. The Kingdom of Palhái which was founded by the refugees of Kokurye and served as a buffer state to Korye against the incursions succumbed to the Keuiran in 925. The Ye-Chin also harassed Korye by their raids, but most of these invaders
were repulsed. In 993 the Keviran sent a powerful army of 400,000 men to invade Korye but without much success. The Keviran made several other attempts to invade Korye, but were finally driven back by General Kang Kanchan.

In 1218 the Mongol invasion began, and it continued nearly ten years. The country was rapaciously plundered by the Mongols under their leader, the Grand Khan, who had ambition to conquer Japan. Finally peace was secured as a result of the marriage of a Korean prince and a Mongol princess.

In 1361 there was another invasion from the north. This time it was the Hongdo or "Red Heads", wild robbers, numbering about 100,000 men. However, they were soon all driven out.

During all these invasions on the northern frontiers, the Japanese were making constant attacks along the southern and eastern coasts, although without much success. In this troublesome time of invasions by foreigners, the national defense was maintained largely through the military success of Ri Syengkei. The Korye dynasty ended with his reign in 1392.
III. Modern History

Ri Dynasty of Chosun: The beginning of the Ri dynasty of Chosuns is the beginning of the modern history of Korea. In one sense it is a very enlightened and progressive period, but in another sense it is full of great strife and tragic and shameful scenes. In 1392, the generals and soldiers deposed the King, Kongyang, of Korye, and put Ri Syengkei on the throne. When he came to rule in 1394, he applied the old name of Chosun to his kingdom.

Peace and Prosperity: Under this new dynasty Korea developed peacefully for two hundred years, and the Confucianists had an important role in this development. Among the first great Kings were Taijong, Seijong, and Seijo, all of whom recognized the power of the literati noblemen. These kings established examinations and rules of eligibility for office. They were surrounded by good and wise men, and they listened to the advice of the most learned.

In this period there were two remarkable inventions. One was the invention of movable metal type printing, made according to the decree of the King Taijong in 1403. This is much earlier than Guttenberg
founded his press in Europe. The other invention
was the phonetic alphabet of the Korean language.
It was devised by King Sejong, with the assistance
of scholars, and it was promulgated by an official
publication in 1443.

Domination of Confucianists or Literati: In the
following century, the literati were in great power.
They were grouped in official provincial schools, in
temples and colleges, or around celebrated teachers.
They communicated with each other, and freely voiced
their opinions about the government. Their doctrines
of government were formulated in these schools and then
by private petition and collective address, they were
imposed on the kings. Two of the latter, the Princes
Yensan and Kwanghai, opposed the advice of the literati,
and favoured Buddhism, but through the power of
the literati, they were deposed and replaced by other

1. Fifty pieces of this old type are now in the American
Museum of Natural History. See the full description of
its history and system of working published in the

2. Korea used the Chinese language in official publication
for a long time. The new alphabet was a new era in
Korean literature.
members of royal family. After that, those who wished to maintain their power must have good faith in the classical teachings of these scholars. Thus the influence of these literati gradually crushed out Buddhism. The bonzeries of Seoul were closed in 1512, and the bonzes were forbidden even to enter the capitol. Under the King, Jungjong, the power of the literati reached its highest point. Their influence continues to some extent even to the present time.

Of course, these literati were also often exiled or put to death, when they became unbearable to the kings. Now these Confucianists, or literati, had so much power and influence for so long a time that they began to contend among themselves. In 1575 the nobles divided into two hostile parties, the Dong-in and Sei-in. Another party, the Peuk-in was formed under the Prince of Kwanghai. These party agitations were disturbing, but during this period flourished the most venerable and renowned scholars such as Ri Teykei, Sung Evkei, and Ri Lyulkok, all of whom lived prior to 1592.

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea," p. 90-93
Horrible Japanese Invasion: During this period of literati influence and power, the militaristic party was ignored and the national defense became very weak. The Japanese, under Taiko Hideyosi, took this chance to invade Korea. The Japanese had some commercial relations with Korea along the southeastern coast but since they invaded the coast so often and disturbed the peace, the Koreans did not care to maintain this relationship with them. In 1588 Taiko Hideyosi sent a communication to Korea for the purpose of renewing former intercourse but Korea made no response to it. In 1591, a Japanese envoy came to announce that Taiko Hideyosi was about to invade China, that the Japanese troops must pass through Korea, and that they neede the support of Korea. However, the Korean government refused Japan's demand. In May 1592 Taiko Hideyosi invaded Korea with an armed force of more than a million men. Within a few months the invaders occupied many important parts of the country. The Korean King Was compelled to move from his capitol to Pyeng-yang and to Ewiju. The Japanese soldiers plundered whereve they went—they burned the houses, assaulted the women, slaughtered men and children, and carried away everything of value.
Among the most notable leaders of this time were General Kim Duklyeng whose ability and courage for generalship was admired even by the Japanese, and Admiral Ri Soonsin who invented an iron ship known as the "tortoise ship". By means of these ships, he checked almost the entire naval force of the enemy in that war.

The people rose voluntarily for the defense of their country; even the bonzes united under the order of the leading monks and took up arms. Korea also called on the Chinese army for aid. In 1593, the King was enabled to return to Seoul from which he had been compelled to flee, but this warfare continued for nearly seven years. Upon the death of Hideyosi, in 1598, the Japanese troops were withdrawn from Korea. Peace negotiations began but Korea refused to take part in any negotiations until in 1609 when a treaty was concluded by the Korean and the Japanese representatives.

1. This ship was named thus because it looked like a tortoise. It was made of wooden boards inside and iron plate, with sharp points, on the outside. All sides of this ship had gun holes. Thus it enabled soldiers from its interior to attack their enemies on all sides. This ship was the first of its kind.
Japan gained nothing in this war except weakening the power of Korea. On the other hand she developed a bitter hatred among the Koreans because the people young and old, could never forget the awful crimes committed by the Japanese in their country.

**Manchu Invasion:** The Manchu, who were the nearest neighbours of Korea, were getting very powerful about the middle of the seventeenth century and made plans to conquer the Chinese Empire. In 1627 the Manchu invaded Korea when Korea had not yet recovered from the terrible seven-year invasion of Japan. These Manchu invaders got in as far as Kangwha where King Injo had taken refuge, and a treaty was made at the point of the sword, but Korea did not respect such a treaty, and the Manchu army invaded again and forced the King to accept a new treaty in February, 1637. The court of Korea now planned revenge, but the Manchu were getting more and more powerful. In 1644 they crushed the Ming dynasty of China and gained control of the whole Chinese Empire. They treated Korea as only a tributary state and assumed only nominal obligations toward her.

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 103-110
Party Agitations; Their Peace and Prosperity:

After passing through these terrible invasions of the Japanese and Manchus the government of Korea tried to restore its national strength by means of such measures as revising the methods of taxation, reorganizing the army, and limiting slavery. But strife between the parties soon began over a doctrinal question. Song Si-lyel, premier minister and one of the most celebrated scholars, was opposed to the leader of the Nam-in. The partisans of Song Si-lyel were themselves divided into the factions of Lo-ron and So-ron. They made threats against each other, but through the efforts of King Yengjo, these enmities were partially suppressed.

The reign of Yengjo and those of his two successors, Jeungjong and Sunjo, were prosperous and peaceful. Learning was especially encouraged; many works were carefully compiled and printed; and attention was given to the erection of handsome and substantial public buildings.

Rule by Daiwonkoon: In 1834, there began a long period of reigns by minors; the government became corrupt and the country became weak and defenceless. The country was thrust in unfortunate circumstances under the reign
of the Minor Kwangmu. Daiwonkoon was the regent of the Minor and ruled the country with his absolute power from 1863 to 1874. He was the father of the Minor, and he was a man of courage and heroism but he was lacking in education. He rendered some valuable service by abolishing the special privileges of the literati, reforming the corrupt system of taxation to some extent, and checking the party agitations among the nobles. But at the same time, he did his country great harm by imposing heavy burdens on the people in order to erect expensive public buildings, by spending much time and energy in fighting against the Min party, by persecuting Christians, by refusing foreign intercourse, and by his ignorance of world affairs.

Fate of Korea: When the period of Minority was overt, Kwangmu, assumed power. But he was weak in nature, and lacked the energy and ability to suppress the dispute between Daiwonkoon and the Queen Min, and to relieve his suffering people. He surrounded himself with unpatriotic and selfish men.

However, after Korea was opened to foreign trade, there was much hope for the future of Korea through the unselfish effort of certain progressive leaders. Unfortunately, Japan began to intervene with her cunning intrigues. Because of these Japanese intrigues Korea became a battle field twice within a decade; Queen Min was brutally murdered; Kwangmu was forced to abdicate; the independence of Korea was destroyed; the people were compelled to suffer the most appalling conditions; and Korea's history of self-government which covered a period of over four thousand years came to an end. More than this, it was the most intolerable and the most disgraceful period ever experienced by the Koreans. The following chapters will present more detailed facts.

IV. Government--The Old and the New, and Their Comparison.

The Old Government: The Korean government, before it was controlled by Japan, seemed to be an absolute monarchy. In one aspect, however, it seemed to be a limited monarchy. There was a written constitution, though largely circumscribed by the monarch, which limited his power and accorded certain rights to the
people. Besides, his powers were limited by unwritten law, custom, and precedent. "In its workings the Emperor appears to have absolute power of life and death over his subjects; and yet, while he may appoint a judge who will, regardless by law and justice, carry out the wishes of his Imperial Master, he cannot deprive the poorest citizen of his life and liberty without, at least, the form and due process of law". It was also noted that the powers of the monarch largely depended upon the two factors, information and instrument.

Since the monarch was the supreme head of the government, all final reference was made to him, and he took the advice of the Grand Council of State. (Evijeng Pu). This Council was composed of the Admirable Councillor or Prime Minister (Lyeng-Evijeng), the Councillor on the Left (Cha-Evijeng), and the Councillor on the Right (U-Evijeng), the Left having precedence over the Right. They formed the ultimate tribunal of all affairs which affected the realm. The Prime minister was next to the monarch in authority. With the aid of his two colleagues he attended to the private business of the monarch, supervised the appointment

1. Underwood, "The Call of Korea", p. 36-37
2. Hulbert- "The Passing of Korea", p. 45-46
of officials, and took the lead in times of sudden calamity or trouble. They stood between the monarch and all the other officials of the government, "and no measures were adopted in any branch which did not come under their eyes".

The next governmental branch which had high rank was the Court of Censors (Sahen Pu). It was a special office, quite independent, and ranked with that of Prime Minister. Its functions were to scrutinize the acts of the Ministers of State and even the monarch himself, point out mistakes and dangers to examine all bills, and approve all appropriations of money.

Under the Grand Council were: the Privy Council (Seung-jeng Won); the Court of Remonstrance (Sakan won); the High Court of Justice (Ewikeum Pu); the six ministerial departments (Ryuk Jo) which were composed of civil officers (Rijo), Census (Hojo), Ritis (Ryejo), Way (Pyeng-jo), Justice (Hyang jo), and Works (Kongjo); the Royal Printing Office (Kyose Kwan), the Academies called Hongmun Kwan and Yeimun Kwan; the College of 1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea" p. 48
2. Ibid, p. 47-48
Historiographs (Choa'unchu Kwan); the Curty of Interpreters (Sayek Won); and several minor ones. The Six Ministerial departments had important functions ranking next to those of the Grand Council. The heads of these tribunals made a daily report of all affairs within their province but referred all the important matters to the Grand Council. The acts and words of the king were recorded every day by three chamberlains, each of whom had assistants; information concerning official matters was issued in the Chopo, the daily government gazette. After the Hermit Kingdom opened to the western powers in 1882 two new ministerial departments were formed, modelled after the Western government. There were the Council for Home Affairs (Wai Mu Pu) and the Council for Foreign Affairs (Buamoon).

The kingdom was divided into thirteen provinces, each having a governor, who was aided by civil and military officers. The provinces were divided into 342 prefectures or counties (Kol) with county seats under district magistration. The county was divided into townships (Kyen), and the township was subdivided

1. Griffis, "Corea the Hermit Nation" p. 230
2. Prior to 1897 the country was divided into eight provinces and 330 counties.
into villages (Ri). The government, as a whole, was highly centralized with the capital, Seoul, as its center. The expenditure by the government was borne by land taxes, scutage, mining dues, customs dues and excise or miscellaneous dues.

A system of civil service competitive examination was in vogue in the capital and in the provincial cities. In theory, every office and position was open to any male Korean able to pass the government examination, regardless of birth or wealth qualification. But in practice, the examiners were so fraudulent that usually the best positions were given to nobles and their friends. The administrative officers in the government under Kwangmu were corrupt and cruel. This was largely due to the weak monarch who, as mentioned before, was surrounded by influential men of evil designs. And it followed that the appointive officers were of the same type.

The New Government: The Japanese Governor-General of Korea has power over all Korea, being the commander of the army and navy but he is under the direct control of the Emperor of Japan. Within the sphere assigned to him he controls all affairs pertaining
to the defence of Korea and supervises all Korean political affairs.

In the Government-General there is a director General of Political Affairs, whose function is to assist the Governor-General and to control the official business of the Government-General and other departments and bureaus of the same. The Government-General is divided into a secretariats' office and five departments—the Departments of Internal Affairs: Finance; Agriculture; Commerce and Industry; and Justice. Each of these departments has a Director instead of a minister. Besides these there are a few affiliated offices of the Government-General, such as a Central Council, a Railway Bureau, a Communication Bureau, etc. All the other departments of the Old Korean Government were abolished. The system of the local government has not been changed from the old Korean form except that all the important positions are now filled by the Japanese.

The Japanese Government of Korea is an absolute militaristic autocracy. The Governor-General has usually been a noted warrior—either a general or an

admiral. All the laws and regulations of the country are made by the Japanese only for the interests of Japan. the Japanese residents are under special regulations and laws. Thus discrimination is made against the natives. The actual workings and effects of this alien government will be shown in the following chapters, but it may be desirable to say a few words comparing the general character of the Japanese administration with that of the old regime.

As already brought out, the old government of Korea, under Kwangmu, was corrupt and cruel, and the people suffered severely. But the new government under the Japanese is no better than the old one, in fact, it is even worse. Even at the time of the protectorate the conditions were deplorable although Prince Ito was the Resident General and he has been considered the best Japanese administrator that Korea ever had. Speaking of this period, Dr. Underwood says: "Today, much as we had hoped from the promises of the present rulers, matters are no better than before, in many places worse, as the native has not only to cope with the oppression of the officials of his own nationality,
but added to this, the rapacity of both foreign
officials and colonists . . . and thus far the con-
ditions are certainly worse than they were, and it is
earnestly to be hoped that the controlling power will
make good her loud promises to the world, and see that
common justice is done in Korea".

Moreover, the old Korean government never will-
fully intended to check the progress of the people as
the Japanese government in Korea is doing now. Japan ' is keeping the people ignorant by restricting education
and travel, and by ignoring their wants and aspirations
although the people are wanting only the common oppor-
tunities for intellectual, moral, and physical development.
The Japanese officers are alien in blood and interests,
and they work systematically and scientifically only
for the benefit of their own people. Thus Mr. McKengie,
one of the leading British authorities of the Far
Eastern affairs, who has been a personal observer in
the Korean conditions under the old and the new regime,
says: "The old tyranny of the Yangban was replaced by
a more terrible, because more scientifically cruel, 

1. "The Call of Korea", p. 39
2. "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 6-7
CHAPTER III
KOREA OPENED: JAPAN'S INTERFERENCE

Opening of Hermit Kingdom

"Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century Korea refused all intercourse with foreign nations... When outside Governments made friendly approaches, and offered to show Korea the wonders of modern civilization, they received the haughty reply that Korea was quite satisfied with its own civilization, which endured for four thousand years." 1

The delay of the opening of Korea was due to at least three reasons. (1) The Korean Government was afraid to open its land to foreign trade because, in the past, whenever foreigners came to Korea, they frequently did her harm. This was especially true of the Japanese. (2) During the last half of the nineteenth century the two leading figures in the Court were Daiwonkoon, (the father of the King) and Queen Min, both of whom were ignorant of world affairs. (3) The people in general, especially, the Confucianists, thought that the Koreans had sufficient civilizations and resources of their own, and did not care to learn or obtain anything from foreigners.

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was omitted in the original.
Before Korea was opened to the Westerners, trade was carried on mainly with the Chinese and Japanese and then only at Pusan, Ewiju, Henryeng, and Kyengwon. The commerce was supervised by mandarins and limited in its nature and amounts. At the end of the eighteenth century Catholic missionaries began to smuggle themselves into Korea, despite their persecution. Since then, other foreigners have tried to gain an entrance to Korea from time to time but without much success until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

In January of 1866 a Russian gunboat dropped anchor in the harbour of Wonsan and asked for trade relations with Korea but their request was denied. This developed more fear of foreign aggression. Daiwonkoon then began to persecute the Catholic missionaries and their converts because he thought that the increase of Christians would bring foreign influence in the country. A number of Catholic missionaries were put to death on the pretext of disobeying the demand of the ruler, and the native Catholics were almost wiped out in a most cruel way. But in the same year, the crew of an American steamer, the Surprise, wrecked
off the coast of Whanghai province "were treated with all possible honour and consideration, and were returned home, through Manchuria, officials conducting them and the people coming out to greet them as they travelled through the land." Hence it is evident that the Koreans were hospitable to strangers who came to them by accident or to those foreigners whom they knew came to them with no intention of doing their country any harm. On the contrary, when foreigners came to spread propaganda or want commercial rights, the government made all possible effort to keep them out.

The French Minister at Peking sent a strong expedition to the Han River in order to revenge the death of the Catholic priests. It attacked the forts on the Kangwha Island but was finally forced to retire. Then on account of the Franko-Prussian War, France could not send another expedition.

In 1866 an American ship the General Sherman, came to Korea from Tientsin "for the purpose, it was rumoured, of plundering the royal tombs at Pyengyang".

1. Ibid, pp. 18-19.
When it entered the Daidong River it was ordered to stop but disobeyed the order, and a fight occurred between it and the Koreans. The captain ran his ship aground because he did not know the soundings of the river, and the ship and its crew were destroyed by the Koreans. In the following year there was another disreputable expedition headed by a German Jew, Ernest Oppert, and an American by the name of Jenkins. They came to Korea from Shanghai with a strong fighting crew and with a French missionary priest, M. Feron, as their guide. They landed on a dark foggy day which enabled them to carry on their work of plundering the royal tombs near the capital. While they were in the act of removing the immense stones over the graves, they were discovered by the Koreans and had to return to their ship, the China. All of them escaped before the Korean troops arrived. All such events led the Regent to hate the foreigners more than ever. Jenkins was put on trial by the American consular authorities in Shanghai, but not enough evidence was found to convict him.

Now the killing of the Crew of the General Sherman brought America to action in 1871, and accordingly, an American expedition, consisting of five vessels, was sent to Korea, under the charge of Admiral Rogers. It was understood, however, that the purpose of this expedition was not only to settle the case of the mistreatment of American seamen but mainly to open up trade relations with Korea. So Frederick F. Low, the American minister at Peking, went along with the fleet to conduct the diplomatic proceedings. But the Korean reply was not satisfactory.

A short fight then followed between the American force and the Koreans. The Americans with their superior guns destroyed the fort on the Han river, and the marines and sailors landed and captured a hill fort. Then the victorious part withdrew by respecting the independence of Korea.

Now Korea was no longer to be a hermit nation, and she was obliged to open her door to other nations. The first foreign treaty of Korea was signed with Japan in 1876, and diplomatic representatives were exchanged in 1879. Commodore Schnfeldt was made American envoy to Korea and drew up a treaty between Korea and the
United States on May 22, 1882. General Foote was sent as first American minister to Korea, and Hon. Min Yung-ik was sent as first Korean ambassador to the United States. A treaty with Great Britain was concluded in November 26, 1883, and treaties with other nations followed. "Korea was now a recognized member, in good and regular standing, of the family of treaty powers".

Coming of Japanese.

Ever since the ruthless Japanese invasion of Korea, made by Hideyoshi in the closing years of the sixteenth century, the Korean policy had been to cut off intercourse with Japan in spite of her anxiety for Korean intercourse. It was especially true that after Japan adopted the modern system of military science, she tried many times to renew relations with Korea, but with no success. So Japan made plans to open Korea by force.

It was in 1876 that a Japanese war-vessel suddenly approached the Korean coast. It was fired on by a Korean fort, but a company of the Japanese troops

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 123
landed and the fort was taken. The situation became critical but war was not formally declared. However, under pressure of this event Korea was compelled to sign a treaty of peace and friendship with Japan agreeing to open several ports to Japanese trade and allowing Japan to send a minister to Korea. Besides, the first and second clauses of the Article I of the treaty definitely assert as follows:

"Chosun being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.

"In order to prove the sincerity of the friendship existing between the two nations, their intercourse shall henceforward be carried on in terms of equality and courtesy, each avoiding the giving of offence by arrogance or manifestations of suspicion".

A Japanese minister by name of Hanabusa was sent to Seoul in 1879, and Korea sent an envoy to Japan. Now Japan had very keen eyes upon affairs in Korea. She soon found out that Korea was weak and defenseless, that the government was corrupt, and that if there be no interference from among other powers, 1

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 120
2. For full document of the treaty see Chung, "Korean Treaties", p. 205
Japan could easily subjugate Korea to the interest of the Imperialistic policy of Japan. But there was one obstacle in the way and that was China, who claimed that she had a protectorate over Korea for centuries although she had never interfered with Korean affairs before. Now Japan's sole purpose was to cut off this nominal relation between China and Korea as completely as possible so as to prevent any interference with Japan's policy in Korea. But the Chinese, with their habitual pride of the past, merely despised and ignored the Japanese and had no fear of aggression.

The rivalry of two parties—Daiwonkoon, the father of the King, and Queen Min—made the domestic situation unsettled before the foreigners came in. When Daiwonkoon was in power, he used every possible means to prevent the entering of the foreigners and at the same time, he kept up his contention with the Queen. After the King was over the period of his minority and Daiwonkoon became ex-Regent, the King was in a difficult position, being between the two parties, and he was also weak and easily influenced. The court was practically dominated by the ambitious Queen. Her policy was to drive the ex-Regent's party out of office and advocate
the admission of foreigners. Her brother, Min Yeung-ho, became Prime Minister and her nephew, Min-Yung-ik, was sent as Ambassador to the United States. It must be mentioned here that, through the Queen's party, the Japanese were admitted to Korea. The ex-Regent, though out of power, was very courageous and active in politics, and he tried to strengthen his party by a policy of destroying the Queen's party. There was also a growing sentiment of strife between the Progressive and the Conservative parties. The Japanese were keenly interested in all such circumstances in Korea.

**Military Riot.**

Under such conditions there came the military riot of 1882. It was caused by the wretched treatment of the troops at the hands of corrupt officers. The ex-Regent's agents were busy with their agitations against the Queen's party. Many of the King's soldiers and retainers were ready for trouble. When the riot broke out, the Queen's party was the main object of attack. The angry mob first attacked and murdered the Ministers, and the members of the Queen's family, and destroyed
their houses—many of them were killed and others had to flee. Then the palace was invaded, and the Queen was saved only by strategy.

The next move of the crowd was directed against the Japanese Legation which was regarded as friendly to the Queen. The Minister, Hanabus, and his guard with all the Japanese civilians fought their way through the city to Chemulpo and thence to Japan. The Legation building was burned and several Japanese were killed. The ex-Regent was then called back to power to settle the disturbance.

Japan was greatly angered over this incident, and made loud demands for war. Count Inovye arrived at Chemulpo and attempted negotiations in order to settle the difficulty, but the Regent practically ignored the proposals.

Meanwhile China took action through the interest and influence of Queen Min's party, and Li Hong-Chang sent 4,000 troops to Seoul on the pretext of settling the difficult situation. One of their officers was the well-known Yuan Shih-kei. What took place is best stated by Mr. McKenzie: "The Chinese, with elaborate courtesy, invited him (the Regent) to a banquet and
to inspect their ships. There was one ship, in particular, to which they called his honourable attention. They begged him to go aboard and note the wonders of the apartments below. The Regent went. Once below, he found the door shut, and could hear the robes being thrown off as the ship hastily departed. It was in vain for him to call for his attendants and warriors waiting on the shore. Thus Daiwonkoon was taken to China, and was not permitted to return to Korea for three years.

In the meantime the Queen came back to power after her temporary banishment. The Japanese Minister, Hanabusa returned to Seoul with a strong military escort, and "demanded and obtained punishment of the murderers, the honourable burial of the Japanese dead, an indemnity of 400,000 yen, and further privileges in trade for the Japanese." Now the Chinese had quite a firm hand on the government and "held it there by virtue of the fact that they had acted as the Queen's deliverers". It was the first time for centuries that China maintained a considerable force at Seoul.

1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom" p. 27
2. Ibid, p. 27
3. Hulbert, "The Passong of Korea", p. 123
Kapsin Reformation

In view of China's action, the Queen's party became pro-Chinese and distrusted the Japanese. Japan knew it and tried to gain further advantage by demanding still more concessions. "The Korean rulers found it hard to refuse these determined little men. So they adopted a policy of procrastination, arguing endlessly. Now Japan was in a hurry, and could not wait".

Korea was in the transitional period between the old and the new regimes. Like many other old countries Korea at this time had two elements—the old and the new and progressive party. The Queen's party was naturally composed of the old and conservative elements. The new and progressive elements, sometimes called radicals, sought to add to their strength. It was a good opportunity for Japan to conspire with this new party and help overthrow the Queen's party and then to set up a government favorable to the Japanese.

The Japanese Minister at Seoul was Takezoi, being "timid and hesitating constitutionally, but like many timid folks, acting at times with great rashness".

1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 28
2. Ibid p. 28
The secretary to the Legation was Shumamura, a man of "stronger and rougher type", and who kept in close touch with the new party. A rumour had been started to the effect that a secret treaty had been signed by the King, recognizing Chinese supremacy in Korea. Both the Reformers and the Japanese were grieved to see the growth of Chinese influence. They thought Queen Min was against them. Min Yung-ik, the Queen's nephew, had been in their party when he returned from America, but now under the Queen's influence, he took the other side.

The leader of the New party was Kim Oak-kiun, and his chief supporters were Park Yunghyo, relative of the King, Hong Yungsik, the new Postmaster General, and Sye Kwangpum, another minister. Kim and Shumamura discussed ways and means for reforming the government. "The reformers were to overthrow the reactionaries in the cabinet by the only possible way, killing them; they were then in the King's name to grant Japan further commercial concessions, and the Japanese were to raise a considerable loan which should be handed over. Ibid.
to Kim for necessary purposes." Takezoji was also satisfied with this plan. After he visited Tokyo, he came back with the strong intention of making war on China, and drive every Chinese out of the land. Detailed plans for carrying out the plot were carefully made. Shumamira urged Kim to make haste. He said, "Japan is ready for anything". The Japanese also promised to aid the reformers with both ammunition and troops. The Commander of the Palace Guard was a strong sympathizer and willing to give the conspirators a free hand.

The occasion for starting war was the opening of the new post-office on December 4th. At that time Hong Yung-ik gave the official banquet at which all the high officers were present. The palace was occupied by the reformers' soldiers, led by Sye Jai-pil, by Japanese troops, and some Korean soldiers under General Han Kijuik. It followed that all the high officers who were involved in the plot were either killed or wounded. Many edicts were drawn up which the King was compelled to sign, and many kinds of

1. Ibid. p. 29.
2. Ibid. p. 31.
reforms were promised by the King. A new cabinet was formed. Among the reform leaders Hong Yunggik was made Prime Minister, Kim Oak-Kiun was made second officer of the Royal Treasury, and Sye Jai-pil was made General Commanding of a Guard Regiment.

As soon as the news of the plot became known, the people became enraged and resorted to violence. Any Japanese who appeared in the streets were killed outright. The Japanese minister and the Reformers were confined in the palace and hemmed in by a mob. They were then quite helpless as they were short of ammunition since the Japanese Legation where the ammunition was kept was guarded by the mob. Meanwhile the Queen smuggled a message out to General Yuan Shih-kai who had remained in Korea ever since the Military Riot. General Yuan came to demand admission to the palace, but he was refused by the Japanese soldiers on guard. Then he brought 2,000 Chinese troops to attack them, and he was aided by a large body of Korean soldiers and the mass of the population who supported the King and the Queen. A great fight followed until the ammunition of the defenders gave out. Meanwhile the New Premier Hong was suddenly slain
by one of the personal attendants of the King. On the night of the 7th of December the Reformers and the Japanese troops went back to the Legation and were there attacked by the mob. The Japanese houses and the houses of the leaders of the Reformers, were burned. The next night the Japanese and the Reformers battled their way to Chemulpo where they took a Japanese mail steamer back to Japan.

The Reformers thought that Japan would immediately wage war against China, but the Japanese were not yet ready. Later on, the Korean Reformers realized, that they had been misled and had been the tools of the Japanese diplomats.

The King and the Court pardoned all the offenders except Kim the leader. Finally, Kim was assassinated by a government agent at Shanghai.

It was regretted that the reformers had failed, and it was also regretful that they had not depended on themselves instead of allowing foreigners to intrigue them. But after all, the Koreans honour these pioneer reformers who sacrificed their lives in the interest of sincere motives.

1. For further facts regarding the reform movement, see Ibid, p. 28-41
Cause and Effect of China-Japanese War

Now Japan fully understood that she could not retain a hold on Korea as long as the Chinese-influenced the Korean Government. She also realized that she could gain her ends only by means of the sword. For the next ten years Japan prepared for war on China, "and during that time the real focus of the Far Eastern drama, was not Tokyo nor Peking, but Seoul". When Japan was ready she created the occasion that should bring on war.

Meanwhile China merely despised Japan and did not prepare herself to meet that little country. The Koreans in general felt bitter toward Japan because they learned that the Japanese were incited by purely selfish motives and always resorted to intrigues against them. Not only the Japanese diplomatic agents but the Japanese settlers had always been the tools of their government in its encroachment on the natives. Thus Lord Curzon (then the Hon. G.W. Curzon) the famous English statesman, after visiting Korea in the early nineties, said: "The race hatred between Koreans and Japanese is the most striking phenomena in contemporary

Chosun (Korea). Civil and obliging in their own country the Japanese develop in Korea a faculty for bullying and bluster that is the result partly of nation vanity, partly of memories of the past. The lower orders ill-treated the Koreans on every possible opportunity, and are cordially detested by them in return."

The old Regent returned from China in 1885 after the power of his party was almost gone, but he still found friends and adherents all over the country. He could not forget that China had stood by the Queen's party and had mistreated him, so he became a friend of the Japanese whom he used to oppose. He soon became a very useful instrument for them.

Then there came another favorable opportunity furnished by the Donghaks. The external view of the Donghaks presented only their religious nature but their inner idea was politics. The Donghaks were secretly organized and were composed mainly of the lower class of people. There can be no better description in a brief form than what Mr. McKenzie writes regarding the reality of the Donghaks.

"Few of the Donghaks had any idea that their movement was being organized under Japanese influences. It did not suit Japan that Korea should develop independently and too rapidly. Disturbances would help to keep her back.

"When the movement was ripe, Japan set her puppets to work. The Donghaks were suddenly found to be possessed of arms, and some of their units were trained and showed remarkable military efficiency. Their avowed purpose was to drive all foreigners, including the Japanese, out of the country; but this was mere camouflage. The real purpose was to provoke China to send troops to Korea, and so give Japan an excuse for war.

"The Japanese had secured an agreement from China in 1885 that both countries should withdraw their troops from Korea and should send no more there without informing and giving notice to the other. When the Donghaks, thirty thousand in number, came within a hundred miles of Seoul, and actually defeated a small Korean force led by Chinese, Yuan Shih-kai-saw that something must be done. If the rebels were allowed to reach and capture the capital, Japan would have an
excuse for intervention. He induced the King to ask for Chinese troops to come and put down the uprising; and, as required by the regulations, due notice of their coming was sent to Japan.

"This was what Japan wanted. She poured troops over the channel until there were 10,000 in the capital. Then she showed her hand". The Japanese Minister, Otori, strongly demanded of the King that he should renounce Chinese supremacy, and further demanded wholesale concessions, railways rights and a monopoly of gold mining in Korea. A few days later, Japan having confidence that European and American powers would not intervene brought her troops to menace the Capital and then commanded the King to accept their demands unconditionally and to give the Chinese troops three days' notice to withdraw from the land. But the King refused to do anything.

The China-Japanese war was declared on July 25, 1894 and Korea became the battle field. Japan was victorious, and the Peace Treaty was signed at Shimonoseki on April 17, 1895.

We must remember that Japan's real intention was to gain control of Korea. Thus before actual fighting began the Japanese seized the royal palace on the trumped up excuse that Korean soldiers had fired on them. They wanted the old Regent to be an actual ruler, as he was in the King's minority, but he himself was not willing to do so. Then they compelled the King to follow their instructions, and he was obliged to sign a new treaty. This treaty declared that Korean independence was confirmed and so the Chinese troops must be driven out of the country; that during the period of the China-Japanese war Korea must facilitate the movements and help furnish food supplies to the Japanese troops; and that this treaty should last until the conclusion of peace with China.

The victory over China brought the realization of the old dream of Japan. She now had a free hand in Korea. She began the so-called reformation in Korea, by putting only those persons in the important offices who were favorable to the Japanese policy and even those were under Japanese advisers. Numerous ordinances

were made — some of which might be considered useful but others were harmful. During that time the King was badly treated by the Japanese troops in the palace, and the whole population was restless and worried about the ever-changing laws enacted through the influences of the Japanese advisers.

Japan had the ambition to take over the whole country at once under her sovereignty. But she was in doubt about the attitude of the Western powers so that she decided to allow Korea to retain a nominal independence. The Japanese troops were withdrawn from the palace, as a result of the entreaties of the King and his Ministers, but only on the condition a number of concessions be given to Japan allowing her almost a monopoly of industry in Korea. The Korean soldiers who replaced the Japanese troops in the palace were at first not allowed to have regular arms; later, they were permitted to carry muskets without ammunition. Furthermore Japanese troops still retained possession of the palace gate and adjoining buildings.

1. Ibid, p. 47, ff.
Under the Japanese supremacy, it naturally followed that all the influential men of the Queen's party were driven out of public offices. The Japanese soldiers and immigrants acted as conquerors, and the Japanese government presented further demands to the King which, if granted, would give the Japanese a monopoly of the entire trade of Korea. In this instance the foreign representatives protested.

The Japanese Minister was recalled being replaced by County Inoyye who was considered the best type of Japanese diplomat that Korea had ever had. While he was working for the interests of his countrymen, he also saw the injustice committed by his people in Korea. He protested publicly and privately against the violence and treachery of the Japanese immigrants pouring into Korea, and he denounced their lack of cooperation, their arrogance, and extravagance. He plainly declared: "If the Japanese continue in their arrogance and rudeness, all respect and love due to them will be lost and there will remain hatred and enmity against them".

1. McKenzie, Quoted on P. 50
Under his influence several of the participants in the emeute of 1884 were brought back from Japan. Park Yungkino, who had had a part in the reformation, was made the Minister of Home Affairs, but under the suspicion of the Queen, he had to flee from the country.

**Murder of the Queen**

Another sinister event occurred in the political theater of that day in Korea. In September 1695 a new Japanese Minister, Viscount General Miura, came to succeed Count Inovye. A great change was imminent. At this time Japan had two different policies regarding the Korean situation: One was the radical policy which advocated strong measures with the object of completely overthrowing all opposition in Korea; the other was the conservative policy, a policy for attaining the same object by gradual and pacific means. The appointment of Viscount Miura was a part of the extreme radical policy.

Meanwhile the Queen worked quietly to restore the power of her party. The King was under her influence.

1. Hülbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 135
2. Ibid.
taking her advice in everything, and both the Japanese and the Regent were frequently checked by her. She gradually removed the pro-Japanese and pro-Regent elements from the high offices and replaced them with men who were favorable to her policy. In other words, the Queen was the chief obstacle for Japan to carry out her plan in Korea at that time.

The Japanese then planned to get rid of her. The Secretary of the Japanese Legation, Fukashi Sugimura, enlisted the aid of Miura in checking the power of the Queen. The old Regent, the bitter opponent of the Queen also lent his aid. Finally a conference was held between the Japanese Minister and his two leading officials, Sugimura a and Okamoto. "The decision arrived at on that occasion was that assistance should be rendered to the Daiwonkoon's (Regent's) entry into the palace by making use of the Kunrentai, who, being hated by the Court, felt themselves in danger, and of the young men who deeply lamented the course of events, and also by causing the Japanese troops stationed in Seoul to offer support to the enterprise. It was further resolved
that this opportunity should be availed of for taking the life of the Queen, who exercised over-
whelming influence in the Court".

The Regent received detailed instructions from the Japanese Minister, and all other arrangements were carefully made by the Japanese so that the attack on the palace, the murder of the Queen, and all the other consequences could be effected systematically. The Legation issued orders to various people, and official directions were given to the commander of the Japanese battalion in Seoul.

In the night of the 8th of October the conspirators gathered at the front of the residence of the Regent. The Japanese and the Regent then proceeded to the palace. A horrible scene followed.

"The party advanced, with the Kunrentai troops to the front. Behind them were the police, the officers in charge, and twenty-six Japanese. An inner group of these, about half of them, had special orders to find the Queen and kill her. The gates of the palace were in the hands of Japanese soldiers, so the conspirators had free admission. Most of the

1. For detailed statement see McKenzie's "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 52 ff.

2. The quotation from Japanese official report was quoted by McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom" p. 52.
regular troops paraded outside, according to orders. Some went inside the grounds, accompanied by the rabble, and others moved to the sides of the palace, surrounding it to prevent any from escaping. A body of men attacked and broke down the wall near to the royal apartments.

"... The Japanese made straight for it, and, when they reached the small courtyard in front, their troops paraded up before the entrances, while the soshi broke down the doors and entered the rooms. Some caught hold of the King and presented him with a documents by which he was to divorce and repudiate the Queen. Despite every threat, he refused to sign this. Others were pressing into the Queen's apartments. The Minister of the Household tried to stop them, but was killed on the spot. The soshi seized the terrified palace ladies, who were running away, dragged them round and round by their hair, and beat them, demanding that they should tell where the Queen was. They moaned and cried and declared that they did not know. Now the men were pressing into the side-rooms, some of them hauling the palace ladies by
their hair. Okamoto, who led the way, found a little
woman hiding in a corner, grabbed her head, and asked
if she were the Queen. She denied it, freed herself,
with a sudden jerk, and ran into the corridor
shouting as she ran. Her son, who was present, heard
her call his name three times, but, before she
could utter more, the Japanese were on her and
had cut her down. Some of the female attendants
were dragged up, shown the dying body, and made to
recognize it, and then three of them were put to
the sword.

"The conspirators had brought kerosene with
them. They threw a bedwrap around the Queen, probably
not yet dead, and carried her to a grove of trees
in the deer park not far away. There they poured
the oil over her, piled faggots of wood around, and
set all on fire. They fed the flames with more and
more kerosene, until everything was consumed save a
few bones. Almost before the body was alight the
Regent was being borne in triumph to the palace
under an escort of triumphant Japanese soldiers. He
at once assumed control of affairs. The King was
made a prisoner in his palace. The Regent's partizans
were summoned to form a Cabinet, and orders were given that all officials known to be friendly to the Queen's party should be arrested.

"The Japanese were not content with this. They did everything they could, the Regent aiding them, to blacken the memory of the murdered women. A forged Royal Decree, supposed to have been issued by the King, was officially published, denouncing Queen Min, ranking her among the lowest prostitutes, and assuming that she was not dead, but had escaped, and would again come forward. 'We know the extreme of her wickedness', said the decree, 'but we were helpless and full of fear of her party, and so could not dismiss and punish her. We are convinced that she is not only unfitted and unworthy to be Queen, but also that her guilt is excessive and overflowing. With her we could not succeed to the glory of the Royal ancestors, so we hereby depose her from the rank of Queen and reduce her to the level of the lowest class.'"

The news startled the whole country. Although the Queen was not loved by the people, they resented the brutal attack made upon her. Great indignation 1.

was also aroused among the Queen's foreign friends. The Japanese government promised to institute an enquiry and punish the guilty. Ito, the Prime Minister of that time, declared: "Not to do so would be to condemn Japan in the eyes of the world. If she does not repudiate this usurpation on the part of the Daiwonkoon, she must lose the respect of every civilized government on earth". Miura and his associates were brought before a court of enquiry. "But the proceedings were a farce. They were all released, Miura became a popular hero, and his friends and defenders tried openly to justify the murder."

The Flight of the King.

After committing such an atrocious crime, Japan sent Count Inovye as Envoy Extraordinary to try to smooth over matters. The rank of the Queen was restored by a decree, and a temple was dedicated to her memory. But the ill-treatment of the King continued, and he was still kept a prisoner in the palace. The status of the King was kept secret so that the people outside of the palace could not

2. Ibid. p. 57-58
hear the truth about him.

The Japanese now thought that they had successfully removed all obstacles toward carrying out their Korean policy. But there was Russia waiting patiently, and watching carefully the recent happenings in Korea. At this time the Russian Minister at Seoul was Mr. Waeber, a man of great ability and a pronounced friend of the dead Queen. He did his best to show his sympathy to the helpless King. The King wished to find asylum in the Russian legation and carefully planned his escape from his jailers at the palace. He greatly feared that he might be assassinated.

"Women's chairs were caused to be sent in and out of the palace gate at frequent intervals by day and night, until the guards had become quite accustomed to them. Then on the night of the 11th of February the King and the Crown Prince, without escort slipped by the guards in common Women's chairs, and were taken directly to the Russian legation, where they were courteously received and given the best portion of the legation building. This act was, of course, a grievous lapse from the dignity that befits a king.

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 146
but under the circumstances there is much to say by way of excuse".

As soon as the news of the King's flight came out, there was great excitement and great crowds assembled. A new Cabinet was formed by the King at the Legation. The foreign diplomatic representatives called upon him and paid their respects. The Japanese Minister was the last one to do so, and he urged the King by every possible argument, to return to the palace but the King politely refused. A new investigation of the circumstance attending the death of the Queen was ordered. The people themselves issued a proclamation calling on the soldiers to protect their King and to cut off the heads of the chief traitors. Two Ministers, Kim Hongjip and Chung Pyungha, were dragged into the streets and killed, and another Minister, Oh Yungjung, was murdered at his home. Others fled for their lives. The people felt more suspicious than ever of the Japanese, and they "worked up to a white heat against Japan, comparable only with the feelings elicited by the invasion of 1592".

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 146-147
3. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 149
4. Ibid, p. 148-149
The Independence Club

After his escape from the palace the King remained for some time in the Russian Legation, and he conducted his court from there. He returned to his palace after an agreement had been made in 1896, between the Russians, Japanese, and Koreans in which Japan agreed to keep her people in Korea under stricter control. The agreement also gave the Korean monarch—who now took the title of Emperor—a chance to save himself and in some sense his country, because the Japanese campaign of aggression was greatly checked. Russia was behaving with careful circumspection, and the Korean government began a moderate reformation. Progressive statesmen were placed at the head of affairs and Sye Jai-pil, Dr. Philip Jaisohn, one of the Reformers of 1884 was made Adviser to the Privy Council which, at first, enjoyed considerable power. There was also considerable improvement in a material way.

But the results of the reform movement as a whole were disappointing. Thus Mr. McKenzie, in discussing the advance made by the Reformation, brings out also its disadvantage:

"Despite this, things were in an unsatisfactory state. The Emperor, whose nerve had been broken by his experiences
on the night of the murder of the Queen and in the
days following, was weak, uncertain and suspicious.
He could not be relied on save for one thing. He
was very jealous of his own prerogatives and the
belief that some of his best statesmen and advisers
were trying to establish constitutional monarchy,
limiting the power of the Throne, finally caused
him to throw in his lot with the anti-Progressive
1 group".

The young Koreans, especially those who were given
power as ministers and advisers after the Monarch
escaped from Japanese control, hoped to promote reform
and education, and to introduce some plan of popular
administration, but there were difficulties from the
inside as well as from the outside. Some of the foreign
advisers gave beneficial service to the Koreans while
others were unfitted to do so. Men like Mr. (now Sir
John) J. McLeavy Brown, an English official, rendered
useful service to Korea as Adviser to the Finance
Department. Other men like the new Russian Minister,
2 A de Speyer, who succeeded Mr. Walber, sought to
injure Korea by displaying a very aggressive attitude
2. The policy of Mr. Walber in Korea was generally fair
in all that he had done.
toward her. Through his influence, a Russian official was appointed successor to Mr. Brown but under the pressure of Great Britain the Russian appointment did not bring about the end it sought.

However, during this period of reform the Progressives were very active. On the 7th of April, 1896, the first foreign newspaper in English, (also in Korean) called "The Independent" was founded by Sye Jai-pil, Dr. Philip Jaisolin. It exerted a great influence among the Koreans. Developments followed rapidly in Korea. On the 14th of May there was published the Walber-Komura Agreement, being modified and ratified later under the name of the Lobanoff-Yamagata Agreement, and according to the terms, "both powers guaranteed to respect the independence of Korea, and not to send soldiers into the country except by common consent". It seemed that Korea was now divided into two spheres of influence, the Japanese predominant in the south and the Russians in the north.

--- At this time the Progressives also formed a league ---

--- Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 152 ---
for the welfare of the independence of Korea, known as the Independence Club under the leadership of Sye Jai-pil, Dr. Jaisohn. It was an important organization of the people. It held regular meetings to discuss all the important contemporary problems confronting Korea. Most of these were political and economical problems, but educational and religious problems were not overlooked.

The Independence Club grew very rapidly. At the beginning of its organization there were only half a dozen members, but within three months the membership increased to nearly 10,000. But in a country like Korea, having a weak and corrupt government involved in foreign intrigues, such a popular organization could not grow unobstructed. Dr. Jaisohn describes the situation thus:

"The increasing influence of the Independence Club was feared not only by the Korean officials but by some of the foreign representatives, such as Russia and Japan, both of whom did not relish the idea of creating public opinion among the Korean people.

1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 68
The members of the Independence Club did not have any official status, but they enjoyed the privilege of free speech during the meeting of this club, and they did not hesitate to criticize their own officials, as well as those of the foreign nations who tried to put through certain schemes in Korea for the benefit of their selfish interests. In the course of a year and a half the opposition to this Club developed in a marked degree not among the people, but among a few government officials and certain members of the foreign legations.

Here is a typical instance which shows how the corrupted Government and selfish foreigners disliked this new people's organization:

"The first time in Korean history that democracy made its power felt in the government was at the time Russia brought to Korea a large number of army officers to drill the Korean troops. When this question was brought up in the Independence Club debate, and the scheme was thoroughly discussed pro and con by those 1. Quoted by McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 68-9
who took part in the debate, it was the consensus of opinion that the turning over of the Military Department to a foreign power was suicidal policy and they decided to persuade the government to stop this scheme. The next day some 10,000 or more members of the club assembled in front of the palace, and petitioned the Emperor to cancel the agreement of engaging the Russian military officers as they thought it was a dangerous procédure. The Emperor sent a messenger out several times to persuade them to disperse and explain to the people that there was no danger in engaging the Russians as military instructors. But the people did not disperse, nor did they accept the Emperor's explanation. They quietly but firmly refused to move from the palace gates unless the contract with Russia was cancelled.

"When the Russian Minister heard of this demonstration against the contract he wrote a very threatening letter to the Korean government to the effect that the Korean government must disperse the people, by force if necessary, and stop any talk imputing selfish motives on the part of the Russian government. If this was
not stopped, Russian government would withdraw all the officers from Korea at once, and Korea would have to stand the consequences. This communication was shown to the people with the explanation that if the insisted upon cancelling this contract dire consequences would result to Korea. But the people told the government they would stand the consequences, whatever they would be, but would not have Russian officers control their military establishment. The Korean government finally asked the Russian Minister to withdraw their military officers and offered to pay any damage on account of the cancellation of the contract. This was done, and the will of the people was triumphant."

The growing influence and strength of the Independents with the mass of the people behind them, brought about a program of genuine reform. While the popular agitation was begun by the Independent Club, the conservatives who opposed them, with the aid of the Monarch, were eventually to resume complete control of the government. In September the Independents determined on stronger action. Great meetings of the people were held every day. The shops were closed that all might attend. The women

*Quoted by McKenzie's, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 69-70*
also held meetings of their own to plead for a change from the old order. At the mass meeting which was held at Jong-lo and representing all classes, the following six propositions were drawn up and presented to the Cabinet for imperial sanction:

"1. Neither officials nor people shall depend upon foreign aid, but shall do their best to strengthen and uphold the imperial power.

"2. All documents pertaining to foreign loans, the hiring of foreign soldiers, the granting of concessions, etc., in fact every document drawn up between the Korean government and a foreign party or firm, shall be signed and sealed by all the Ministers of State and the President of the Privy Council.

"3. Important offenders shall be punished only after they have been given a public trial and ample opportunity to defend themselves.

"4. To his Majesty shall belong the power to appoint Ministers, but in case a majority of the Cabinet, disapproves of the Emperor's nominee he shall not be appointed.

"5. All sources of revenue and methods of raising taxes shall be placed under the control of the Finance Department,
no other department, officer or corporation being allowed to interfere therewith, and the annual estimates and balances shall be made public.

"5. The existing laws and regulations shall be enforced without fear or favour".

The whole thing was very distasteful to the Monarch, but the Monarch understood that the united voice of the common people was a serious matter. On the last day of September he promised to carry out these demands, and also outlined various nominal reforms. But the conservatives, in cooperation with the Monarch, secretly revived the Pedlars' Guild, an old secret society which was composed of all the pedlars of the country, to aid the government and to oppose the Progressives.

As soon as the Pedlars' Guild was strongly organized, the Monarch commanded the Guild to disband the Independence Club. Thus war was virtually declared on the Independents. On the 5th of November, 1898, seventeen of the Independent leaders were arrested and thrown into prison. Dr. Jaisohn, as a naturalized American citizen, was immune to arrest by the Korean Government and was allowed to return to America. The leaders were not put to death because the Government feared public clamour. The

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p 161-162
2. Ibid, p. 162
people held a series of angry demonstrations so that, at the end of five days, the Government released the leaders.

In order to quiet the people, the Government promised genuine reforms, but when the mobs settled down, the Government disregarded the reform program. The people soon renewed their demands and once more crowded into the main thoroughfare at the Capital. At this time, the police were ordered to attack them with swords and put to death those who opposed them, but the police refused to obey and threw off their badges, saying that the cause of the people was their cause. The soldiers, trained under foreign officers, then carried out the imperial commands without hesitation.

The next move was an old method of protest. Many thousands of men went to the front of the palace and sat there reverently in silence by day and night for fourteen days. "In Korea this is the most impressive by all ways of demonstrating the wrath of the nation, and it greatly embarrassed the Court."

The Pedlars' Guild also assembled and made a counter demonstration in another part of the city. When

2. Ibid.
the Independents were numerically weak, the Pedlars attacked them and drove them off and the police barred the way to return. During the next few days many serious fights occurred between the Progressives and the Conservatives. In order to quell them the Emperor, promised his people a general audience in front of the palace. The meeting took place on the 26th of November and there was a vast assemblage present—the foreign representatives and the heads of the Government were also present. The Emperor, standing on a specially built platform, received the leaders of the Independents and listened to their statement. "They asked that the Monarch should keep some of his old promises to maintain the national integrity and do justice. The Emperor, in reply, presented them with a formal document in which he agreed to their main demands".

The Independents thought that they had won the victory, so they withdrew and the crowd dispersed. But the Conservatives soon renewed their opposition to the reforms, and even accused the Independents of desiring to establish a republic. Some of the radical elements among the Independents indulged in wild talk, and thus

gave the Government an excuse for open repression. On various pretexts, the leaders of Independents were arrested, and their meetings were dispersed at the point of the bayonet. It has already been mentioned that Japan and Russia did not wish Korea to be strong, and their influence in Korea helped to realize their wish. The final result was that the reform movement was broken.

The organization of the Independents was dissolved although their spirit could not be crushed. Thus Dr. Jaisohn asserts:

"The passing of the Independence Club was one of the most unfortunate things in the history of Korea, but there is one consolation to be derived from it, and that is, the seed of democracy was sown in Korea through this movement, and that the leaders of the present Independence Movement in Korea are mostly members of the old Independence Club, who somehow escaped with their lives from the wholesale persecution that followed the collapse of the Independence Club. Six out of the eight cabinet members elected by the people this year, (the Provisional Government of 1919) were the former active members of the Independence Club".

1. Quoted by McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 73-4
Awakening of Korea.

In spite of all the political complications and discouragements, following the Chino-Japanese War, Korea made some advance and showed signs of awakening. Mr. McKenzie summarizes the progress made by Korea during the ten years following the Chino-Japanese War:

"Certain big reforms were made. In the period between 1894 and 1904 the developments would have seemed startling to those who knew the land in the early eighties. There was a modern and well-managed railroad operating between Seoul and the port of Chemulpo, and other railroads had been planned and surveyed, work being started on some of them. Seoul had electric light, electric tramways and an electric theatre. Fine roads had been laid around the city. Many old habits of medieval times had been abolished. Schools and hospitals were spreading all over the land, largely as a result of missionary activity. Numbers of the people, especially in the North, had become Christians. Sanitation was improved, and the work of surveying,
charting and building lighthouses for the waters around the coast begun. Many Koreans of the better classes went abroad, and young men were returning after graduation in American colleges. The police were put into modern dress and trained on modern lines; and a little modern Korean army was launched.

The movement of the Reformers or Progressives and the foreign interferences and aggressions caused the people awaken in a most remarkable way. It was especially true during and after the Russo-Japanese War that the people became interested in modern education. They established new schools and sent many young people abroad for higher education. Societies were found in the interest of better politics, education, religion, and industries.

Japan noted this growth of interest on the part of the Koreans. The free development of Korea threatened to thwart her centuries-old ambition of subjugation. Hence Japan's only opportunity was prompt action before the Koreans became stronger. Plans were immediately laid to check Korea's progress and to restore Japan's prestige and power in the peninsula.

1."Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 62-63
Russo-Japanese War

At the close of the nineteenth century, Russia was considered as the supreme menace to world peace. Her expansion threatened British power in India, her policy sought for a dominant influence in China, her eyes were fixed on the Korean situation, and her power was feared even by the European nations. Russia was one of the three powers that humiliated Japan in a demand that Japan should evacuate the Liotung Peninsula which was ceded to Japan by China under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, Japanese power in Korea had been greatly checked by the inroads of Russian influence since the assassination of the Queen. So Japan saw clearly that Russia was the next enemy to be overthrown; otherwise she could not hold Korea under her power. Japan entered quietly upon another nine years of steady preparation for war.

At the same time Japan knew that Russia's ambitious policy toward China was similar to Japan's policy toward that country. So Japan sought alliance with Russia by sending Marquis Ito to St. Petersburg. But Japan
failed in this mission. Finally, in 1902, Japan turned to Great Britain to obtain an Alliance. She succeeded in obtaining a defensive alliance and through its provision Japan guaranteed to insure the independence of Korea and the integrity of the Chinese Empire. It was an evident fact that this alliance was one of the necessary steps in preparing Japan for the next war.

Prior to the Chino-Japanese War, Russia's Far Eastern policy was very indefinite, apparently showing very little interest in Korea. Japan's intrigues, her victory over China, and Korea's coming under the sphere of influence of Japan, created a new political problem in the Far East. "This awoke Russia to a realization that a new power had arisen to influence the future of Korea, and it is to the credit of the political acumen of her statesmen that they were the first to grasp what was involved in the new condition, and what a policy of expansion by Japan meant. This marked a change in Russia's Eastern policy. It ceased to drift, and quickly took definite form. She and Japan clearly saw in each other real rivals, and thus began the conflict of interests which led to the late

At the close of the 19th century and the opening of the 20th century, the situation in Korea was critical. China was entirely driven out by Japan, and the native reformation movement made but little headway because of the attitude of the Monarch and because of foreign influence. Furthermore Korea became the playing ground of Japanese and Russian intrigues. There were many Americans in Korea, but their interest was not in politics, only in religion and commerce. There were also many Europeans in Korea but they were not strong enough to create any influence in Korean politics. Hence Japan and Russia were the only two great rivals in the political affairs of Korea. The year 1903 beheld the rapid culmination of the difficulties between those two rival powers.

It was early in the year that the Russians obtained from the Korean Emperor a concession to cut timber along the Yalu River. They next sought the use of the port Yongampo which would facilitate the handling of the timber. This was all very embarrassing to the Japanese. It was felt that this was giving Russia a foothold on Korean soil which meant that Japan could
not realize her old ambition of annexing Korea.

Diplomatic friction then began between Japan and Russia and in the meantime, Japan was completing her arrangements for the war which she was to declare against Russia in February, 1904. On the 21st of January, just before the actual declaration of war, the Korean government issued its proclamation of neutrality as regards Russia and Japan. But all through January the Japanese were busy making military stations between Busan and Seoul. On the 22d of January, General Ijichi arrived in Seoul as military attaché of the Japanese Legation. On the 26th he made a final appeal to the Korean government, asking for a definite statement as to its attitude toward Russia and Japan, and the Korean foreign office answered that the government was neutral. It was strange that the Russians apparently did not realize that war was at hand. On February 9th, a Japanese squadron destroyed two Russian vessels Variag and Korietz, in Chemulpo, which was a neutral harbour at that time. The next day war was formally declared, and Korea

1. Hulbert, "The Passing of Korea", p. 189
2. Ibid, p. 190
3. For the account of Japan's violation of internation law by destroying these two vessels see Millard, "The New Far East", p. 76-78
became a battleground again.

The war ended in 1905, with the Peace Treaty of Portsmouth, in favor of the Japanese. Japan then thought that the time had come to realize her ambition in Korea, for it seemed that no other power would now interfere with her policy.

**Fate of Korea.**

It was on the night of the 23d of February, 1904, just two weeks after the declaration of the Russo-Japanese war, that Korea signed a protocol which virtually made her an ally of Japan. In this protocol Japan definitely pledged herself to guarantee the independence of the Korean Empire. Article II of the protocol reads: "The Imperial Government of Japan shall in a spirit of firm friendship ensure the safety, and repose of the Imperial House of Korea". And Article III reads: "The Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire". The Korean Government had confidence in the protocol.

The Japanese soldiers were at first restrained from

1. For the full document of the treaty see Chung, "Korean Treaties", p. 213-214
2. Ibid.
lawless conduct by the maintenance of rigid discipline. They purchased foodstuffs at fair prices and employed labourers at liberal wages. The Japanese Minister, Hayashi, repeatedly told the Korean Emperor that Japan desired nothing but the good of Korea and the strengthening of Korean independence. The Marquis Ito was sent to Korea on a special mission for Japan and he also repeated the declarations of friendship and good will. All this made the Koreans adopt a friendly attitude toward the Japanese. The Koreans nearly forgot the events of the past and believed that the protocol and the words of the Japanese diplomats were all sincere.

But as soon as the Russians were driven back and the Japanese army was getting the upper hand in the peninsula, the attitude of the Japanese suddenly changed. "A large number of petty tradesmen followed the army, and these showed none of the restraint of the military. They travelled about, sword in hand, taking what they wished and doing as they pleased. Then the army cut down the rate of pay for coolies, and from being overpaid, the native labourers were forced
to toil for half their ordinary earnings. The military, too, gradually began to acquire a more domineering air".

Japan now hastened her activities in Korea, and the administration of the Korean government was becoming Japanese, step by step. A supplementary agreement was concluded in August of 1904 in which the Korean Emperor was compelled to hand the control of practically all the financial and diplomatic functions over to the Japanese. It reads:

"Article I. The Korean Government shall engage as financial adviser to the Korean Government a Japanese subject recommended by the Japanese Government, and all matters concerning finance shall be dealt with after his counsel has been taken.

"Article II. The Korean Government shall engage as diplomatic adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs a foreigner recommended by the Japanese Government, and all important matters concerning foreign relations shall be dealt with after his counsel has been taken.

"Article III. The Korean Government shall previously consult the Japanese Government in concluding treaties

and conventions with foreign powers, and in dealing with other important diplomatic affairs, such as the grant of concessions to or contracts with foreigners."  

The next move of Japanese aggressions dealt another great blow to Korean independence. Through the agreement, concluded in April, 1905, Korea was compelled to surrender her entire postal, telegraph, and telephone service into the hands of Japanese.

Article I of the agreement reads: "The Imperial Government of Korea shall transfer and assign the control and administration of the post telegraph and telephone services in Korea (except the telephone service exclusively pertaining to the Department of the Imperial Household) to the Imperial Japanese Government". And the first clause of Article II reads: "The land, buildings, furnitures, instruments, machines and all other appliances connected with the system of communications already established by the Imperial Government of Korea, shall, by virtue of the present Agreement be transferred to the control of the Imperial Japanese Government".

2. For the full document of the treaty, see ibid, p. 215-8
All these measures were enacted despite Korean protests. The Koreans, although helpless under the strong military dominance of Japan attempted in every possible way to prevent foreign control of their governmental affairs, but to no avail. Japanese gendarmes were established everywhere to control all political activity among the natives. Any one who was suspected of opposing Japanese action was arrested and severely punished. The Japanese resorted to all kinds of threats, force, atrocities, or intrigues in order to gain their ends. Mr. McKenzie gives us a brief conception of the situation in the following paragraphs:

"... Men who protested against Japanese action were arrested and imprisoned, or driven abroad. A notorious pro-Japanese society, the Ilchin Hoi, was fostered by every possible means, members receiving for a time direct payments through Japanese sources. The payment at one period was fifty sen a day. Notices were posted in Seoul that no one could organize a political society unless the Japanese headquarters consented, and no one could hold a meeting for discussing
affairs without permission, and without having it guarded by Japanese police. All letters and circulars issued by political societies were first to be submitted by headquarters. Those who offended made themselves punishable by martial law.

"Gradually the hand of Japan became heavier and heavier. Little aggravating changes were made. The Japanese military authorities decreed that Japanese time should be used for all public work, and they changed the names of the towns from Korean to Japanese. Martial law was now enforced with the utmost rigidity. Scores of thousands of Japanese coolies poured into the country, and spread abroad, acting in a most oppressive way. These coolies, who had been kept strictly under discipline in their own land, here found themselves masters of a weaker people. The Korean magistrates could not punish them, and the few Japanese residents, scattered in the provinces would not. The coolies were poor, uneducated, strong, and with the inherited brutal traditions of generations of their ancestors who had looked upon force and strength as supreme right. They went through the country like a plague. If they wanted a thing they
took it. If they fancied a house they turned the resident out.

"They beat, they outraged, they murdered in a way and on a scale of which it is difficult for any white man to speak with moderation. Koreans were flogged to death for offenses that did not deserve a sixpenny fine. They were shot for mere awkwardness. Men were dispossessed of their homes by every form of guile and trickery.... The outrages were allowed to pass unpunished and unheeded. The Korean who approached the office of a Japanese resident to complain was thrown out, as a rule, by the underlings".

In Japan anti-opium laws were strictly enforced under the heaviest penalties, and also in Korea, under the old Korean administration, strict anti-opium laws were enforced. But now the Japanese were allowed to sell morphine, the chief constituent of opium, throughout all parts of Korea.

But there was a more grievous question confronting the people. Since Korea is an agricultural country, land is the most important kind of property. Yet this land was not safe under the Japanese policy of wholesale

1, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 82-84
2, Ibid, p. 84
grabbing, carried on officially and privately. The following description presents the facts:

"The Japanese had evidently set themselves to acquire possession of as much Korean land as possible. The military authorities staked out large portions of the finest sites in the country, the riverlands near Seoul, the lands around Pyeng-yang, great districts to the north, and fine strips all along the railway. Hundreds of thousands of acres were thus acquired. A nominal sum was paid as compensation to the Korean Government—a sum that did not amount to one-twentieth part of the real value of the land. The people who were turned out received, in many cases, nothing at all, and, in others, one-tenth to one-twentieth of the fair value. The land was seized by the military, nominally for purposes of war. Within a few months large parts of it were being resold to Japanese builders and shopkeepers, and Japanese settlements were growing upon them. This theft of land beggared thousands of formerly prosperous people.

"The Japanese Minister pushed forward in the early days of the war, a scheme of land appropriation that would have handed two-thirds of Korea over at a blow
to a Japanese concessionaire, a Mr. Nagamori, had it gone through. Under this proposal all the waste lands of Korea, which included all unworked mineral lands, were to be given to Mr. Nagamori nominally for fifty years, but really on a perpetual lease, without any payment or compensation, and with freedom from taxation for some time. Mr. Nagamori was simply a cloak for the Japanese Government in this matter. The comprehensive nature of the request stirred even the foreign representatives in Seoul to action. For the moment the Japanese had to abandon the scheme. The same scheme under another name was carried out later when Japanese obtained fuller control.

During this period of Japanese land-grabbing the Korean people organized a society called Po-ahn Whoi which means "Society for the Promotion of Peace and Safety" and its chief aim was to preserve the land and natural resources in Korea from alien aggression. This organization was very active, but on the 16th of July the meeting of the society was broken up by the Japanese police, and its leaders were arrested. Other

raids were made upon the society, arresting more members and confiscating the society's papers. Finally the society was stamped out by the swords of the Japanese. There were a few other organizations formed for similar purposes but they were not successful because of Japanese interference.

The Japanese advisers now directed all the important functions of the Government. Only one foreigner was employed by the Japanese and that was Mr. Stevens, an American, who had served in the Japanese Foreign Office for many years. "Mr. Stevens was nominally in the employment of the Korean Government, but really he was a more thorough-going servant of Japan than many Japanese themselves". All the other foreigners, whose positions seemed fairly established, were forced to leave or to resign. Thus Dr. H.N. Allen, the American Minister at Seoul, who was an independent and impartial representative of his country, was discourteously recalled through Japanese influence, simply because he told his Government some unpalatable truths.

In April, 1904, he reported the serious concern of the Korean Emperor over recent happenings, and he also

1. For further facts see Hulburt, "The Passing of Korea" p. 209 ff.
3. Ibid, pp. 87-88
transmitted to Washington copies of protests made by an American missionary and some Koreans against the conduct of Japanese subjects in Korea. Mr. E.V. Morgan who was entirely unsympathetic with the Korean political situation succeeded Dr. Allen. Mr. McLeavy Brown, a British subject, the Chief Commissioner of Customs of Korea was also compelled to give up his post.

**Breaking Korean Independence—-Treaties Become Scraps of Paper.**

It was clear that the Japanese Government intended to completely destroy the independence of Korea. Korea was helpless but she had some hope of obtaining aid through the treaty provisions with the Great Powers, especially through the treaty with the United States. Article I of the treaty made between Korea and the United States is as follows:

"There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the President of the United States and the King of Chosun (Korea) and the citizens and subjects of their respective Governments.

"If other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government, the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings".

It was in October, 1905, that the Korean Emperor 2 despatched Professor Homer B. Hulbert to Washington, with a note to the President of the United States asking his assistance according to the treaty provision. "But before the note was fairly on its way, a Japanese spy on board the vessel discovered it and notified the government in Tokyo the exact hour it would arrive in Washington". Then the Japanese began to use every effort to force a treaty before the note would be delivered.

Early in November, 1905, just a little over two months and a half since the Russo-Japanese War was over—Marquis Ito arrived in Seoul as special envoy from Japan. He brought with him a letter from the

1. For the full document of the treaty, see Chung, "Korean Treaties", p. 197

2. Professor Hulbert, editor of the Korean Review, who had been engaged with the Korean Government in educational work in Korea since 1886, was the best authority on the problem of Korea among the Westerners.


Emperor of Japan, saying that the Korean Emperor should follow the direction of the Marquis. On the 15th of November in a formal conference with the Korean Emperor he presented a series of demands in treaty form known as the Five Article Treaty. The main demands were that the foreign relations of Korea should be taken and handled by Japan, and all the Korean ministers recalled from foreign countries; a Japanese Resident-General at Seoul should become supreme administrator of the country under the Emperor, and the Japanese consuls in various districts of Korea should become Residents with supreme local governing powers. Article I of the treaty reads: "The Government of Japan, through the Department of Foreign Affairs at Tokyo, will hereafter have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Korea, and the diplomatic and consular representatives of Japan will have charge of the subjects and interests of Korea in foreign countries." And Article III reads: "The Government of Japan shall be represented at the court of His Majesty the Emperor of Korea by a Resident-General, who shall reside at Seoul, primarily for the purpose
of taking charge of and directing matters relating to
diplomatic affairs. He shall have the right of private
and personal audience of His Majesty the Emperor of
Korea. The Japanese Government shall also have the
right to station Residents at the several open ports
and such other places in Korea as they may deem
necessary. Such Residents shall, under the direction
of the Resident General, exercise the powers and
functions hitherto appertaining to Japanese Consuls
in Korea, and shall perform such duties as may be
necessary in order to carry into full effect the
provisions of this Agreement".  

In other words, Korea was no more to be an inde-
pendent nation but a Japanese protectorate. The
conversation between the Korean Emperor and Marquis
Ito in their conference over the Five-Article Treaty
is quoted herewith because of its significance.

The Emperor said: "Although I have seen in the
newspapers various rumours that Japan proposed to assume
a protectorate over Korea, I did not believe them,
as I placed faith in Japan's adherence to the promise

1. For the full document of the treaty, see Chung, "Korean
Treaties", p. 221-222

to maintain the independence of Korea which was made by the Emperor of Japan at the beginning of the war and embodied in a treaty between Korea and Japan.

When I heard you were coming to my country I was glad, as I believed your mission was to increase the friendship between our countries, and your demands have therefore taken me entirely by surprise.

To which Marquis Ito rejoined: "These demands are not my own; I am only acting in accordance with a mandate from my Government, and if Your Majesty will agree to the demands which I have presented it will be to the benefit of both nations and peace in the East will be assured forever. Please, therefore, consent quickly."

To which the Emperor replied: "From time immemorial it has been the custom of the rulers of Korea, when confronted with questions so momentous as this, to come to no decision until all the Ministers, high and low, who hold or have held office, have been consulted, and the opinion of scholars and the common people have been obtained so that I cannot now settle this matter myself."
To this Marquis Ito rejoined again: "Protests from the people can easily be disposed of and for the sake of the friendship between the two countries Your Majesty should come to a decision at once".

To which the Emperor replied: "Assent to your proposal would mean the ruin of my country, and I will therefore sooner die than agree to it".

It was a long conference lasting nearly five hours, but ending without the hoped for result for Japan. Then Marquis Ito interviewed the Ministers, individually and collectively. On the following day all the Ministers were summoned to the Japanese Legation for a conference but they swore to one another that they would not yield in spite of threats, cajoleries, and proffered bribes. On the 17th of November other conferences were called at the Legation and also at the palace, but these were also without result.

During this period of making the enforced treaty, the Japanese evidently wished to remind the Koreans and their Government of the possible strength and authority of Japan. "All the Japanese troops in the district had been for days parading the streets and

open places fronting the Imperial residence. The field-guns were out and the men were fully armed. They marched, countermarched, stormed, made feint attacks, occupied the gates, put their guns in position, and did everything, short of actual violence, that they could to demonstrate to the Koreans that they were able to enforce their demands."

To the Emperor and the Cabinet Ministers, all this display had a terrible meaning. It was in 1895 under very similar circumstances that Queen Min was barbarously murdered because she opposed Japanese dominance. So every one of those who were now resisting the demands of Japan could not fail to see the portent of the merciless swords and to imagine the terrible events that would inevitably follow.

Mr. F.A. McKenzie, the prominent British journalist in the East, who was in Korea at that time gives the following vivid account of what happened there:

"That evening Japanese soldiers, with fixed bayonets, entered the courtyard of the palace and stood near the apartment of the Emperor. Marquis Ito now arrived, 1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 91
accompanied by General Hasegawa, commander of the Japanese Army in Korea:

"The Marquis demanded an audience of the Emperor. The Emperor refused to grant it, saying that his throat was very bad and he was in great pain. The Marquis then made his way into the Emperor's presence and personally requested an audience. The Emperor still refused. 'Please go away and discuss the matter with the Cabinet Ministers', he said.

"Thereupon, Marquis Ito went outside to the Ministers. 'Your Emperor has commanded you to confer with me and settle the matter', he declared.

"The acting Prime Minister, Han Kewseul, jumped to his feet and said he would go and tell the Emperor of the talk of traitors. Han Kewseul was allowed to leave the room and then was gripped by the Japanese Secretary of the Legation, thrown into a sideroom, and threatened with death. Even Marquis Ito went out to him to persuade him. 'Would you not yield', the Marquis said, 'if your Emperor commanded you?' 'No,' said Han Kewseul, 'not even then'.

"This was enough. The Marquis at once went to the Emperor. 'Han Kewseul is a traitor', he said. 'He defies you, and declares that he will not obey your commands'. 
Meanwhile the remaining Cabinet Ministers waited in the Cabinet Chamber. Where was their leader, the man who had urged them all to resist to the death? Minute after minute passed, and still he did not return. Then a whisper went around that the Japanese had killed him. The harsh voices of the Japanese grew still more strident. Courtesy and restraint were thrown off. 'Agree with us and be rich', or 'oppose us and perish'.

"In the early hours of the morning commands were issued that the seal of State should be brought from the foreign Minister's apartment, and a treaty should be signed. Here another difficulty arose. The custodian of the seal had received orders in advance that, even if his master commanded, the seal was not to be surrendered for any such purpose. When telephonic orders were sent to him he refused to bring the seal along, and special messengers had to be dispatched to take it from him by force."

It was thus that Japan made the treaty with Korea just before the Korean Emperor's note reached the President of the United States. Japan then announced to the world that Korea had "voluntarily" become a.

1. Quoted by Kendall, "The Truth about Korea", p. 12-13
a protectorate of Japan.

The news by the signing of the treaty aroused terror and indignation among the Korean people. Storekeepers put up their shutters to mark their mourning. Petitions poured in to the Emperor, requesting him to abrogate the treaty. Mobs gathered in various places to give vent to their protest. But under the swords of the Japanese policemen, gendarmes and troops, the people could do nothing, and their leaders were arrested. The country was helpless. Suicides, resignations, and lamentations followed. Many prominent men committed suicide, among whom was Min Yungwhan, a former minister of War and Special Korean Ambassador at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. He wrote letters to his friends and to the people lamenting the tragedy of the country and then ended his own life. Many other statesmen such as Cho Pyungseii and Hong Mansik, did the same, and others resigned. Whangsung Sinmoon, a native newspaper, expressed the following typical lamentation voicing the feeling of the country.

1. Quoted by Kendall, "The Truth About Korea", p. 13
"Is it worth while for any of us to live any longer? Our people have become the slaves of others, and the spirit of a nation which has stood for 4,000 years, since the days of Tankun and Kija has perished in a single night. Alas! fellow-countrymen, Alas!"

The editor was promptly arrested and thrown into prison and the paper was suppressed.

Abdication of the Emperor

Marquis Ito came to Korea as the first Japanese Resident-General in Korea. He became supreme administrator of Korea, with power to govern the people as he pleased. "He had authority to repeal any order or measure that he considered injurious to public interests, and he could punish to the extent of not more than a year's imprisonment or not more than a 200 yen fine. This limitation of his primitive power was purely nominal for the country was under martial law and the courts-martial had power to inflict death. Residents and Vice-Resident, of Japanese nationality, were placed over the country, acting practically as governors.

1. Quoted by McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 97
The police were placed under Japanese inspectors where they were not themselves Japanese. The various departments of affairs, agricultural, commercial, and industrial, were given Japanese directors and advisors, and the power of appointing all officials, save those of the highest rank, was finally in the hands of the Resident-General. This limitation, again, was soon put on one side. Thus, the Resident-General became dictator of Korea—a dictator, however, who still conducted certain branches of local affairs through native officials and who had to reckon with the intrigues of a court party which he could not as yet sweep on one side.

Japan saw that Korea was of importance not only as an emigration field but also as a strategic position for military operations on the Asiatic continent. So the next move was in the direction of perfecting communications throughout the country for military purposes. The Japanese also began to destroy Korean nationality and even adopted a policy of gradually forcing the Westerners out of Korea. The truth about Korea

2. Ibid, p. 105
3. For the treatment of the Westerners, see ibid, p 108-10
was carefully withheld; all publications were suppressed.

The Korean Emperor was weak, as stated before, but he made it difficult for the Japanese to carry out their policy in Korea. He would not give his consent to the treaty of November, 1905, and said, "I would sooner die first! I would sooner take poison and end all!"

The Japanese watched him carefully and restricted his power and influence as much as possible. They guarded his palace carefully so that the Emperor was virtually made a prisoner. No one was allowed to go in or out of the palace without permission from a Japanese official. At the same time, many of the Emperor's attendants were removed.

But the Emperor took every opportunity to send messages abroad protesting against the treaty. In 1907 he secretly dispatched three Korean delegates of high rank to the Hague Conference to enter protest against Japan's policy of destroying Korean independence. However, they refused a hearing at the Conference because of the action of the Japanese delegates.

1. For the treatment of Mr. Bethell, the prominent British journalist in Korea who was telling the truth about Korea, see ibid pp. 117-120

2. Ibid p. 121

3. Ibid p. 122
Ri June one of the three Korean delegates committed suicide at The Hague and the other two delegates became exiles.

This action furnished the Japanese the long-looked-for excuse to dethrone the Emperor. He was first deprived of almost all administrative and executive power; even the Cabinet Ministers were no longer nominated by him but by the Resident-General because Marquis Ito found out that the Ministers were still loyal to their native ruler. Finally on July 19th, 1907, he was compelled to abdicate in favor of his son, a mental incompetent.

The new Emperor was so unintelligent and incompetent that he became only a tool in the hands of his advisers, a circumstance wholly favorable to the Japanese. Within a week the Japanese prepared a new treaty, known as the Seven-Article Treaty, demanding more absolute control of everything in the country. The main demands of the treaty were as follows: The Government of Korea should not enact any laws, ordinances or regulations, or to take any important administrative measures without the previous
assent of the Resident General; the appointment and
dismissal of all high officials in Korea must be made
upon the concurrence of the Resident General; the
Government of Korea must agree to appoint any
Japanese to any post according to the recommendation
of the Resident-General, and without the consent of
the Japanese Resident-General the Government of
Korea could not engage any foreigners. Article
II of the treaty reads: "The Government of Korea
engage not to enact any laws, ordinances or regulations,
or to take any important measures of administration
without the previous assent of the Resident General".
Article IV reads: "The appointment and dismissal of
all high officials in Korea shall be made upon the
concurrence of the Resident General". And Article
V reads: "The Government of Korea shall appoint as
Korean officials the Japanese subjects recommended
by the Resident General".

A few days later a rescript, issued in the name
of the new Emperor, ordered the disbandment of the Korean
Army. One officer, Major Park Syngwhan committed

1. For the full document of the treaty, see Chung,
"Korean Treaties", p. 223-224
suicide, and his men rose in mutiny. Then fighting began between the Koreans and the Japanese, but it lasted only a half day, for the Koreans were soon overpowered by the Japanese troops.

The "Righteous Army".

During all this period of national humiliation, the Korean people were greatly distressed and indignant. Since the Japanese maintained their strongest force in the cities the city people were more helpless than the rest. This caused many of them to unite with the people of the rural and mountainous districts and there form a "Righteous Army" for the purpose of fighting against the Japanese. Their typical expression was: "It is much better to die as a free man than to live as the slave of Japan". Their movement, however, was hopeless although it was prompted by a strong patriotic motive. The acts of the "Righteous Army" were called murders and robberies by the Japanese and they retaliated by extremely harsh and barbarous methods. Under the pretext of crushing the "Righteous Army" the Japanese killed hundreds and

thousands of innocent Koreans and their property was taken or burned. Mr. McKenzie, the brave and fair minded British journalist, visited some of the fighting zones where the Japanese authority forbade any foreigners to go and he described a typical event as follows:

"'It is necessary for us to show these men something of the strong hand of Japan,' one of the leading Japanese in Seoul, a close associate of the Prince Ito, told me shortly before I left that city. 'The people of the eastern mountain districts have seen few or no Japanese soldiers, and they have no idea of our strength. We must convince them how strong we are'.

"As I stood on a mountain pass, looking down on the valley leading to Ichon, I recalled these words of my friend. The 'strong hand of Japan' was certainly being shown here. I beheld in front of me village after village reduced to ashes.

"I rode down to the nearest heap of ruins. The place had been quite a large village, with probably seventy or eighty houses. Destruction, thorough and complete, had fallen upon it. Not a single house was left, and not a single wall of a house. Every
pot with the winter stores was broken. The very earthen fireplaces were wrecked.

"During the next few days sights like these were to be too common to arouse much emotion. But for the moment I looked around on these people, ruined and homeless, with quick pity. The old men, venerable and dignified, as Korean old men mostly are, the young wives, many with babes at their breasts, the sturdy men, had composed, if I could judge by what I saw, an exceptionally clean and peaceful community.

"There was no house in which I could rest, so I sat down under a tree, and while Min-gun was cooking my dinner the village elders came around with their story....

"I rode out of the village heavy-hearted. What struck me most about this form of punishment, however, was not the suffering of the villagers so much as the futility of the proceedings, from the Japanese point of view. In place of pacifying a people, they were turning hundreds of quiet families into rebels. During the next few days I was to see at least one town and
many scores of villages treated as this one. To what end? The villagers were certainly not the people fighting the Japanese. All they wanted to do was to look quietly after their own affairs. 

Then Mr. McKenzie made a concluding statement regarding the "Righteous Army" in the following paragraph:

"But as a matter of fact the movement grew and grew. It was impossible for the Koreans to obtain arms; they fought without arms. In June, 1908, nearly two years afterwards, a high Japanese official, giving evidence of the trial of Mr. Bethell before a specially convened British court at Seoul, said about 20,000 troops were then engaged in putting down disturbances, and that about one-half of the country was in a condition of armed resistance. The Koreans continued their fight until 1915, when, according to Japanese official statements, the rebellion was finally suppressed. One can only faintly imagine the hardships these mountaineers and men of the plains, tiger hunters, and old soldiers, must have undergone."....

2. For the full statement, see ibid, p. 132-170
The Last of the Korean Empire

During all this period of national shame and tragedy, the Koreans, as already brought out, felt more anxious than ever for their country's welfare. So even in spite of Japanese suppression the Koreans were able to make notable progress. Schools throughout the country were organized according to modern methods; societies were re-formed; and there was a remarkable tendency to adopt Christianity. The signs of reformation and advance were shown everywhere no matter how strongly the Japanese interfered with or disturbed the people. The Japanese were vexed to see such a rapid awakening among the Koreans, especially, in their patriotic movements. Hence Japan began looking for a pretext to complete the subjugation of Korea as rapidly as possible.

In 1908 Viscount Sone became Resident-General of Korea to succeed Prince Ito---Ito was made Prince after the abdication of the Korean Emperor. In October, 1909, Prince Ito was killed at Harbin by Ahn Choong-koon, a Korean patriot. This furnished the occasion
that the Japanese were looking for, and the events that followed were so directed as to bring about the unconditional annexation of Korea.

The first move toward annexation was the Appointment, in 1910, of Count Terauchi to the position of Resident-General. He was the strong military leader who earned his fame as Minister of War during the Russo-Japanese War. He regarded the Koreans as a people to be absorbed or to be eliminated and he was determined to crush Korean nationality under the heel of the Japanese. "Where Ito had been soft, he would be hard as chilled steel. Where Ito had beaten men with whips, he would beat them with scorpions". Events followed quickly. All the leading newspapers were suspended. Police, gendarmes, and spies were posted everywhere. Leading men were arrested. The Ministers of State, in fear of attack by the mobs, were guarded by Japanese policemen and troops.

"Yet there were some smiling. They were called to the Resident-General to hear good news. This man was to be made a peer; he had served Japan well. This man, if he and his kin were good, was to be suitably

rewarded. Bribes for the complaisant, prison for the obstinate.

"Men guessed what was coming. There were mutterings, especially among the students. But the student who spoke bravely, even behind closed doors today, found himself in jail by evening. The very walls seemed to have ears".

Finally the news of the annexation came and Japan announced to the world that it was done according to the will of the Korean people and their ruler. After over four thousand years of history the throne of Korea was no more. The name of the country was changed to Chosen; it was now considered as a province of Japan and the Resident-General became Governor-General.

During the events that preceded annexation all the newspapers were suspended. Even the use of telephone or telegraph was restricted. All communications were censored and even travel was limited. It was impossible to gain correct information of what was going on in the capital or in the country as a whole.

Furthermore the Japanese policemen, gendarmes and troops were ever threatening the people and displaying the mighty power of the Japanese Empire. Tales of murders and arrests, as well as suicides, were told as occurring everywhere.

"The Japanese expected an uprising, and were all ready for one. 'Every man should be ready to fight and die in the cause of his nation's independence', they said tauntingly to the Koreans. But the people's leaders kept them in. Upon the hills, the Righteous Army was still struggling. The people must wait for better times".

Why did the Japanese in treaties, especially in the protocol of 1904, utter those fine and sweet phrases such as "the Imperial Government of Japan definitely guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire"? Why in 1908, did Prince Ito, the Resident-General of Korea, publicly announce that Japan had no intention of annexing Korea? Clearly, these declarations were mere subterfuge. All the previous treaties made between Korea and Japan became merely scraps of paper. The whole 1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p 177-178
selfish and inhumane policy adopted by Japan in subjugating the Koreans is not justifiable before international ethics and law, nor before humanity. Thus Professor Willoughby says:

"It may be asserted, without qualification, that no nation has an ethical right to subject another people, against their will, to its own political domination solely upon the ground that this overlordship is needed in order that its own political or economical interests may be advanced". After discussing the instance that the Russo-Japanese War was like the United States intervention in Mexico to check French power; he definitely asserts: "It is impossible, therefore, ethically to justify the annexation by Japan of the Korean peninsula, on the ground that otherwise the independence of Japan would have been threatened.

"The Japanese have, however, sought to justify the annexation on the ground that they are an expanding people, with an already overcrowded territory, and

in need of raw materials that their own soil does not provide. And also that, as a politically ambitious people, they need to increase their power in order to be able to take a more prominent place among the nations of the world. These are, of course, the same arguments as those upon which Prussia sought to defend her aggressive policies, and to uphold her right to subordinate the wishes and interest of other people to her own ambitions. We need not, therefore, stop to refute them. 

CHAPTER V
KOREAN CONDITIONS UNDER JAPANESE ADMINISTRATION

It has been already noted that the administration of the Japanese in Korea, under Prince Ito and Viscount Son, was repressive and harsh from 1906 to 1910, but it was many times more repressive from 1910 to 1919, under Count Terauchi and General Hasegawa. It was characterized as "the harshest and most relentless form of Imperial administration". Of course, this fact has been carefully suppressed by the Japanese, and the world has heard, through the active Japanese propagandists, only about the wonderful achievement of the Japanese administration in Korea. Thus Mr. Kendall, delegate to the International Peace Conference, 1915, says: "The nine years following the egregious annexation has been one of the most shameful pages in the history of the Japanese Empire. The heinous crimes committed by Japanese Military Autocracy have been carefully hidden from the world until the last few months (since the Korean Revolution of 1919)"

2. "The Truth about Korea", p. 15
Political.

As to their present political status, the Koreans have no common rights in the government. They have no voting power, no representation, and no voice in the government whatsoever. It is true that some of the officials are Koreans but, where that is true, the offices are merely nominal because the Japanese adviser or deputy behind them has all the authority. Bishop Herbert Walch, general superintendent of Methodist work in the Japanese Empire and resident bishop at the Korean capital, who has been a close and impartial observer, says:

"But the point is not as to the number of Korean officials but the fact that the Korean people, as such, have no voice in the selection of their own officials. There are no elective offices whatever in the country. There are no local or provincial assemblies. There is no legislative body to discuss and pass laws for the whole land. There are no Korean members of the imperial diet. In a word, there has been no beginning made of any system of self government, nor, so far as I am aware, any promise or suggestion of such a plan. I am
told in high quarters that the Japanese administration of Korea was modeled after the English administration of India. But it is certain that, while the English are at the present time introducing local autonomy into India, just as far and as far as the people are ready for it, no such course has been initiated in Korea.

"In the maintenance, then, of a government military in form and in spirit, a government by discrimination between Japanese and Koreans, and a government which springs entirely from other sources than the people themselves, Japan has failed to win the confidence and affection of the Korean people. The Korean problem, as I have said to Japanese officials, can only be solved for Japan by winning the hearts of the people, and the method of force which has been followed has been thrusting the hearts of the people farther and farther away from Japan."  

Economical

It must be admitted that there has been some material progress in Korea. A more stable currency has been maintained, agriculture has developed, sanitation has been improved, roads and railways have been improved and extended, afforestation has been encouraged, some new industries have appeared, and some of the old administration has been reformed. But a question needs to be asked in this connection—is this advance a benefit to the natives? If the answer is in the affirmative, there arises another question—Why have the millions of Koreans failed in their business or lost their occupation and fled into Manchuria or Siberia? Any one who closely examines the facts regarding the so-called material benefit will see that it applies only to the Japanese and not to the Koreans. "Economically he has been discriminated against in every possible way. Special privileges of all kinds have gone to the Japanese, the Korean has taken the leavings, if there were any. The sources of wealth are almost exclusively in Japanese hands, the chances of creating new wealth have all been turned toward Japanese hands".

Under the economical restriction of the government for the benefit of Japan and particularly for the benefit of the Japanese immigrants, the natives are in an economical condition never dreamed of before. Taxes are extremely heavy yet they must be borne without any benefits in return; they are four or five times heavier now than those of the old corrupt government. The Koreans cannot help but fail in commerce and industry because they cannot compete with the Japanese who have special privileges and rights from the Government. The foreign business men in Korea fail for the same reason. Thus Korea has become the market for only Japanese trade and industry.

Since Korea is an agricultural country, land is the most important economic factor. There were four classes of land under the old Korean Government before Japanese domination: (1) Private lands, owned by individual citizens, and the owners paid taxes to the Government; (2) Royal lands, that belonged to the Royal House-hold, but were leased in perpetuity to private individuals with the right to sell to another individual,—the holders of these lands paid tribute to the royal
Household; (3) Municipal lands that belonged to the various municipalities, but were practically owned by private individuals and the owners of these lands paid fees to the respective municipalities which held the title of the lands; (4) Lands that belonged to Buddhist Temples and which were free from taxation.

The Japanese policy of grabbing lands, as mentioned before, is one of the most serious problems that confronts the Koreans. We have seen that the Japanese, officially and privately grabbed an immense amount of land during and after the Russo-Japanese War on the pretext that it was to be used for military and railroad purposes. Under one of the acts of the Japanese Government all lands in Korea were surveyed and all those belonging to the Royal Household, the municipalities and to the Buddhist Temples were confiscated. They explained this act on the technical ground that since these lands did not belong to private individuals, they must be the property of the government. The Korean owners were dispossessed and driven out without remuneration and the land was leased or sold to Japanese farmers. In some cases where
Koreans protested against the seizure, they were fastened to crude wooden crosses and shot.".

Moreover, for the special benefit of Japanese immigrants to Korea there has been organized the so-called 'Oriental Development Company', under the direction of the Japanese Government. Through this company the government is absorbing immense tracts of Korean land. "To induce emigrants to invade the peninsula, this company offered every Japanese settler free transportation to Korea and provided him with a home and a piece of land, to be paid for in three or four years. The plan in theory is identical with Bismark's idea for Prussianizing Poland.

"Another method by which the Japanese gained possession of land was to force the Korean owners to sell at a ridiculously low figure. Rice is the chief agricultural product in Korea and the water, irrigating the rice fields, runs from one field to another in succession. The agents for the Oriental Development Company buy the rice patch through which the water to the desired piece of land flows. Then Japanese

1. Kendall, "The Truth About Korea", p. 18
agents or "farmers" cut off the water supply, and the Korean owner, after vain protests, is finally forced to sell his now worthless land to the Oriental Development Company at their own figure or remain on it and starve.

"Already one-third of the best land in Korea is in the hands of the Japanese".

The Japanese Government also established the "Bank of Chosen", with its branches all over the land, and thereby holds the whole financial control of Korea in its hands. Through it the Government can compel native farmers to sell their lands at low prices to the Japanese immigrants or to the Oriental Development Company.

How the bank was used by the government was explained by a writer in the New York Times (January 29, 1919). "These people declined to part with their heritage. It was here that the power of the Japanese Government was felt in the manner altogether Asiatic.... Through its branches this powerful financial institution called in all the specie in the country, 1. Kendall, "The Truth About Korea", p. 18
thus making, as far as circulating medium is concerned, the land practically valueless. In order to pay taxes and to obtain the necessaries of life, the Korean must have cash, and in order to obtain land values fell very rapidly, and in some instances land was purchased by the agents of the Bank of Chosen for one-fifth of its former valuation.

The improvement of the roads in Korea is a feature that the Japanese Government proudly boasts of, but the cost of improvement has been a heavy burden on the Korean people. It has required much of their valuable property and all the work involved has cost their considerable hardship and suffering.

Here is a statement from an unprejudiced Japanese, Dr. Yoshino, a professor of the Imperial University of Tokyo who made a special study of Korea. It was published in the Taschuo-Koron of Tokyo, and brought out the fact that the Koreans have no objection to building good roads but that the way of carrying out the work is tyrannical.

"Without consideration and mercilessly, they have resorted to laws for the expropriation of land, the Koreans concerned being compelled to part with their family property almost for nothing. On many occasions they have also been forced to work in the construction of roads without receiving any wages. To make matters worse, they must work for nothing only on the days which are convenient to the officials, however inconvenient these days may be to the unpaid workers".

In this connection Mr. McKenzie says: "The result has generally been that while the roads were being built for the convenient march of the Japanese troops to suppress the builders of the roads, many families were bankrupted and starving.

"The Japanese make improvements", say the Koreans. "But they make them to benefit their own people, not us. They improve agriculture, and turn the Korean farmers out and replace them by Japanese. They pave and put sidewalks in a Seoul street, but the old Korean shopkeepers in that street have gone, and Japanese have come."

They encourage commerce, Japanese commerce, but the Korean tradesman is hampered and tied down in many ways."

These are some of the reasons why millions of Koreans have lost their business or occupation and fled into Manchuria and Siberia, ever since the Japanese have dominated Korea. With heavy taxation, with no representation in the Government, with no opportunity for the natives to compete with the specially privileged Japanese in commerce or industry, the future of Korea presents a discouraging and most serious problem; and it will continue to be so as long as the Japanese are given absolute control.

Because of their economic distress and other intolerable hardships under the Japanese administration, many of the Koreans have escaped into Manchuria and Siberia through a very dangerous and difficult journey across the high mountain passes. A typical tragic scene is described in the report of Rev. W.T. Cook, of the Manchuria Christian College at Moukden, to the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions:

"The untold afflictions of the Korean immigrants coming into Manchuria will doubtless never be fully realized, even by those actually witnessing their distress. In the still closeness of a forty below zero climate in the dead of winter, the silent stream of white clad figures creeps over the icy mountain passes, in groups of tens, twenties and fifties, seeking a new world of subsistence, willing to take a chance of life and death in a hand-to-hand struggle with the stubborn soil of Manchuria's wooded and stony hillsides. Here, by the indefatigable efforts, they seek to extract a living by applying the grub axe and hand hoe to the barren mountain sides above the Chinese fields, planting and reaping by hand between the roots the sparse yield that is often insufficient to sustain life.

"Many have died from insufficient food. Not only women and children but young men have been frozen to death. Sickness also claims its toll under these new conditions of exposure. Koreans have been seen standing barefooted on the broken ice of a riverside fording place, rolling up their baggy trousers before wading through the broad stream, two feet deep, of ice cold
water, then standing on the opposite side while they hastily readjust their clothing and shoes.

"Women with insufficient clothing, and parts of their bodies exposed, carry little children on their backs, thus creating a mutual warmth in a slight degree, but it is in this way that the little ones' feet, sticking out from the binding basket, get frozen and afterwards fester till they tiny toes stick together. Old men and women, with bent backs and wrinkled faces, walk the uncomplaining miles until their old limbs refuse to call them further.

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"In this way over 75,000 Koreans have entered during the past year, until the number of Koreans now living in both the north and western portions of Manchuria now totals nearly half a million".

Educational

As to education in Korea, the aim of Japan has been to keep it under strict regulation, only such education is allowed as will make the Koreans efficient servants.

of the Japanese. For that purpose the Japanese Government has made special regulations for the conduct of Korean schools and colleges.

Under these regulations, most of the private institutions have been forced to close their doors, and most of the higher institutions of learning were abolished. This was done so as to keep all education strictly under Japanese control. Again, there is distinct discrimination regarding the courses taught to the Korean and the Japanese children in Korea. Only certain courses are open to the Korean children, whereas the Japanese children may take advantage of all the courses that are offered.

One cause for Korea's national pride is its language. It is unique in that it has its own alphabet consisting of twenty-five letters—eleven vowels and fourteen consonants, and it is entirely distinct, in both genus and structure, from Chinese and Japanese. It is simple and easy to learn for both natives and foreigners. The simplicity of the K̄orean language and its native script, together with its adaptability for all kinds of literature, renders it the finest vehicle in the Far East for the expression
of thought". It is, therefore, very convenient and important as a medium of instruction for the natives. But since the Japanese Government has planned to keep the natives as ignorant as possible and to crush all national pride and feeling among the Koreans, it has forbidden the teaching of the Korean language in all schools and colleges. All the young Koreans are forced to learn and use the Japanese language as the sole medium of communication.

The property of the Koreans, such as books, pamphlets, and all other valuable publications has been confiscated and burned. The only hope of preserving the Korean language is in the maintenance of church literature. And here is one of the reasons why the Japanese officers hate the Christian workers in Korea.

Furthermore, Korean history is not allowed in Korean schools or colleges. Thus Mr. Peffer says:

"Immediately after annexation all books giving Korean history were confiscated and destroyed. Houses were systematically searched; any literature telling of Korea's development was burned, and frequently the man in whose possession it was found was jailed. It is today a crime

1. World Missionary Conference, "The Continuation Committee Conference in Asia, 1912-1913", p. 396
to own a Korean history; I have talked to Koreans who have been beaten and sentenced to imprisonment of from fifteen to thirty days for committing the crime of reading about their own country".

The teaching of geography is restricted in a similar manner. The text books, with their fictitious maps, are compiled only by Japanese authors. In both private and public schools, geography, like history, must be taught only by Japanese instructors.

The events of the outside world are not allowed to be taught to the Korean students. "As with geography and history, so also of current world events, with the modification that these are not taught at all. The Korean child is as ignorant of what is happening around him -- except for the frequently recurring Japanese holidays -- as the child of a Hottentot".

The only course encouraged by the Japanese government is the Japanese language. "That is carried out with a vengeance. Of the 32 hours a week instruction in the Lower Common Schools -- our primary schools -- eight hours are given over to learning the Japanese language.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p. 0.
Nearly twice as much time is given to Japanese as to any other subject. It is no wonder that most of the Koreans do not want to send their children to the public schools; and hence thousands of the Korean children are idle. Some of the people do their best to give their children an elementary education in their own home. The children who do attend the public schools are discouraged because it is very difficult for them to study their lessons in a foreign language. It is clearly evident that the only aim of the Japanese schools in Korea is Japanization.

Moreover, the Japanese Government in Korea does not allow young Koreans to go to other countries for their education. 

"No passports are given Koreans to go to Great Britain, America or any other Western country to attend school, college or university; when they go they must make their escape in coolie clothes, and if they are caught they are heavily punished. They may, it is true, go to Japan. But in the first place, they do

not want to, and in the second they cannot do even that without a certificate from the prefect of their province; and if they, are graduates of Christian or other private schools they do not get it. They may go to Japan without a certificate if they like, but if they do they must begin all over again in Japan, and no boy or girl of 16 will do that.1

"A few Koreans go to Japanese Universities, but even there the studies which they may pursue are practically prescribed for them".2

The discrimination against the Koreans in education does not stop here. The courses for the Koreans are from two to three years shorter than those for the Japanese in Korea. Furthermore the schools for Koreans are, in number that the Government provides nearly thirty times more schools for the Japanese in Korea than for the Koreans. The following data bears out this statement:

"The 19,000,000 of Koreans are provided with but 526 schools with 87,000 pupils, or 1 pupil to every 220 of the population. This is less than five-tenths of 1 per cent. The 300,000 of Japanese are provided with 367 schools with 37,000 pupils, or 1 in every 8 of the population, a ratio of 12 per cent".3

1. Ibid p. 5
3. Dolph, "Statement and Brief Facts for the Republic of Korea", Congressional Record (Sixty-Six Congress, First Session) p. 3, September, 1919
Thus the Koreans are deprived of the means of a real education. It is very sad, too, to note that most of the educated people of Korea have been killed off. Those who do survive are either imprisoned under a life sentence, or are suffering severe torture at the hands of the Japanese.

Social

The social or racial discrimination shown by the Japanese toward the Koreans is another serious question brought about by Japanese rule in Korea. Even ignorant Japanese immigrants feel and act as superior to the Koreans. Because of their special rights and privileges from the government they treat all Koreans, regardless of class, as an inferior race. In a few of the lowest offices and agencies of public function the Japanese employ Koreans of the lowest type, those who are unlearned and rough in character, and give them special powers to express shameful contempt for the natives. In disputes or lawsuits where the opponent is a Japanese, the Koreans have no chance whatever of obtaining justice. In daily conversation and in social intercourse the Japanese call the Koreans, 'Yeobo', a term which signified their contempt for the natives.
On the other hand, the Koreans are proud of their own civilization of 4000 years, and the true Korean gentleman always avoid, as far as possible, any social intercourse with the Japanese immigrants.

"From the time of reopening of Korea the Japanese have treated the Koreans in personal intercourse as the dust beneath their feet, or as one might imagine a crude and vixenish tempered woman of peasant birth whose husband has acquired great wealth by some freak of fortune treating an unfortunate poor gentleman who had come in her employment. This was bad enough in the old days; since the Japanese acquired full power in Korea it has become infinitely worse.

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"The lowest Japanese coolie practices the right to kick, beat and cuff a Korean of high birth at his pleasure, and the Korean has in effect no redress. Had the Koreans from the first have met blow with blow, a number of them no doubt would have died, but the Japanese would have been cured of the habit. The Korean dislike of fighting, until he has really some
serious reason for a fight, has encouraged the Japanese bully; but it makes the bully's offence none the less".

Discrimination against the Koreans is also made with respect to the payment of wages. In practically all cases where Koreans are employed in the lower public services they receive a distinctly lower salary than do the Japanese functionaries who perform exactly the same work. Even in common labour, Japanese labourers, receive a higher wage than the Korean labourers for the same amount of work.

Another very serious problem is the increase of the opium trade. Though Korea is near to China, its people were not affected by the evil of opium until the Japanese domination. Japanese merchants, especially after the annexation, have introduced this evil all over the land. The Government encourages this traffic because the merchants are Japanese, and only the Koreans are endangered by it.

"The greatest hardships of the regime of the Government-General have been the denial of justice, the destruction of liberty, the shutting out of the people

2. For details see Kendall, "The Truth About Korea", p. 23ff
from all real participation in administration, the lofty assumption and display of a spirit of insolent superiority by the Japanese, and the deliberate degradation of the people by the cultivation of vice for the purpose of personal profit. In the old days, opium was practically unknown. Today opium is being cultivated on a large scale under the direct encouragement by the Government, and the sale of morphia is carried on by large numbers of Japanese itinerant merchants...."

There is still another very grievous question and that is the importation of the Japanese prostitutes into Korea. In the matter of social evils Japan is considered the worst country in the world. Prostitution is carried on under a national agency and in connection with immigration and merchant trade. Hence it is fostered wherever Japan has territorial ambitions, and thus, in the logical order of her policy, Japan has sent innumerable prostitutes into Korea. It is very grievous to Korean leaders and thinkers because of the danger to the morality of the people, not only for the present but also for the future. Thus Mr. McKenzie 1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 198-199
says: "In the old days, vice hit its head. Today the most prominent feature at night-time in Seoul, the capital, is the brilliantly lit Yoshiwara, officially created and run by Japanese, into which many Korean girls are dragged. Quarters of ill fame have been built up in many parts of the land, and Japanese panders take their gangs of diseased women on tours through smaller districts. On one occasion when I visited Sun-chon I found that the authorities had ordered some of the Christians to find accommodation in their homes for Japanese women of ill fame".

The world wonders at the great number of criminals in Korea since the Japanese domination. But the fact is the majority of the Korean criminals who are classified as such by the Japanese Government are not criminals in the true sense. Any Korean whether man or woman, may be convicted as a criminal if he fulfills any one of the three following conditions: (1) One who is intelligent and bright and has the quality of leadership is considered as a dangerous person. (2) One who does
not care to associate intimately with the Japanese is pointed out as anti-Japanese, which means traitor. (3) One who is disliked by any Japanese officers of any rank is supposed to be guilty of some crime. Since Japan is supposed to be one of the civilized nations, the Japanese Government cannot kill off or imprison the so-called Korean criminals without some pretext. Therefore, such persons who come within the classes mentioned above, are charged with murder, brigandage, counterfeiting, etc., and false confession is always obtained by force or torture. Under such a procedure every Korean is virtually a criminal at all times in the eyes of the Japanese.

The Japanese claim that they are in a high stage of civilization, and they are now asking for racial equality in the western world. They do not seem to realize the inconsistency between the responsibility for the atrocious crime in Korea and the claim of being a highly civilized state.

1. New Korea (Korean edition) Editorial, June 29, 1920
Religious

Since religion has to do so much with the life of a people, it occupied one of the important places in a country whose condition is like that of Korea. The old religions of Korea are Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Buddhism was dominant over a thousand years ago but Confucianism was the dominant religion before Christianity was introduced. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, when Christianity came into Korea, the peaceful natives accepted this new faith with open hearts. So Western missionaries have considered Korea as one of the most successful mission fields in the history of Christianity.

When Korea was independent, the natives and the western missionaries enjoyed religious liberty. But after the annexation, the Japanese Government began to persecute the Christians in Korea although in Japan, they were left alone.

There are several reasons why the Japanese Government would like to drive out Christianity from Korea. (1) Since the annexation the Christian church is the only place where a large body of people can meet together.

No other body of more than three persons can meet without permission from some Japanese authority.

(2) The Christian church seemed to give hope and comfort to the Koreans. After the Koreans had passed through all the national degradation under their corrupt government and under foreign intrigues, they were almost discouraged and without hope. But they soon found comfort in the Christian declarations that the earthly power may destroy their earthly bodies and earthly property but it cannot destroy their soul. They found joy and comfort in their faith in God and were happy even under persecution and torture.

(3) The Christian Church has a strong spirit of cooperation. Rich and poor, high and low, are joined together with spiritual bonds under the leadership of one great Master, Christ.

(4) The Christian Church strengthens the people by encouraging morality and denouncing the evils and thus helps to maintain the Korean national spirit. For example, the church takes an active stand against the selling of morphine by the Japanese. It also tries to combat the cigarette habit although this is irritating to the Japanese because the cigarette manu-
facturing is monopolized by the Government.

(5) The Christian Church encourages education among the people. As previously mentioned the Japanese Government does not want to provide the natives with higher education, and even the elementary schools must follow only the special curriculum as regulated by the Government for the purpose of Japanization. But the Christian Church attempts to give as much of the higher education as possible to the natives. The missionaries even established colleges in Korea despite the many restrictions and obstacles imposed by the Japanese. Since most of the Korean private schools were abolished, even non-Christian people sent their children to the mission schools rather than to the public schools. Furthermore, the Bible is printed and taught in the pure Korean language. This conflicts with the policy of the Japanese Government whose plan is, as mentioned before, to stamp out the native language.

(6) The Christians are not willing to bow down before the portrait and image of the Mikado. "Thou shalt not bow down before a graven image" is strictly observed by the Korean Christians. "One of the difficulties of the Christians was over the direction that children
in schools and others should bow before the picture of the Japanese Emperor on feast days. The Japanese tried to maintain to the missionaries that this was only a token of respect; the Christians declared that it was an act of adoration. To the Japanese his Emperor is a divine being, the descendant of the gods.

"Christians who refused to bow were carefully noted as malignants. In the famous Conspiracy Case, the official Assistant Procurator, in urging the conviction of one of the men, said: 'He was head teacher of the Sinan School, Chung-ju, and was a notorious man of anti-Japanese sentiments. He was the very obstinate member of the Society, who, at a meeting on the first anniversary of the birthday of the Emperor of Japan after the annexation of Korea, refused to bow before the Imperial picture on the ground that such an act was worshiping an image". This one item was the only fact that the Assistant Procurator produced to prove the head teacher's guilt. He was convicted and awarded seven years' penal servitude".

(7) The moral influence of the missionaries has been gradually becoming stronger in Korea. The Koreans have suffered greatly in the hands of foreigners but they found friendship with the Western missionaries whose sole purpose is to lead the people into Christian ways of living. Indeed the missionaries are friendly and helpful to the Koreans in a spiritual, social, and educational way, and in return the Koreans love them more than any other foreigners. This naturally arouses jealousy among the Japanese and they have tried to develop counteracting influences, but to no avail.

(8) The teachings of Christianity foster a democratic spirit among the people. Oriental people, in general, have been continually under despotic rule for thousands of years, and their old religious and philosophical teachings do not contain much of the spirit of democracy. But the teachings of Christianity in modern times exert considerable influence upon the people, with respect to democratic ideas. "The Japanese fear and dislike Christianity in Korea because it contains the seeds of liberty and democracy, and hence this repression and this oppression, which makes the
Church the victim of so unjust a surveillance and makes Christian leaders constantly liable to arrest, banishment or even worse fates."

(9) The Christian Church is the only place where the Koreans can meet or come in contact with foreigners. The Japanese Government seeks to keep the Koreans from mingling with the Westerners in order to keep the outside world from hearing about the Japanese activities in Korea, and also to keep the Koreans from learning the high ideals of the Westerners. For the same reasons, nearly all of the Western merchants in Korea have been compelled to leave the country. However, the plan of the Japanese was to make these Western merchants fail in business and for that reason they would go away from Korea. But the missionaries differ from all other foreigners. Whether in failure or in success they stay with the natives and no amount of subtle scheming will drive them out. The success of the Christian work in Korea is well known to the Western world. Western visitors in Korea who are interested in Christian work usually come in contact with the native Christians, and this is of course, very displeasing to the Japanese.

1. Moore, "Korea's Appeal for Self-Determination", p. 11
(10) The Christian Church is the only organization in Korea which is not absolutely controlled by Japanese authority. Of course, it is under the Japanese jurisdiction, but it cannot be easily dissolved or directly controlled because it is a purely religious organization and is under the direct supervision of the Western missionaries.

(11) Since the annexation many prominent Korean leaders found refuge in the Church and thereafter have engaged in educational, religious, or social work that is uplifting to the young people.

Thus the influence of Christianity in Korea is a real obstacle to the selfish ambition of the Japanese. Thousands of Koreans have rebelled against Japan at various times and thousands are now ready to take up arms against the Japanese whenever a suitable occasion presents itself, but such uprisings are quite easily quelled by the more powerful troops of Japan and without letting the outside world know of their activities. However, the Christian Church, a great organization directed by Westerners, uniting the natives under a moral and spiritual bond, cannot be easily forced to
yield to Japanese desires. The Japanese have employed several different methods in their efforts to check the influence of Christianity. (1) They have tried to win the favor of Christian leaders under the guise of friendly cooperation. Thus, they have given a few thousand dollars to the Young Men's Christian Association at Seoul; they have said that if Russia had won the war, Christian work in Korea would have been wiped out; they have given dinners to the missionaries and native Christian leaders; and they have asked their cooperation with the Japanese authority in Korea. (2) They have brought about dissension between the Western missionaries and the natives by spreading false reports. (3) They have encouraged Buddhism, Confucianism, Donghak, etc. (4) They have encouraged the Korean Christian leaders to make the Korean Christian Church independent of the leadership of the Western missionaries. (5) They have attempted to bring the Korean church into the Japanese church under the name of unification of the two churches. (6) They have made special regulations restricting

2. Ibid p. 33 ff
3. Ibid p. 30-31
preaching licenses prohibiting Bible teaching in the Christian schools and colleges and forcing many Christian institutions to close up. (7) They have also resorted to force to check Christianity, as in the Conspiracy Case of 1912 and the Massacre of 1919.

In 1912, when the Japanese Government had tortured practically all the Church leaders and had thrown them into prison, it aroused the indignation of the Christians in both America and in Europe. The Government then feared the protests and declarations that came from the countries of America and Europe, so that it finally released the prisoners. But since that time the Japanese Government has secretly carried on its persecution of Christians in Korea and the situation has been worse than ever.

The Christians in Korea were again openly persecuted in 1919 under the pretext of suppressing the Revolution. The Christian pastors teachers, and others

1. For the details of the so-called Conspiracy Case, see "The Korean Conspiracy Case" issued in New York in November 20, 1912, as the result of a conference of representatives of those missionary organizations of the United States conducting work in Korea.
were arrested, tortured, imprisoned, beaten or killed. Many of their churches were burned, and the Bible and hymn books were destroyed. Even Western missionaries were openly blamed and some of them were arrested, and their homes were searched—some of them were beaten or imprisoned.

The missionaries, especially the American missionaries, have often been accused of conspiracy with the Koreans in assassinations and revolutions. But these charges have all been false. It is true that the Americans have developed more of a democratic spirit among the Koreans than any other foreigners have done, and it is this that is vexing to the Japanese because it directly counteracts their own selfish efforts. Of course the spiritual and educational work of the missionaries is in itself a great hindrance to the policy of the Japanese.

That the missionaries are innocent of the accusations

of the Japanese is evident for two reasons. First, because of their moral obligations they could not break faith with their followers and engage in conspiracies with the native Christians. Secondly, for their own personal safety as well as their religious interest they would not incite the spirit of revolution among the Koreans. We should remember that most of the accusations against the Korean Christians have been false and largely manufactured by the Japanese themselves.

**Judicial**

As already referred to the Koreans have no participation whatsoever in the making of their laws. The Japanese are the sole legislators and they make any kind of law that suits their purpose. And the judges of the courts, the interpreters of the law, are simply the tools of the Government-General. Hence the Koreans have very little chance to obtain justice.

1. For further facts, see McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 204-238; Also see the Church periodicals and magazines such as "The Continent", Christian Herald, the Missionary Review of the World, etc.
When the prisoner is brought before the court he has little of the usual protection afforded in a British or American Court. It is for him to prove his innocence of the charge. His judge is the nominee of the Government-General and is its tool, who practically does what the Government-General tells him. The complaint of the most sober and experienced friends of the Koreans is that they cannot obtain justice unless it is deemed expedient by the authorities to give them justice".

The whole judicial system is corrupt and unjust. The courts instead of trying to secure convincing evidence, base their decisions mainly on the judgment of the policemen. Korea is virtually under Japanese martial law. Bishop Herbert Welch outlines the nature of the judicial system thus:

"The judicial system prevailing in Korea demands extended discussion by itself... the Government-General and, on occasion, the Governor-General may issue laws and ordinances which become immediately effective. 1. McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom", p. 191
They are subject to the veto of the throne, but are operative until others countermanded. The establishment and abolition of the courts are in the hand of the Governor-General, who seems, on occasion, to direct what decisions shall be reached.

"Police summary judgment, as the system is called, disposes of tens of thousands of cases of minor offenses each year. In the last year (1918) for which statistics are available 82,121 cases were handled by this plan, which gives the power of judgment to police officers, rather than to any court. Of these, 30 persons proved their innocence, 952 were pardoned and 81,139 were sentenced. A large proportion of these were punished by flogging. The handicaps on the chance of securing justice from the Korean courts themselves have been enumerated as seven: first, arrest without due process of law; second, presumption of the guilt of any person arrested; third, no right of counsel until after the first hearing; fourth, secret investigation and torture by the police; fifth, unity of action between the procurator, who hears the case, and the police, sixth, judges biased by the use of the written record from
the procurator's examination before the hearing in their own court begins, and, seventh, the power of the judges to give absolute and final decision as to the admission of any offered evidence.

"When the various facts to which I have thus briefly referred are taken together it becomes apparent that the conditions under which Americans have been willing to live in war time are very much the conditions which prevail in Korea all the time; in other words, that we live there under what is practically martial law".

**Officialdom**

One of the most offensive phases of the Japanese administration is its official tyranny. In theory and practice, a Japanese official in Korea does no wrong or makes no mistakes. No matter how much wrong or harm may be committed by an official, the Koreans must say nothing about it; they cannot ask for any kind of redress without making themselves subject to punishment.

Here is a typical instance given by Mr. Peffer:

"While I was in Korea a girl living in a village near Seoul died. Her sister applied for the burial permit. It was given, but made out in the name of the sister, the girl who was living. The girl went back to get it changed. Can't be done, she was told abruptly. 'But this is my name', she protested, 'I am not dead'. Can't be done, she was told. 'But it is wrong', she exclaimed. It is not wrong, she was told; it can't be wrong. 'But it is my name' she said again. And then she was told to get out, to get out quickly or she would be locked in a cell. She knew what that meant. She got out. And she had to change her name to that of her dead sister, and officially she herself is dead, and this when there has been death in the family—-the girl's own sister! As if that wasn't sad enough.

"It is not difficult to imagine what life means to a Korean. It is not difficult to imagine why the tortures were committed last spring, why men were flogged to death. It is not difficult to imagine why humble Koreans live in constant terrorization, in constant fear of official anger. It is not difficult to imagine why the country
twists in the yoke of spies more omnipresent even then in Tsarist Russia. To understand Korea you must understand this officialdom and its psychology"....

The official power and dignity are shown not only in the common officials but even by the school teachers.

"Japanese officials in many instances seem to delight in exaggerating their contempt on those under them. This is particularly true of some of the Japanese teachers. Like all Government officials, these teachers wear swords, symbols of power. Picture the dignity of the teacher of a class of little boys who lets his sword clang to terrify the youngsters under him, or who tries to frighten the girls by displaying his weapons".

The Japanese Government employs a most severe kind of police system, including the terrible gendarmes, in Korea. The gendarmerie was nominally abolished a few months ago but the same gendarmes are still in Korea because they now wear the police uniform. No civilized people can realize or imagine what the char-


acter and nature of those police and gendarmerie are, because there is no other country in the world that lives under such extreme surveillance. Through the police and gendarmerie Japan attempts to impress her power, dignity, and force upon the Koreans. Thus Mr. McKenzie says:

"Its outstanding feature for most of the people is (I use present tense because as I write it still continues) the gendarmerie and police. These are established all over the country, and they have in effect, although not in name, power of life or death. They can enter into any house, without warrant, and search it. They destroy whatever they please, on the spot. Thus if a policeman searches the room of a student, and sees a book which does not please him, he can—and does—often burn it on the spot. Sometimes he takes it into the street and burns it there to impress the neighbors."

Espionage

The Government of Japan has also resorted to a most rigid and extensive spy system in Korea. And very grave danger lies in the fact that these spies create and

circulate false reports about the Korean people, and the result has been that untold harm has been imposed upon the innocent. The lives of the Koreans, especially of the educated or influential men are in constant danger at the hands of these spies. Mr. Moor gives a vivid picture of the spy system thus:

"A rigid spy system has been inaugurated. Everyone must be registered and is given a number, which is known to the police. Every time he leaves his village or town he must register at the police station and state fully the business he intends to transact and his destination. The policeman phones to this place and if his actions are in any way at variance with his report he is liable to arrest and mistreatment. A strict classification is kept on the basis of a man's education, influence, position, etc. As soon as a man begins to show ability or qualities of leadership he is put in class 'a', detectives are set on his trail, and from henceforth he becomes a marked man, hounded wherever he goes. Even children are watched or bribed for information. If a man escapes the country
his number is traced, his family or relatives arrested and perchance tortured until they reveal his whereabouts. A man is likely to disappear any day and perhaps not be heard of again. It is a very efficient Prussianism which thus aims to crush the spirit of a people."

**Propaganda**

The Japanese are, no doubt, a very diplomatic people. Their system of propaganda is well organized both at home and abroad, and especially in the English speaking world. Through it Japan controls the entire news service from the Far East to the Western world; through it she spreads such news as is favorable to Japan and suppresses all that is unfavorable to her. The chief aim is to not let the true news come out from Korea to other countries except that which praises the Japanese administration there or which condemns the Koreans. Thus Mr. McKenzie says:

"The Japanese overestimated their own capacity and underestimated the Korean. They had carefully organized their clique in Europe and America, especially in America. They engaged the services of a group of paid agents—some of them holding highly responsible positions—"

1. Moore, "Korea's Appeal For Self-Determination", p. 9-10
To sing their praises and advocate the cause. They enlisted others by more subtle means, delicate flattery and social ambition. They taught diplomats and consular officials, especially Great Britain and America, that it was a bad thing to become a persona non grata to Tokyo. They were backed by a number of people, who were sincerely won over by the finer sides of the Japanese character. In diplomatic and social intrigue, the Japanese make the rest of the world look as children. They used their forces not merely to land themselves, but to promote the belief that the Koreans were an exhausted and good-for-nothing race.

"In the end, they made the fatal mistake of believing what their sycophants and flatterers told them. Japanese civilization was the highest in the world; Japan was to be the future leader, not alone of Asia, but of all nations. The Korean was fit for nothing but to act as hewer of wood and drawer of water for his overlord."

**Torture**

One of the most heart-rending practices that Japan follows in Korea is the wholesale of torture of untried prisoners. The enlightened world cannot even

1. "Korea's Fight for Freedom." p. 185
understand what that torture means. It is too horrible even to describe. The repeated agony that is frequently endured is much more horrible and intolerable than mere killing. Some of the forms of torture are characterized in the short summary of Mr. McKenzie:

"1. The stripping, beating, kicking, flogging, and outraging of school girls and young women.

"2. Flogging school boys to death.

"3. Burning - the burning of young girls by pressing lighted cigarettes against their tender parts, and the burning of men, women and children by searing their bodies with hot irons.

"4. Stringing men up by their thumbs, beating them with bamboos and iron rods until unconscious, restoring them and repeating the process, sometimes several times in one day. Sometimes until death.

"5. Contraction - tying men up in such fashion as to cause intense suffering.

"6. Confinement for long periods under torturing conditions, as, e.g. where men, and women are packed so tightly in a room that they cannot lie or sit down for days at a stretch."

1. Ibid p. 9
These are only a few of the forms of torture imposed on the prisoners. Other practices were tearing out the toenails and fingernails from the flesh; placing men in a box that was afterward sealed tight; tying men up, forcing their head back and then pouring hot water or a solution of water and pepper down their nostrils; shoving slivers of wood far under their fingernails; pouring ice-cold water on the naked body out doors in freezing weather; giving salty food without giving water and letting the prisoner get thirsty until he loses consciousness. Some of the tortures, particularly those applied to young men and women who became political prisoners cannot be put in print. But bright young persons who survived the Japanese punishment are often so disabled or maimed that life to them is only perpetual misery. Thus Mr. McKenzie writes.

"Unfortunately for the noble indignation of the writer, the torture left its marks, and many men only escaped from the hell of the Japanese prison in Seoul to die. They were so broken that they never recovered."  

1. For details, see Ibid pp. 218-238; 290-302.  
2. Ibid p. 238
It must be remembered that the tortures are inflicted not by way of punishment after conviction, but in order to extract evidence by which to convict, which means that the innocent were tortured equally with the guilty -- often the innocent become guilty as when the tortures bring about a confession of guilt. It must also be remembered that most of the prisoners who receive such 'torture a la mode,' are teachers, Christian preachers, writers, and other leaders of the Koreans who desire only some common God-given rights in a peaceful way.

No man can punish his dog in such a manner as the Japanese punish the Koreans. One may ask why the Japanese employ such inhuman forms of torturing upon the Koreans? The reason is very simple. The Japanese learned from their ancestors the use of brutal force; they believe in the use of all mighty force and that this force is everything. Since all sensible Koreans cannot forget the unjustifiable annexation and the terrible oppression perpetrated by the Japanese, the Japanese seem to think it necessary to assert their dignity and power by the exercise of force. So Japan does everything by force. She
came to Korea by force, annexed Korea by force, and
rulled Korea by force - force in politics, force in
religion, force in education, force in trade, force
everywhere.

**Liberty**

As to freedom of speech, freedom of press, and
freedom of assembly there is none in Korea. Even
little children have been severely punished because,
sometimes, a few phrases of the old Korean national
hymns have unconsciously come from their lips.

"Individual liberty is non-existent. The life of
the Korean is regulated down to the smallest detail.
If he is rich, he is generally required to have a Jap­
anese steward who will supervise his expenditure. If
he has money in the bank, he can only draw a small sum
out at a time, unless he gives explanation why he needs
it."

No publication is permitted at all, unless it is
passed on by the inspectors or censors of the Japanese
Government. Practically the Koreans have really no
newspapers at all.

"There is only one newspaper now published in Korea
in the Korean language, and it is edited by a Japanese.

1. Ibid p. 192
An American missionary published a magazine, and attempted to include in it a few mild comments on current events. He was sternly bidden not to attempt it again. Old books published before the Japanese acquired control have been freely destroyed. Thus a large number of school books - not in least partizan - prepared by Professor Hulbert were destroyed."

Any Korean book or publication that contains any kind of direct or implied reference to Japan, or that lends any kind of encouragement to Korean societies is at once branded as "dangerous literature," or "dangerous thought." Such publication are immediately suppressed. A typical illustration of what the Japanese call "dangerous thought" is given in the following paragraph:

"The most ludicrous example of censorship gone mad was experienced by Dr. Gale, one of the oldest, most learned and most esteemed of the missionaries in Korea. Dr. Gale is a British subject. For a long time he championed the Japanese cause, until the Japanese destroyed his confidence by their brutalities in 1919. But the fact that Dr. Gale was their most influential friend did not check the Japanese censors.

1. p. 193
On one occasion Dr. Gale learned that some Korean 'Readers' prepared by him for use in schools had been condemned. He inquired the reason. The Censor replied that the book 'contained dangerous thoughts.' Still more puzzled, the doctor politely inquired if the Censor would show the passages containing 'dangerous thoughts.' The Censor thereupon pointed out a translation of Kipling's famous story of the elephant, which had been included in his book. 'In that story,' said he ominously, 'the elephant refused to serve his second master.' What could be more obvious that Dr. Gale was attempting to teach Korean children, in this subtle fashion to refuse to serve their second master, the Japanese Emperor?" 

"Why try to run a newspaper when an innocent missionary publication dare not even refer to the fact that the peace conference has concluded its sessions? Or when this can happen. A couple of years ago. The Christian messenger, a missionary weekly, ran an editorial leader on Spring. It was the usual semi-poetic outpouring how fine was the rebirth of the year, when all things are again new and fresh and green and men are heartened anew thereby, etc: The proofs were submitted to the designated official. He came to the leader.

1. p. 194
His pen paused suspended in excitement. 'Ha, Ha, said he, Spring, rebirth, new things, Ha, Ha.' Incitement to rebellion, a calling to Koreans to arise and set up a new government! Sedition! Treason! And that issue of the paper was suppressed.

"And this: In a Tract Society pamphlet issued some time ago there appeared a sentence in which all Christian Koreans were adjured to expel the devil from within them. That pamphlet was suppressed with high indignation. Devil? said the official to the editor, devil? When you say devil you are referring to Japan, you are urging Koreans to rise in rebellion: And instructions were then issued to all religious publications never to allow the character for devil to appear in their papers or books again."

Under such condition, Korean writers and journalists face constant danger and cannot develop their ability.

"For a Korean to be a journalist has been for him to be a marked man liable to constant arrest, not for what he did or does, but for what the police suppose he may do or might have done. The natural result of this has been to drive Koreans out of regular journalism and to lead to the creation of a secret press."

No meetings of any kind are allowed without permission from the Japanese authority. Groups of only four or five persons are broken up by policemen or by spies who are publicly or secretly working for the Government throughout the country. "No more than three Koreans have been able to hold a meeting, if only for social purpose."

CHAPTER VI
THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Independence Movement

As already mentioned, the Korean Independence movement has continued ever since the Japanese occupation in Korea. Thus Mr. Kendall says:

"The Independent Movement in Korea is not a new thing. It began fourteen years ago, just after Japan had forced the Korean Cabinet to grant her a suzerainty and had stepped in to rule the people 'a contre coeur'."

It was especially strong after the annexation, even when the Japanese ruled more oppressively than before. The Koreans became more united and are more intent on achieving the goal of their destiny.

In behalf of this movement many noble Koreans have been tortured, imprisoned, or killed by the Japanese, under the name of murderers, brigands, counterfeiters, etc. All news of these inhuman practices has been suppressed by the Japanese until last year when it first became known to the outside world.

The Korean Revolution of 1910 is conspicuous because of its peculiar nature and because of its timeliness. It was a peaceful or passive revolution and is considered the first of its kind in the history of the world.

1. The Truth About Korea, p. 24
Again, Korea was the first small nation to start a revolution calling for the self-determination of its people, since the armistice of the Great War.

The fundamental causes of the Revolution have been given in the previous chapters. Soon after the annexation many of the prominent leaders of the Koreans were either killed or imprisoned, and others fled for their lives and became exiles in Siberia, Manchuria, China, the Hawaiian Islands, America, and Europe. Many young Koreans escaped from their country to gain the education denied them there and to seek an opportunity to aid their native land. Hundreds and thousands of men and women fled from Japanese oppression, and sought refuge in Manchuria and Siberia. All of these refugees were hungering and longing for liberty. At the same time those who remained in Korea kept up the Independence movement with unceasing effort under unspeakable sufferings and difficulties. They now understood that the movement of the Righteous Army and other local revolts were useless, so they were looking for an opportunity to unite the whole population and to make a nation-wide revolution. They all had hope for the future, and therefore they encouraged education and
all other means that would further their position and power.

There were also immediate causes for the revolution of 1919. One of these was the action of the religious sects. The Chundo Kyo or Heaven Worshippers had been encouraged by the Japanese as a religious cult, because they thought that this sect would counteract the influence of Christianity in Korea. Under its leader, Shon Pyung-hi, an old friend of Japan, Chundo Kyo grew rapidly and it soon reached a membership of over three millions. But Shon soon began to realize that the Japanese were not the friends but the enemies of the Koreans. It was also evident that if he continued to be pro-Japanese his followers might not support him. Therefore, Shon and his followers agreed to unite with the other organizations in order to aid the independence movement, and thus the native Christian leaders and leaders of Chundo Kyo, Buddhists, Confucianists, and all classes of people came together, regardless of their religious creeds and other differences. They stood solidly together with one aim, freedom from Japanese oppression.

"The struggle of the rebel army in the hills had died down. But men got together, wondering what steps they could take. Christians and non-Christians formed a common bond of union. Their life had come to a pass where it was better to die than to live under unchecked tyranny. Thus the Independence movement came into being."

The looked for occasion was also at hand. The great World War had just ended and the new-world organization, the League of Nations, had been proposed in connection with the Peace Treaty at Paris, together with President Wilson's famous Declaration of the Rights of Weaker Nations. The Korean leaders, at home and abroad, then became active and chose delegates to represent their cause at the Paris Conference. At the same time the Korean people, as a whole, resolved to make an open and an orderly demonstration, to their support of their delegates in Paris.

All classes of Korean people partook in the activities of this movement under the leadership of Korean scholars and graduates from American and European colleges. "They were not as charged by the Japanese Government, composed of rabid radicals, disgruntled politicians, or Bolsheviki."

1. p 202
At this moment the old Korean Emperor died suddenly and in a peculiar way, just one week before the day fixed for the wedding of his son to a Japanese princess. "One rumor was that he had committed suicide to avoid signing a document drawn up by the Japanese for presentation to the Peace Conference, saying that he was well satisfied with the present Government of his country. Another report, still more generally believed, was that he had committed suicide to prevent the marriage of his son, Prince Kon, to the Japanese Princess Nashinoto. The engagement of this young Prince to a Korean girl had been broken off when Japan acquired control of the Imperial House. Royal romances always appeal to the crowd. The heart of the people turned to the old Emperor again. Men, women and children put on straw shoes, signs of national mourning, and a hundred thousand people flocked to Seoul to witness the funeral ceremonies." The Koreans planned to start their popular demonstrations on the day of the funeral which was to take place on March 4, and the organizations all over the country were notified to that effect.

The Japanese suspected that something was afoot and made hurried preparations to put down this proposed demonstration. The Korean leaders also learned that the Japanese were preparing to meet them, so they resolved to make their demonstration on March 1 instead of March 4.

Arrangements were made for gatherings and processions all over the country, and a Declaration of Independence was drawn up and delivered at the different centres. Mimeographed copies of the Declaration, were then made and were distributed by boys and girls.

The Declaration of Independence is a document impossible to summarize. "It is written in the lofty tone of the ancient prophets. It was something more than the aspiration of the Korean people. It was the cry of the New Asia, struggling to find its way out of oppression and mediaeval militarism into the promised land of liberty and peace."

The complete text of the Declaration is as follows:

"We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and the liberty of the Korean people. We tell it to the world in witness of the equality of all nations and we pass it on to our posterity as their inherent right."
"We make this proclamation, having back of us 5,000 years of history, and 20,000,000 of a united loyal people. We take this step to insure to our children for all time to come, personal liberty in accord with the awakening consciousness of this new era. This is the clear leading of God, the moving principal of the present age, the whole human race's just claim. It is something that cannot be stamped out, or stifled, or gagged, or suppressed by any means.

"Victims of an older age, when brute force and the spirit of blunder ruled, we have come after these long thousands of years to experience the agony of ten years of foreign oppression, with every loss to the right to live, every restriction of the freedom of thought, every damage done to the dignity of life, every opportunity lost for a share in the intelligent advance of the age in which we live.

"Assuredly, if the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the agony of the present is to be unloosed, if the 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 attain to any way of progress, if we are to deliver our children from the painful, shameful heritage, if we are to leave blessing and
happiness intact for those who succeed us, the first of all necessary things is the clear-cut independence of our people. What cannot our twenty millions do, every man with sword in heart, in this day when human nature and conscience are making a stand for truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?

"We have no desire to accuse Japan of breaking many solemn treaties since 1636, nor to single out specially the teachers in the schools or government officials who treat the heritage of our ancestors as a colony of their own, and our people and their civilization as a nation of savages, finding delight only in beating us down and bringing us under their heel.

"We have no wish to find special fault with Japan's contempt of our civilization and the principles on which her state rests; we, who have greater cause to reprimand ourselves, need not spend precious time in finding fault with other; neither need we, who require so urgently to build for the future spend useless hours over what is past and gone. Our urgent need today is setting up of this house of ours and not a discussion of who has broken it down, or what has caused its ruins."
Our work is to clear the future of defects in accord with the earnest dictates of conscience. Let us not be filled with bitterness or resentment over past agonies or past occasions for anger.

"Our part is to influence the Japanese Government, dominated as it is by the old idea of brute force which thinks to run counter to reason and universal law, so that it will change, act honestly and in accord with the principles of right and truth.

"The result of annexation, brought about without any conference with the Korean people, is that the Japanese, indifferent to us, use every kind of parti-

ality for their own, and by a false set of figures show a profit and loss account between us two peoples most untrue, digging a trench of everlasting resentment deeper the farther they go.

"Ought not the way of enlightened courage to be to correct the evils of the past by ways that are sincere, and by true sympathy and friendly feeling make a new world in which the two peoples will be equally blessed?

"To bind by force twenty millions of resentful Koreans will mean not only loss of peace forever for this part of the Far East, but also will increase the
ever-growing suspicion of four hundred millions of Chinese - upon whom depends the danger or safety of the Far East - besides strengthening the hatred of Japan. From this all the rest of the East will suffer. To-day Korean independence will mean not only daily life and happiness for us, but also it would mean Japan's departure from an evil way and exaltation to the place of true protector of the East, so that China, too, even in her dreams, would put all fear of Japan aside. This thought comes from no minor resentment, but from a large hope for the future welfare and blessing of mankind.

"A new era wakes before our eyes, the old world of force is gone, and the new world of righteousness and truth is here. Out of the experience and travail of the old world arises this light on life's affairs. The insects stifled by the foe and snow of winter awake at this same time with the breezes of spring and the soft light of the sun upon them.

"It is the day of the restoration of all things on the full tide of which we set forth, without delay or fear. We desire a full measure of satisfaction in the way of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and opportunity to develop what is in us for the glory of our people."
"We awake now from the old world with its darkened conditions in full determination and one heart and one mind, with right on our side, along with the forces of nature to a new life. May all the ancestors to the thousands and ten thousand generations aid us from within and all the force of the world aid us from without, and let the day we take hold be the day of our attainment. In this hope we go forward."

Thirty-three leaders were chosen for the martyrdom that would inevitably follow, and they became the original signers of the Korean Declaration of Independence. These signers represented all classes of the people. The first two names on the list were Shon Pyung-hi, leader of the Chundo Kye, and Pastor Kil, one of the oldest and most famous Christian leaders in Korea. The events that follow had tremendous significance.

On the morning of March 1st the signers of this Declaration of Independence met at the Pagoda Restaurant in Seoul - Pastor Kil was the only absentee, being delayed on his journey from Pyeng-Yang, but he came later however.

1. For further official documents and proclamations of the provisional Government for the New Republic of Korea, see Kendall, "The Truth About Korea." pp. 72-93
Some of the prominent Japanese were invited to eat with them. After the meal, the Declaration of Independence was read before the guests and then it was despatched to the Governor-General. Immediately afterwards the signers telephoned to the Central Police Station, and informed the officials of what they had done and that they were awaiting arrest.

In a few moments the police motor cars, with their heavily armed guards arrived. The signers quietly entered the cars and were driven away to the station. They had to make their way through the dense crowds who cheered and shouted, "Manseii! Manseii! Manseii!" This was the old national battle cry, which means, literally, "may Korea live ten thousand years." Not only the capitol but the whole country was in open demonstration, and old Korean flags were in evidence everywhere.

"Men who had been ennobled by the Japanese stood with coolies; shopkeepers closed their stores, policemen who had worked under the Japanese took their uniforms and joined the crowds, porters and labourers, scholars and preachers, men and women all came together."  

In the afternoon meetings were held in all the large towns. The Declaration was read, and copies of it were distributed. Impassioned speeches were made; old Korean flags were proudly displayed; and the whole country was full of the cry of "Manseil." All classes united in shouting, "Manseil" with their utmost power.

The plans were made and carried out so thoroughly and efficiently that no outsiders knew what was happening until the movement was well under way. It showed the remarkable organization behind it. Thus Mr. Peffer in discussing the heroic movement of the Koreans asserts:

"An equally remarkable fact is the thoroughness and efficiency with which the movement was planned and executed. None of the officials with the best intelligence service at their command or of the foreigners who are closest in touch with Koreans had even the smallest knowledge or warning of what was to come. There was unrest in the air; that everybody knew, but no more. Only the leaders knew and those who were carrying out the plans. Copies of the Declaration of Independence had been printed by the thousands and sent throughout the country ready for distribution. Thousands of small Korean flags had been made and sent about - and it has always been a crime to have one of these in one's possession."
Meetings had been arranged and their speakers chosen and the exact time fixed for each city. Propaganda had already been sent abroad—a copy of the Declaration of Independence and a statement of Korea's position were brought to me in the office of "The China Press" the same day the Declaration was proclaimed. Money had been raised. A daily paper called the Independence Newspaper was being secretly printed in the same manner as La Libre Belgique and with the same thrilling accompaniments. A complex, national organization was working smoothly—and all of it at dire peril and under heavy cover. It is an impressive achievement."

It was a new kind of revolution, known as a "Peaceful Revolution." In fact, it was of no use for the Koreans to attempt an armed revolution because they had no weapons. All weapons had to be given up when Japan assumed control of Korea; even the ancient sporting blunder-busses were taken and kitchen knives were limited. In view of this situation the Koreans decided not to use violence, and the leaders drew up a compact governing the conduct of the revolution. This compact

called the "Three Items of Agreement" and was strictly observed throughout the revolution. The compact reads:

"1. This work of ours is in behalf of truth, religion and life, undertaken at the request of our people, in order to make known their desire for liberty. Let no violence be done to any one.

" Let those who follow us, every man, all the time, every hour, show forth with gladness this same mind.

"3. Let all things be done decently and in order, so that our behaviour to the very end may be honourable and upright."

Although the revolution was a peaceful one it met with the harshest retaliation on the part of the Japanese. Such a peaceful or passive revolution only waving the old flag and shouting "Mansei" met the worst kind of treatment by the Japanese. Nevertheless, demonstrations and processions were held in every city and village throughout the country, but everywhere order among the Koreans was well maintained. "Excepting but a few incidents, it was a peaceful revolt - on the part of the

Koreans. Crowds formed, marched through the streets and cried, "Mansei." That was all. They were gathered spontaneously and they were weaponless. And to the baton and bayonet charges of the police, gendarmerie and troops, to the volleys from rifles, they made no reply. They had no reply to make; they had no weapons with which to reply. The Japanese have seen to that since the occupation.

While the revolt was peaceful in nature the heroic spirit of the Koreans was plainly manifest. The merciless bayonet charges of the Japanese were met with the most heroic courage on the part of the Koreans. Thus Mr. Peffer says:

"But in this rising there is the note of the heroic more even than in one of arms. Crowds of coolies stormed the police stations and demanded to be arrested. Students ran into bayonets with breasts bared. Police jabbed and cut and kicked and killed, and on the crowds came shouting "Mansei." The first line was cut down and ridden down by mounted men, the second came on shouting "mansei." Every man and woman in that line knew what was before him, every man and woman had seen the penalty paid; it meant brutal beating, arrest, torture and even death.

They did not quiver. When one procession was broken up, another formed and marched straight at the waiting troops. Only cheering, waving their flags and cheering. We have all heard, we westerners, that in the Eastern people there is no physical courage. Yet I can think of no finer courage, even heroism, than that of their people who without resisting, without means of resistance, knowing the horrible fate that was before them, went on to it without flinching, without fear or regret. It was a magnificent gesture of despair for a forlorn hope, almost without parallel."

The horrible treatment of the Koreans is further described by Mr. Peffer.

"And it was a horrible fate. Whatever atonement Japan may make, the cruelty, savagery, and barbarity with which it crushed those demonstrations will stand against it for disgrace for generations. The story of the thousands, the tens of thousands, who were fiendishly beaten and after arrest fiendishly tortured is almost too terrible for belief. It is almost impossible to think of it as the act of human beings to human beings. But there is no need to go far for proof.

1. Ibid
Foreign consuls, missionaries and business men and foreign women stood in the windows of their homes in Seoul and saw aged women and young men run through with swords, saw young students tied to a tree and beaten into insensibility with clubs, saw young girls ridden down, kicked in the abdomen and dragged off by the hair. Schrecklichkeit? The Belgians do not even know the meaning of the word. Only those who have lived and died under the Turk can tell a similar tale.

"Had these acts been committed in a wave of passion under the fury of conflict they might be forgiven, if not forgotten. But there was no conflict, these people made no show of retaliation. And the greatest number of atrocities and the worst were committed, not during the demonstrations in the streets, but deliberately and in cold blood later in the police examination rooms."

Another vivid conception of the treatment of the Koreans by the Japanese may be seen from the statement by Rev. A. E. Armstrong, of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, who was on a visit to Korea at the time of the Revolution:

"The tortures which the Koreans suffer at the hands of the police and gendarmes are identical with those employed in the famous conspiracy trials. I read affidavits, now on their way to the United States, and

1. Ibid
British Governments, which made one's blood boil, so frightful were means used in trying to extort confessions from prisoners. And many of these had no part in the demonstrations but were simply onlookers."

Even Japanese civilians, as well as the Japanese policemen and soldiers, took part in the barbarous treatment of the innocent people.

"The Japanese residents were armed with long hooks at the heads of poles, with leaden sticks, with weapons of every kind. They threw their hooked sticks among the crowds, hideously tearing the heads of men and women."

Furthermore under the pretext of suppressing the Revolution the Japanese began an open persecution and massacre of Christian Koreans.

"In the country people were stopped by soldiers when walking along the roads, and asked, 'are you Christians?' If they answered, 'yes,' they were beaten; if 'no,' they were allowed to go. The local gendarmes told the people in many villages that Christianity was to be wiped out and all Christians shot. "Christians are being arrested wholesale and beaten simply because they are Christians, came the reports from many parts."

"Christians - both men and women - have been taken to Japanese churches, stripped of their clothing and tied to crosses and beaten twenty-nine times upon their naked bodies — Christian Churches have been looted and Bibles destroyed. Little girls have been dragged by their hair and tied to telegraph poles by the same means and publicly flogged. Women have been violated and beaten with inhuman viciousness. It has been Belgium over again, save that difference in religion, as well as nationality, has been seized upon as an excuse for bestiality."

"At the town of Cheamri, forty-five miles from Seoul, the Japanese soldiers arrived and ordered all the male Christians to gather at the Church. When they had assembled the soldiers deliberately opened fire on them with their rifles, massacring thirty-five. This was confirmed by investigation of the British and American consular agents, and is admitted by the Japanese authorities, including Governor General Hasegawa.

"Soochung, another village near Cheamri, was burned and the fugitives were fired upon as they ran from their burning homes; also bayoneted by the Japanese soldiers."

Reports have been received of the burning of nine other villages and many Christian Churches. The Rev. Stacy L. Roberts, an American missionary stationed at Pyeng Yang, reports that more than a hundred Koreans were shot or beaten to death in Tyung-ju. Throughout the whole peninsula similar atrocities have been committed."

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Revolution, and one which surprised the Japanese was the activity of the Korean school children. These same children had attended the Government schools, and had been taught in the Japanese language by Japanese teachers. They took an active part in the demonstrations even under the terrible Japanese swords, and they often encouraged their elders. Hundreds of them were imprisoned, threatened, tortured, or killed, and they met their fate like true martyrs.

"The steps taken by the Japanese to suppress and prevent discontent often created and fostered it. This was specially illustrated in the schools. The new educational system, with its constant inculcation of loyalty to the Mikado, made even the little girls violently Nationalist. School children were spied up

2. For details, see McKenzie, Korea's Fight for Freedom." pp. 251-302.
for incipient treason as though the lisping of childish lips might overthrow the throne. The speecher of boys and girls in junior schools, at their school exercises, were carefully noted, and the child who said anything that might be construed by the Censor as 'dangerous thought' would be arrested, examined and punished.

"The effect of this was what might have been expected. 'They compel us to learn Japanese,' said one little miss, sagely. That does not matter. We are now able to understand what they say. They cannot understand what we say. All the better for us when the hour comes.' On independence Day the children, particularly in the Government schools, were found to be banded together and organized against Japan. They had no fear in expressing their views and sought martyrdom. Some of them won it."

Another remarkable aspect of this Revolution was the martyrdom of women and girls for the sake of liberty. These women, especially student girls and teachers, took very active part in the demonstrations

Ibid.

and processions in the same orderly and courageous way as the men did. They, too, were subjected to the most cruel and the most shameful treatment at the hands of the Japanese. A typical illustration of the atrocities committed against Korean women is given by Mr. Martin of the Chinese Imperial University, and it was afterward referred to by Senator George W. Norris in his speech before the United States Senate.

"This woman had been a mission teacher, 'very bright and intelligent.' She was two months advanced in pregnancy. She had gone to the house of one Pyo to comfort the mother, who was distressed because her young daughter had been carried off by the Japanese police. 'As she came out of the house several police and soldiers came into the yard. They knew she was the school teacher and had been searching for her at the school. They told her to come with them. As she stood in front of the police station, a policeman kicked her hard from behind, and she fell forward into the room. As she lay, stunned, on the floor, a policeman put his foot on her head. Then he raised her up and struck her many times over the head and face.'
He tore off her clothes, 'meanwhile constantly kicking and stiking her. He also beat her with a heavy stick and with a paddle. He tore off her underclothes and kicked her in the chest and beat her, accusing her of setting the minds of the Korean children against Japan, and said that he intended to beat her to death.'

"She tried to cover her nackedness with the underclothes that had been stripped from her,' but they were torn away from her. 'She tried to sit down, but was forced to rise by constant kicking and beating with a stick. She tried to turn away from the many men in the room, but was constantly forced to turn again so as to face the men. She tried to protect herself with her hands and arms, and one man twisted her arms behind her back and held them there while the beating and kicking continued. All parts of her body were beaten. She became benumbed and was losing consciousness of pain. Her face swelled, and her body became discolored.'

The Provisional Government

As we have noted the will of the Korean people was well expressed through their Declaration of Independence, set forth on March 1, 1919.

1. Congressional Record (Sixty-sixth Congress, First Session), p. 12, October, 14, 1919.
On April 23, delegates, chosen by each of the thirteen provinces of Korea, met in Seoul and adopted a constitution, and thereby created the Republic of Korea.

Dr. Syngman Rhu, one of the reformers of 1894, who had suffered seven-years of imprisonment for the cause of independence, was made the first President. The ministry was made up of twelve of the most prominent and influential men among the Koreans. The list was as follows:

- Secretary of State --------- Donghui Ri
- Secretary of Foreign Affairs -- Yongman Park
- Secretary of Interior -------- Donglyeng Ri
- Secretary of War ------------- Paiklin Roe
- Secretary of Finance --------- Siyung Ri
- Secretary of Law -------------- Kiusik Cynn
- Secretary of Education -------- Kiusik Kim
- Secretary of Communication ---- Changbum Moon
- Director Bureau of Labour ------ Changho Ahn
- Chief of Staff ---------------- Dongyul Lew
- Vice Chief of Staff ----------- Seiyung Ri
- Vice Chief of Staff ---------- Nansoo Hahn

A legislative body, called the national Assembly, was provided. It was made up of representatives

1. For the original constitution, see McKenzie, "Korea's Fight for Freedom," p. 304; for revised constitution, see, "Korean Parliamentary Record "(Korean edition).
chosen from each of the thirteen provinces, four repre­sentatives being selected from each province. Dongdo Shon, a prominent Christian leader, was elected first president of the Assembly.

This government is not legally recognized by other powers but it is, nevertheless, a functioning government. The situation is similar to that of Czecho-Slovakia during the late war, in that the seat of government is on foreign territory. This provisional government makes and executes its own laws. It has local units in all parts of Korea, and the people support it through the proper channels, no matter how hostile and cruel the Japanese may be.

"The leaders are able, conservative college graduates, and realize the limits of their people. Their aim is to establish a sound republic with each citizen enjoying freedom of speech, religion and personal liberty, and to have their little nation no longer the pawn of Asia.

"All they ask is to be free forever from the Prussian trickery, brutality and oppression of Japanese Imperialistic, Autocratic Militarism." ¹

Reforms Under Saito

Some of the facts of the inhuman treatment of the Koreans became known to the outside world, during and after the Revolution of 1919. The world was startled to hear how the Japanese massacred innocent Koreans and especially to learn how cruelly they treated the Christians. This brought not a little reproach on Japan and she saw that she would be obliged to modify her policy in Korea. She soon announced to the world that she would appoint a liberal man in the place of General Count Hasegawa, the Governor General. However, this was only another Japanese diplomatic trick. Of course, the Koreans did not believe in the promises of the Japanese Government because of their former bitter experiences. But the people in other countries, especially, those, who have faith in Japan, were disappointed to learn that Admiral Baron Saito, another military man, had been appointed as the new Governor-General in Korea.

It is true that Admiral Baron Saito is a little better type of man than General Count Terauchi and General Count Hasegawa, and that he has instituted
some reforms. We may gather the general nature of this so-called reformation of Saito from the following summarized statement of Mr. Peffer, an American journalist, who went to Korea to make a personal investigation:

"1. It has abolished the gendarmerie as such. But it is an indisputable fact that the gendarmes themselves have not been dismissed or sent home; they have been put into police uniforms and added to the police force. Only their uniforms have been changed. And these are the men whose rule has been most harsh and domineering and who committed the worst of the atrocities.

"2. It has issued an order permitting people who own land to bury their dead in their own burial plots instead of public cemeteries. This had been forbidden before, one of the first acts of the Japanese Government having been to forbid wide-spread and haphazard burial of the dead, which had been the custom in Korea as in China. At this the Koreans laugh. They are giving liberty to the dead they say. And they add that this is the one good thing that the Japanese Government did in the past. The younger generation, at least, has learned that the old-fashioned Chinese method of burial is wasteful."
3. It has agreed to appoint Korean principals in the schools. But what it has done is to appoint just thirteen Korean principals and then transfer them to small, remote towns.

4. It has agreed to give equal pay to Koreans and Japanese for equal rank in the civil service. But only in a few places has this been done, and there it is charged that while equal pay is given for equal rank, Koreans are demoted in rank, so as to remain at their previous salary. The excuse given is that the Koreans are not so skillful as the Japanese. In effect the order has been nullified.

5. It has announced that it will add two years to the primary school course and give the Koreans the same curriculum as the Japanese. This is good as far as it goes, but it does not touch the root of the educational problem. Japanese is still to be the main subject taught, the order making it the only language to be used in the schools has not been rescinded; the exclusive use of Japanese text-books, which are merely Japanese propaganda, is not to be abandoned."

Then he goes on to say about the continuance of Japanese atrocities in Korea: "To the impartial observer 1. "The Truth About Korea." Korea Review 2:8-9, April, 1920.
it is difficult to see wherein the outlook of the officialdom as a whole is changed. Tortures, as I have said before, have not ceased. The Japanese deny this, but the evidence is there for whoever seeks it. Every day innocent men are being arrested, in Seoul, in Taiku, in Syen Chyen, in Pyeng Yang, in Chemulpo, in scores of other cities; every day they are being arrested on the vaguest suspicion, tortured to make them "confess," held for several days or weeks and then, if nothing is found against them, released without explanation or apology — just turned out. Better yet I have seen the marks on their bodies, the wrenched arms, the torn flesh where ropes had been bound tight, the rotted flesh where they had been flogged ninety strokes with three bamboo rods tied together with rough cord.

"Thousands of youths, both boys and girls, are still in prison in the freezing cold of Korea for having done no more than shout "mansei."

"In one city a girls' society made a large number of straw shoes which it asked permission to send to the women in one prison. Permission was refused. The women are still walking the icy stone prison floors in their bare feet night and day."
"arrests are made on any pretext and on the un­
corroborated yarns of any gossip; in Seoul detectives
and spies are paid so much per person for arrests, ir­
respective of guilt or innocence. And it is openly
charged that the procedure of the Conspiracy Case is
being repeated. On the pretext of political charges
men are being put into prison whom it is wanted to get
out of the way for other reasons; leaders in business
and possible competitions, scholars, Christian Pastors,
men with influence among Koreans. These men may or may
not have any connection with the independence movement;
the object is to prevent the growth of a Korean leader-
ship even for no-political purposes."

Then Mr. Peffer gives a concluding statement made
after an interview with Admiral Baron Saito, the new
Governor-General. It throws more light on the
nature of the so-called reformation. "Baron Saito had
patiently, with a translated copy of my questions in
his hands, talked for much over an hour. But he bowed
me out none the less pleasantly for that, and I left.
I think it not unfair to say that the governor had
talked much but said little. His statements, can be
summed up as 'yes, but --.' They are largely what

Ibid.
1. "The Truth About Korea."
Colonel Roosevelt used to call 'Weasel Words.' He no sooner says anything definite than he adds something extracting from it all meaning and content. Freedom of the press - with restrictions. Freedom of speech - under police eyes.

"Finally, if Baron Saito's words are fair token of what Korea is to get after all the fine promises of the last six months, then Korea is to get very little; not enough/change its attitude toward Japan from what it was last March -- when it revolted."

A more recent dispatch from Seoul dated July 23, 1920, says: "Japan has no intentions of changing its policy of Japanization of the Korean people and believes that assimilation will promote the welfare of the Koreans, it is declared in the semi-official press here to-day in connection with trials of Korean independence leaders."

Thus the so-called reformation of Japan in Korea is merely diplomatic camouflage, and the conditions in Korea -- political, educational, economic, social, religious, etc., -- are just about the same as they were

1. Ibid. p. 12
described in Chapter V. The people are still carrying on their Independence Movement but they are also suffering under the intolerable harshness of the Japanese military autocracy. The Japanese Government talks in sweet phrases about the wonderful reforms it will bring about in Korea for the benefit of the people, but instead of carrying out these promises the Government only increases the armed force that it maintains on Korean territory.

The Koreans know only too well how Japan has broken the many solemn treaties made with Korea, and how she has ignored her many solemn promises. Furthermore, the awful atrocities which Japan has committed in the past can never be forgotten by the people of Korea. It is no wonder that they look upon Japan's action in Korea as that of a highway robber and regard her declarations and promises as mere political chicanery. The situation is well described by the Korea Review:

"The feeling between the two races is exactly like that which exists between the highway robber and his victim. The former can only rob the latter by force and he has to cover his victim with a revolver, for he knows that persuasive arguments or honeyed words from
him will not yield the booty from the victim. No one knows this fact better than the Japanese. Japan wants the land, the resources and the man-power of Korea. She filched away this booty at the point of the sword, and the only way to keep it is by the sword. Those who hope for a reconciliation between the peoples are hoping for something that they will never realize. A request to the highway robber not to be too harsh with his victim or to ask the victim to cooperate with the robber is not practical, because neither will heed the advice, therefore, those of us who know the facts cannot view the Japanese promises of reforms and guarantee of rights to the Korean people in any other way than a camouflage intended solely for the American gallery."

Korea, A World Problem

Any problem which cannot be solved by one nation becomes a world problem, and any question which threatens international morality, or the peace of other nations is also considered a world problem. The Korean problem fulfills all these conditions, as this problem cannot be solved by Korea alone, or by Japan alone, and it also threatens international morality and the peace of other nations. It has also been presented at several conferences, such as at The Hague in 1907 and at the Peace Conference of Paris in 1919. In all probability it will be one of the great problems that will be laid before the League of Nations. Thus Professor W.W. Willoughby says: "Adding emphasis to this is the recognition which the leading nations of the world have given to the principle of self-determination as applied to distinctive national groups. The sympathy of these nations, if not their affirmative aid, may therefore be counted upon in case the independence of Korea is submitted to the judgement of the world".

Korea is the Belgium of the Far East—Geographically as well as in fact—not the Philippine Islands of the Far East.

The Korean problem is often compared with that of other dependent nations. The Japanese especially, and those who give a helping hand to the Japanese Government maintain that Korea's demand for independence and her protest against the injustice of Japanese administration is identical with the demand of Ireland and the Philippine Islands. Only when one understands the hidden import of the Japanese diplomatic words and knows the exact situation of Korea, can he have a true conception of Korea's peril. The Korean situation is more like the situation of Belgium during German occupation than that of Ireland or the Philippine Islands.

Let us briefly examine the conditions of these three countries to see whether they are similar or not. First of all, geographically, Korea has for centuries been the buffer state in the Far East between the great rival states of China, Japan, and recently Russia, and its position is very similar to that of Belgium which has been a buffer state between Germany, France and Great Britain. This is not the case with Ireland or the Philippine Islands.
Some defenders of the Japanese imperialism often attempt to excuse Japanese annexation of Korea on the analogy that the Japanese occupation of Korea is identical with the American occupation of the Philippine Islands. But this is a false analogy. Korea has been an independent nation and has never been a territory of any other country as the Philippine Islands were once a territory of Spain. Also, during the Spanish-American war the United States was not in alliance with the Philippine Islands nor did it guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Philippine Islands as Japan did with Korea during the Russo-Japanese War.

Furthermore, the conditions in Ireland and the Philippine Islands are wholly unlike those of Korea. The Irish have almost the same privileges and rights as the English in government, religion, social affairs, education and industry. The Irish people have their representatives in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, in the same proportion as the English people have. The policy and administration of the United States in the Philippine Islands has been so liberal in government,
social affairs, education, and industry, that it is praised even by the Filipinos themselves. The Filipinos have their own legislature, and they control their whole machinery of government except their chief executive who is the only official appointed by the Government of the United States. But the Koreans as referred to before do not have a single representative in their government although they pay high taxes to the government of Japan; they have no voting rights, yet they suffer from constant surveillance of spies, and policemen; and, besides they have no freedom of speech, press, assembly, worship, or travel; education is very closely regulated by the Japanese; and even in industry the Koreans are always under a great economic handicap.

The men or women of Ireland and the Philippine Islands may visit any foreign country for business or for education, but the Koreans have no such privilege. The people in Ireland and in the Philippine Islands may exercise the right of assembly and discuss their political problem or any other problems pertaining to their welfare. Last year the Irish held a national convention and drew up a scheme of self-government
without any interference from the British Government. It is also a well known fact that the Filipinos have sent a commission to Washington in the interest of their national independence, and they have always been free to present their claims for independence in America or elsewhere by means of speeches before schools, colleges, societies, and clubs and by publishing books or writing articles in the leading papers, periodicals, and magazines. But the Koreans have no such freedom. Last year in their peaceful revolution as already referred to the Koreans, only shouting "Mansei" or "long life for Korea", were savagely attacked by an armed Japanese force. According to the latest investigations made by the Koreans, nearly 100,000 Koreans including men, women, and children have been killed, tortured, or imprisoned within a year. Last year in February a group of Korean students in Tokyo peacefully assembled for the purpose of drawing up a petition to the Japanese Diet for the freedom of Korea. But the students were violently attacked by the merciless 1. Arresting, torturing, and imprisoning are still going on in Korea.
Japanese policemen and were beaten and imprisoned. The injustice and wrongs committed by the Japanese Government in Korea—making treaty by fraud or by force mercilessly destroying national independence, ignoring the individuals God-given rights—such cannot be compared with the conditions in Ireland or the Philippines.

The demands of Ireland and the Philippine Islands represent largely a national feeling for self-government, while the demand of the Koreans is not merely a national feeling but it involves the problem of justice, the problem of humanity, comparable only to the conditions of prostrate Belgium during the late war.

It is a fact that the cruelties committed by the Japanese in Korea have been worse than those committed by the Germans in Belgium. They crushed and ruined Belgium because Belgium would not allow the Kaiser's troops to pass through her territory to invade France. But in 1904 when Japan fought against Russia she forced Korea not only to submit her whole country for a battle field but also to lend as much aid as possible by means of both war materials and man power. Then when the war was over, and in spite of the fact that Korea had virtually been an ally of
Japan, Japan brought further ruin to the helpless country by her relentless military force.

In the interest of humanity, the world needs to be informed of at least some of the terrible conditions in Korea. It needs to be told how the Japanese government kills and tortures the best citizens of Korea; how it imposes such economic restrictions as to let the natives fail in business while the Japanese immigrants in Korea make success; how the government sends out hundreds and thousands of spies throughout the peninsula who prey upon the innocent; how the Government severely restricts the educational system by causing hundreds and thousands of the native students to give up their studies; how the Government encourages evil doers by secretly and openly checking the spread of Christianity in Korea; how the Government encourages the Japanese social evils to disturb the Korean morality. Were the facts fully told free people of the democratic countries would find them hard to believe. There are many nationalities in the world governed by foreign powers, but none of them live under such severe conditions as do the Koreans.

1. For further facts, see Chapter V
Korea Becomes the Breeding Place of Japanese Imperialism and Militarism.

There is another serious phase of the Korean problem and that is that Korea is gradually becoming the breeding place of Japanese imperialism and militarism. Japanese statesmen, in cooperation with their propagandists, openly announce to the world that Japan must expand because of its excessive population. This may be partially true, but it can not be wholly so. Professor F.H. King, one of the eminent authorities on this question says:

"If all lands having slope of less than fifteen degrees may be tilled, there yet remains in the four main islands of Japan as much as sixty-five per cent of the uncultivated land which may yet be brought under cultivation. If the new lands to be reclaimed can be made as productive as those in use, there shall be an opportunity for an increase in population to the extent of about 35,000,000 people. While the lands remaining to be reclaimed are not as inherently productive as those now in use, improvement in management will more than compensate for this difference; and the empire
is quite certain to double its present maintenance capacity and provide for at least 100,000,000 people in the four islands with many more comforts than they now enjoy".

Even if Japan were over-populated and therefore hampered agriculturally, industrially, or commercially, she should expand in a peaceful way. There is no reason why the imperial policy of Japan should be carried out wherever the Japanese go; there is no reason why they should bend every effort to subjugate the natives of other countries, simply because those people are not strong enough to resist them; there is no reason why every Japanese immigrant should become the agent of the Japanese government and impose its imperialistic and militaristic policy on the people with whom he chooses to live.

The Japanese have ambitiously upheld the doctrine, that "might makes right". They have long wanted to build up an Empire of Great Nippon, covering at least the whole of Asia -- if not the whole of the world. Japan started out to realize that ambition as early as 1592 when she made her invasion of Korea in order to conquer 1. King, "The Evolution of New Japan", p. 425
China; because of that same ambition Japan so played her intrigues in Korea that she finally forced its annexation. As a further result of that policy Japan is now dominating South Manchuria and Shantung; the Province of Fukin, North Manchuria, and Inner Mongolia are all under the sphere of her influence and interest; and now Siberia and Sakhalin are becoming places for extending Japanese imperialism. Japan has already proclaimed her Monroe Doctrine in Asia the aim of which is not like the American Monroe Doctrine proclaimed by the United States, but its main purpose to keep the Western power out of Asia and to make all Asia for Japan. The annexation of Korea is the best illustration of Japanese imperialism and she continues to be the tool for furthering her policy.

It is a logical fact that imperialism requires military force behind it. Ever since Japan annexed Korea, she has maintained in that country a well-trained and well-equipped military force, besides very strong police force. Moreover, there are about 300,000 Japanese colonists in Korea who can be added to the Japanese force whenever their government needs them.
This latter fact was well illustrated during the Korean revolution last year. "The Governor-General's desire is to make the peninsula one big fortress, and he seems to regard all those engaged in industrial and commercial work in Korea as mere camp followers within the walls of a barrack."

Korea is the Key to the Peace of the Far East

History shows that within one decade two great wars were fought in Korea, namely, the Chino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. The victory over these two great rivals on the continent, viz., China and Russia made Japan the Master of the Far East and Korea a stepping stone for Japanese militarism on the continent. The situation in the Far East is getting worse and worse because of the selfish and brutal policy of Japan.

Now the Japanese policy in China is exactly the same, step by step, as that which was used for subjugating Korea. The only difference is that China is a much larger country than Korea and that she holds the balance of power among the leading nations of the world. The Open-door Doctrine in China, proclaimed by the United States, is an important policy, but Japan has violated

this doctrine and has unjustly gained a far-reaching influence over Chinese affairs. During the period of the late War when other powers were unable to protest Japan got the Twenty-one Demands from China at the point of the sword. In 1917 when the United States was absorbed with Mexico and European Affairs, the Japanese Government stepped in and made the Lansing-Ishi Agreement which granted her a special right in China. Again, when the war was at a critical stage, the Allies were compelled to make a secret agreement and let Japan have Shantung and the German position in the Pacific north of the equator. Thus Japan has enriched herself in land and resources at a time when other nations were unable to make opposition.

Now the great war is over, and the great Powers are unwilling to give Japan free reign in China. The Consortium relative to Chinese financial aid has been formed by Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan in order to adjust the balance of power in China. But Japan is overrunning China just the same and even now she has a strong foothold in Siberia and Northern Manchuria. This is arousing the hatred
of both the Chinese and the Russians and they are awaiting a favorable time for an attack upon Japan. Thus Mr. Hunt says:

"The Japanese militarists are forcing a situation in the Far East which endangers the peace of the world. They are going about it in a cruel, insincere, brutal way, crushing Siberia and weakening China in order to gain their own imperialistic ends."

However, Japan's ambition does not stop with gaining supremacy on land; she is now dreaming and working to become the master of the Great Pacific Ocean. Japan is today preparing to win the supremacy of the Pacific exactly as she prepared to meet the two great rivals on the continent. Whatever the end may be, it is clearly evident that all these unpleasant situations on both land and sea are the result of the ever-growing power of Japanese imperialism and militarism and which first began to assert itself in the subjugation of Korea.

Furthermore, Japan is trying to Japanize 20,000,000 Koreans, and is also gradually working to Japanese

200,000,000 Chinese. When that shall be accomplished, the world cannot be safe under the menace of Japan.

**Its Solution**

It is not easy to solve a political problem like that presented in Korea. Such solution requires time and, not infrequently, bloodshed. But for the sake of humanity and democracy, and for the sake of the peace of the world, this problem ought to be solved without further delay and without further bloodshed if possible. There are several ways suggested of solving the political problem of Korea, each of which will now be considered.

**Assimilation?**

Japan wants to hold Korea as a permanent possession, both for military purposes and for the benefit of her emigrant. Japan's chief aim is to Japanize Korea, and those who are not to be Japanized must cease to exist. It is not an easy matter for a nation which has her own history of over 4,000 years, with distinct nationality, land, language, religion, customs, etc., to forget everything of her past and to assimilate the entire culture of an alien people. But that is just what is required of Korea. At the same time it
is a very difficult matter, indeed, for Japan to kill off 20,000,000 Koreans before the eyes of the civilized world and for the reason that they are resisting assimilation. Nevertheless, Japan seems determined to carry out her mad policy of stamping out the national spirit of the Koreans, and the conditions are becoming worse and worse.

Mr. Peffer asserts: "It is the avowed intention of Japan to assimilate the Koreans. Therefore their history is forcibly to be forgotten, their traditions are to be expirated, their language is forced into disuse, their civilization stamped out except where it is reflected in the Japanese civilization which is to replace it and to which it itself gave birth. In that word assimilation you will always find the key to Korean-Japanese relations. So long as Japan makes assimilation its goal, so long will there be struggle, even if there be content on other grounds. And Japan, though promising specified reforms, has not announced its abandonment of that goal. And that in the face of the lesson of all history, with Poland, Alsace-Lorraine and the former subject races of the Austrian Empire before it as warning. All human experience teaches that no race with any marked racial identity has ever yet been stamped out
short of extermination, and that the more race culture is repressed and restricted the more marked becomes its identity, the more intensely it is felt and cherished. And the Koreans, remember, date their history and their civilization back 4000 years, and are a people correspondingly proud."

This policy of assimilation has always proved to be a failure. Force can never make any individual or group of individuals renounce their loyalty to the their native land for an alien government. The Japanese undoubtedly know this, yet they will not forbear in their selfish and brutal policy but hope to gain their end by showing the high hand of force.

Furthermore, the question of assimilation has been the root of the trouble in Korea. Every loyal Korean resists it with the fiercest indigmination. He knows that higher education is denied him and that his freedom is taken away, all for the sake of assimilation. The so-called Saito's Reformation has done 1. "The Truth About Korea" Korea Review, 1:3, February, 1920.
nothing to weaken the revolutionary sentiment among the people, simply because Saito is trying to carry out the same old policy and idea of assimilating the Koreans.

Mr. Walter E. Weyl, after visiting Korea testifies to the effect that it is an impossibility to Japanize the Koreans. "Can the deracination of Korean nationality be accomplished, therefore, in fifty years or in a hundred or in two hundred? . . . Prussia, with a six-to-one population, failed to Prussianize Poland. Can Japan with only a three-to-one ascendancy Japanize Korea?"

Japan's assimilation of Korea may then be laid aside as an impossible solution of the Korean problem.

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Home Rule?

There are some Koreans, though not many, who advocate home rule for Korea. Most of the Koreans, who want absolute independence, ridicule this home rule movement. However, it is an undeniable fact that even those who advocate home rule also hope that Korea may in the future gain absolute independence. In theory and in practice, home rule for Korea means that Korea shall be freely developed, and free development means that Korea shall be left alone, and be allowed to become strong and able to fight her own way for independence. Japan knows that to relinquish her hold on Korea to any degree will weaken her own power, and therefore will never consent to home rule for the Koreans.

Federation?

Another possible solution is that of Federation, a plan similar to that of the Swiss Confederation. In such a plan the government would be democratic and both the Koreans and the Japanese would be united, without discrimination, under one common, official name, and have equal rights and privileges. The government would use two legal languages, the Korean and the Japanese. There would be two self-governing parliaments -- one in Korea and the other in Japan. But it would be impossible for
Japan to carry out such a plan. In the first place, Japan is a monarchy and is both militaristic and autocratic. In the second place, Japan has too much contempt for Korea as a weaker country.

**Under International Commission?**

If the world feels that it is impracticable for Korea to become independent immediately, she is willing to come under any international organization such as the League of Nations. But since the League of Nations is not fully organized, this possible solution is feasible at present.

**Independent?**

Complete independence of Korea is the hope of all Koreans for that goal and they have struggled for the last fifteen years. The principle of majority rule is an undeniable right in the modern state, but not so in Korea. And Korea can get majority rule, and thereby a measure of independence only in one of two ways: either by the result of her own asserted power, or by the help of such an organization as the League of Nations. With regard to the former alternative, there is hardly any chance, at present, for the Koreans to overwhelm the power of the Japanese. With regard to the second, we shall have to wait and see what the League of Nations is
willing or able to do.

Nevertheless, the Koreans are determined to use all their power, energy, and ability to reach this goal. They know that alone they cannot crush Japanese power in Korea, but they are determined to do so somehow. Their determination is well shown by one of the paragraphs in their famous Declaration of Independence. It says:

"Assuredly, of the defects of the past are to be rectified, if the agony of the present is to be unloosed, if the 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 attain to any way of progress, if we are to deliver our children from the painful, shameful heritage, if we are to leave blessing and happiness intact for those who succeed us, the first of all necessary things is the clear-cut independence of our people. What cannot our twenty millions do, every man with sword in heart, in this day when human nature and conscience are making a stand for truth and right? What barrier can we not break, what purpose can we not accomplish?"1

That is their determination, their aim, their proposition. It means endless suffering and hardship, but they

1. For the full text, see Chapter VI.
are willing to endure and sacrifice anything for the just and humane cause of their people.

"They want independence, and only independence. They may not win it, may not win it for decades or over, but they will be satisfied with nothing less. And they will struggle, openly or under cover, to the point, I believe, of racial suicide.\(^1\)

It is also evident that Japan cannot gain very much by keeping Korea in a constant state of subjugation. In the first place, it is very expensive to keep a large armed force in Korea and, furthermore, Japan can only win for herself a bad name and the unfavorable criticism of the outside world because of her policy of force in Korea. It will also be true that when Japan is involved in any kind of conflict with other powers, she will always be hampered by her difficulties with the Koreans. If Japan is wise enough and has foresight, she would have given up Korea earlier. It would seem to be to Japan's own interest to allow the Koreans to have their independence. Thus Professor Joseph A. Leighton, while he was discussing the principle of self-determination, definitely asserts:

\[\text{Let us apply these principles to the case of}\]

Korea. By all the tests surely the Koreans are a people. They should therefore be allowed to develop and conduct their own schools, use their own language, produce their own literature, arts, develop their own religion and philosophy. They should be self-governing, self-directing, self-educating.

"-- -- -- And I prophesy that if this power of self-determination be not accorded to her, Japan will reap in Korea the reward that Prussia has reaped in Poland and Austria in Bohemia."¹

Are The Koreans Fitted for Self-Government?

The Japanese propagandists and those who have given little study or attention to the Korean people or those who have seen only a few phases of Korean life, judge the Korean people as incapable of self government. The Japanese naturally find it to their own interests to make this statement, but foreigners who give this as their opinion, do so largely through the deceiving influence of the Japanese Government in Korea and also through their lack of thorough knowledge of the Korean people.²

2. How the Japanese Government Japanizes the foreigners who visit in Korea is shown in Chapter V.
History shows that the Koreans had enjoyed self-govern­
ernment for over 4000 years. When Japan had tribal and
feudal warfares, Korea had a stable and a centralized
government. When Japanese were in the stage of savagery
and barbarism, the Koreans taught them religion, philoso­
phy, and art. Certainly the Koreans have reason to be
proud of their historic civilization with its distinctly
national character. A brief conception of what the Korean
people are, may be seen from the statement by Dr. Crow:

"Ask a Korean about his people and he will answer you
in terms of the past. Point out to him the great ships
other peoples build and he will call your attention to the
fact that the first ironclad battleship was made by a
Korean, who with it vanquished a Japanese fleet three
centuries before the battle between the Merrimac and the
Monitor.

"Show him pictures of the fine new bridges the Chi­
inese have built and he will tell you of the first suspen­sion bridge in the world, made by a Korean engineer for a
Chinese army just 100 years after Columbus discovered
America.

"Accounts of the movement to simplify English spelling
recall to him the fact that a Korean King advocated and
put into practice the simplified spelling of the Korean
tongue before Englishmen began to learn to spell.

"Tell him of the great modern printing presses which make literature so cheap in other countries and he will boast of the fact that the Korean who invented moveable printing types was dead before their use made popular literature possible in Europe.

"Ask him about present day social reforms and he remembers that Korea was experimenting with nationwide prohibition of alcohol just two hundred years ago.

"Show him the fine products of Japanese potteries and he will tell you that the Japanese did not know the potters' art until it was taught them by a colony of Korean prisoners of war.

"Ask him about political liberties and he will tell you that long before the Magna Charta was granted his ancestors lived under a constitutional monarchy in which offices were denied to relatives of the King.

"His is a history of achievement, invention and social progress equalled by few others."1

Then he goes on to describe the unity of the Korean people: "Though now a subjugated people, there is more cultural and social unity about the Koreans than about the

1."What Sort of a Man is the Korean?" World Outlook 2: 2-3, July, 1916.
Chinese or Japanese. They are not separated by dialect, as in China, nor does the population consist of widely different types, as in Japan.  

It is true that in the nineteenth century, especially, the latter part of the nineteenth century, at the time of the opening of Korea to Western intercourse, the Korean government was corrupt and cruel and that its civilization was becoming degraded. As a matter of fact every historical people has its periods of ascendancy and decline. But the Koreans, during their national tragedy and shame, have been rapidly aroused and united, and they have started on another period of moral and political ascendancy. Thus Dr. William E. Griffis, an American scholar and a student of Oriental history and civilization, writes:  

"Indeed, the Korean civilization which the Westerners found when Korea was first opened to Western intercourse was decidedly lower than what it had been. This, of course, does not mean that Korea was decadent. The history of Italy, Greece, and Egypt, shows that the civilization of a people has its ebb and flow. The potential genius of the present-day Korean is awakening under the guiding influence of western culture and Christian democracy. That is the spirit of the new Korea."  

1. Ibid. p. 26.  
Whoever has watched the activities of the Koreans during the last twenty years, will have a true conception of the future of the New Korea. The Koreans are truly a hopeful and courageous people. Under such terrible oppression and under the martial law of Japanese autocracy they are not discouraged, but they have hope and courage, and endurance -- they still have their aims and aspirations. They cannot study their own language and history, but they learn them from the lips of their parents. They cannot receive any of the higher education in Korea, but they have sought it in other countries, in spite of the hundreds and thousands of guards, policemen, and spies that have watched over them and interrupted them. Besides, as referred before, there are many political refugees and over a million peasants and business men who have lost their occupations in Korea since the annexation and have fled into Manchuria and Siberia, and several thousands are in America, the Hawaiian Islands, Mexico, and Europe. They have organized themselves into associations or clubs wherever they go, and they usually establish a church in their midst. They have kept their faith with

1. For further description of the character of the Korean people, see Chapter II under the sub-topic titled "People."
their countrymen, and are respectful to the countries where they stay.

All Koreans in Korea or abroad are longing for liberty and are everywhere working for the independence of their country. No matter how cruel Japanese rule may be, the millions of young Koreans are keeping alive in their hearts the spirit of Korea and a sense of justice. Moreover, these young Koreans are physically strong, intellectually bright, and morally modest. Professor W. W. Willoughby says: "But there has been no reason whatever why private rights of property and person should not have been respected, why evenhanded justice should not have been administered, and, above all, why the attempt should have been made to crush out the distinctive culture and civilization of Korea.

"It is not simply that the Koreans are a people of over seventeen millions, and inhabit a country nearly the size of Japan itself, but that they have had a long history of national independence, have created for themselves a language, a literature, and an art -- in short that they constitute a nation in every ethical, historical, and cultural sense of the world. Certainly it would seem that if the principle of national self-determination has any validity at all, it should be applied to this people to
the extent of at least guaranteeing to them the preservation of their distinctive civilization and the hope of a time when they shall have control of their own national development. And this case is rendered still stronger when consideration is had of the fact that their present rulers, in political philosophy as well as in political practice, are exponents of principles, which the rest of the civilized world has agreed are false and pernicious. It is sufficiently serious that the Japanese should be willing to apply such doctrines in the government of themselves. It becomes a grievous matter when they apply them by force to another people.¹

Moreover, the world should remember that the Koreans have not had a fair chance for developing themselves in modern culture not only because Korea was opened to the world much later than China and Japan were but in fact ever since the opening of Korea, Japan's cunning and intrigues have been a great hindrance to Korea's progress — "the Japanese have sought in every possible way to hinder the progress among the Koreans of even the ideas of self-government."²

2. Ibid. p. 39.
"A great authority on Korea has stated that
'Intrinsically and potentially the Korean is a man of
high intellectual possibilities -- give him a chance to
develop independently and naturally, and you would have
as good a brain as the Far East has to offer.' But he
has never had this opportunity. The golden hour has come.
Shall we deny to this people the right which has been so
long withheld to them?"\(^1\)

The aspirations of the Korean people are modest but
worthy and are well summed up in the following few words:
"They want the political independence of their country so
that they may enjoy:

1. Freedom of speech.
2. Freedom of worship.
3. Freedom from alien economic exploitation.
4. Unhampered social and educational develop­
ment."\(^2\)

These are the noble aspirations of a self-respecting
but a downtrodden people. They are the common aspirations
of all mankind. The sense of justice and the interests
of humanity demand that they be realized.

2. Korean Information Bureau, "Independence for Korea,"
p. 15.
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