

A Catalyst for the March First Independence Movement: Lyuh Woon-hyung's Letter and Petition to Charles Crane*

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I. Letter and Petition Revealed after Ninety-nine Years

On November 27, 1918, Lyuh Woon-hyung attended the welcoming reception for Charles Crane, a friend of the American President Woodrow Wilson, held at the Carlton Café on Ningbo Road in Shanghai. The visit by President Wilson's envoy added to the festive mood in Shanghai due to Germany's recent surrender on November 11 that ended World War I. Crane was an avid supporter of President Wilson and believed in his Fourteen Points, including his idea of national self-determination. Meeting with Crane altered Lyuh Woon-hyung's path in life.

Two days after meeting Crane, Lyuh asked Crane to deliver a petition on his behalf to President Wilson. Lyuh also handed a copy of the petition to the Shanghai-based journalist Thomas Millard, asking him to submit it to the Paris Peace Conference. Lyuh then invited Kim Kyu-sik to Shanghai and sent him to represent Korea at the peace conference. These seeds Lyuh and Kim planted would later develop into the March First Independence Movement. Lyuh Woon-hyung, an obscure Presbyterian minister, and Kim Kyu-sik, an employee of a foreign trading company, thus became independence activists central to the 1919 March First Independence Movement in

Korea.

The general story behind Lyuh's meeting with Crane and his petition is public knowledge. The story was covered in statements and testimonies Lyuh gave while being interrogated and tried by the Japanese police and prosecution between 1929 and 1930.¹ It was also mentioned in the account of Lyuh's life that Yi Man-gyu, Lyuh's friend and relation by marriage, authored after Korea's liberation. The critical biography of Lyuh written by his younger brother Lyuh Woon-hong in the 1960s also includes recollections about the meeting and petition.² In addition, scholars have examined the story while studying the New Korean Young Men's Association and the March First Independence Movement.³

However, the story leaves room for doubt for the following reasons.

First, existing descriptions mention nothing about what happened to the original copy of the petition after Lyuh handed it to Crane. Moreover, the date when Lyuh and Crane met as well as the date when the petition was handed differs between such descriptions.

Second, Yi Man-gyu was the first to claim that the petition Lyuh

^{*} This paper is a shortened revision of Jung Byung-joon's "Letter and Petition of Lyuh, Woon-hyung to Charles Crane on November 1918," *Critical Review of History*, 119 (May 2017).

¹ Reports of interrogating Lyuh Woon-hyung at the Gyeonggi Provincial Police Agency, the Prosecutions Bureau under the Seoul District Court, the Seoul District Court, and the Seoul Court of Review are included in Hamyang lyuhssi daejonghoe [Hamyang Lyuh clan], *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib* [The Collected Writings of Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung], ed. Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung seonsaeng jeonjib balganwionhoe [Publication Committee for the Collected Writings of Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung] 1, 3 vols. (Seoul: Hanul, 1991).

² Yi Man-gyu, *Lyuh Woon-hyung seonsaeng tujangsa* [The History of Lyuh Woon-hyung's Struggles], Reprint (Seoul: Minju munhwasa, 1946); Lyuh Woon-hong, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung* (Cheonghak, 1967).

³ Shin Yong-ha, "Sinhan cheongnyeondan eui dongnip eundong [The New Korean Young Men's Association's Independence Activities]," *Hanguk hakbo* [Journal of Korean Studies] 12, no. 3 (Autumn 1986): 94-142; Kim Hee-gon, "Sinhan cheongnyeondan eui gyeolseong gwa hwaldong [The New Korean Young Men's Association's Formation and Activities]," *Hanguk dongnip undongsa yeongu* [The Journal of the Korean Independence Movement] 1 (1986): 141-75; Nagata Akifumi, *Ilbon eui joseontongchi wa gukjegwangye* [The Rule of Korea by Japan and the International Relations], trans. Park Hwan-mu, Korean Translation (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2008); Lee Chong-sik, *Lyuh Woon-hyung: Sidae wa sangsang eul chowol han yunghwajueitja* [Lyuh Woon-hyung: The Korean Harmonist] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2008).

handed Millard was never submitted to the Paris Peace Conference because it fell into the hands of the Japanese police when Millard stopped by Yokohama on his way to Paris. Lyuh Woon-hong echoed Yi Man-gyu's argument, which then came to be recited by scholars later on. However, this argument does not quite concur with the circumstances Millard had been in at the time.

Third, despite having been chosen by Lyuh and his associates to attend the Paris Peace Conference, there is speculation that Kim Kyu-sik did not submit Lyuh's petition because he did not agree with its approach. Such speculation suggests that Kim had a different idea for the petition, which he intended to discuss with Rhee Syng-man instead of Lyuh Woon-hyung.⁴

The aforementioned reasons for doubt, however, are likely to be faulty or based on misunderstanding. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to use newly uncovered material to correct inaccuracies or supplement insufficiencies in the preceding research.

To do so, this paper will first introduce the original copies of the letter and petition Lyuh handed to Crane. The introduction will be followed by an analysis of the background to and significance behind drafting the letter and petition. The original copies consulted for this paper are located at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University.⁵ They are being disclosed for the first time since Lyuh handed them to Crane ninety-nine years ago.

This paper will thereafter attempt to offer an interpretation different from the widely accepted view regarding the whereabouts of the petition Lyuh gave to Millard. This will entail considering the possibility that other versions of Lyuh's petition may exist and if so, where they might be.

⁴ Ku Dae-yeol, *Korea Under Colonialism: The March First Movement and Anglo-Japanese Relations* (Seoul: Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1985): 40-41; Ku Dae-yeol, *Hanguk gukjegwangyesa yeongu* [A History of Korea's International Relations] 1 (Seoul: Yeoksabipyeongsa, 1995): 233-35.

⁵ "Lyuh, W. H., 29 November 1918," Series I: Charles Richard Crane Correspondence, Subseries 1: Incoming Correspondence, Box 3, Folder 23, Crane Family Papers 1877-1986, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

This paper will also offer a new take on the relationship between Kim Kyu-sik and Lyuh Woon-hyung around the time the Paris Peace Conference took place and what roles they respectively played. Doing so is relevant to the study of how actions and developments overseas inspired the March First Independence Movement to occur and spread throughout Korea.

II. Crane's Visit to Shanghai as President Wilson's Envoy

Charles Richard Crane (1858-1939) was a sponsor and friend of President Wilson who visited Japan, Joseon (Korea), and China in 1918. Although he had no official title, many considered him as an envoy to promote Wilson's postwar policy called the Fourteen Points and that his 1918 visit to China was to prepare himself as the future United States Minister to China.⁶ According to Frank Baldwin's description, "Crane added to the impression that he was an unofficial emissary of Wilson's by his unlimited praise for Wilson and the Allied war aims and his obvious confidence in, and support for, Wilson's principles." At each meeting, Crane would speak "always on the topic of the moment —Wilson, the Peace Conference, and a just peace."⁷

Crane had previously been sent on diplomatic missions to China in 1909 and Russia in 1912. He also served as a member of the Root Commission sent to Russia in 1917 to assess the newly established Kerensky government. Crane's visit to China in 1918 was aimed at detecting issues in the Far East in order to advise President Wilson. For that particular visit, there were no secret missions nor did any secret meetings take place.⁸

According to Crane's memoirs, Crane told President Wilson in the

⁶ Frank Prentiss Baldwin, "The March First Movement: Korean Challenge and Japanese Response" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1969), 33.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ "Editorial statement regarding Mr. Crane's purpose in visiting China," Millard's Review of the Far East, November 30, 1918.

spring of 1918 that “All the attention of our people is directed to the Western Front. No one is paying any attention to what’s going on in the Far East and as I followed affairs out there more or less I know of many things that are being done that ought not to be done. It may be worthwhile knowing something about the actual situation and I think I will go out there for a time.” Wilson approved of Crane’s plan and that was the beginning of Crane’s journey to Hawaii, the Philippines, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, China, and back to Japan.⁹

Crane stopped by Hawaii and the Philippines on his twenty-one-day voyage by boat. Upon arriving in Japan, he met an old friend in Yokohama and traveled to Kyoto and Nara. The beauty of Kyoto and Nara had not changed since he last visited them four decades ago, but the same could not be said about Japan.¹⁰

Crane departed for Korea from Shimonoseki. Later, he noted that he was “deeply impressed by the beauty and grace of Korean life and by the Korean people.”¹¹ One evening, the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) hosted a dinner party at a beautiful old Korean palace where there were ten Koreans, ten Japanese, and ten Americans. Based on Crane’s account of passing on to a wide balcony looking down on a moonlit lake, the old Korean palace must have been Gyeongbokgung. Apart from a Korean story a Korean gentleman from an old family told him, Crane mentions in his memoirs that he “heard much in Korea of the ruthlessness of the Japanese and the way they did everything possible to break the spirit of these refined people” and that “the oppression of the spirit of the upper classes was even more harsh than the political and economic oppression of the lower classes.”¹²

⁹ Charles Richard Crane, “China-1918,” in *Memoirs of Charles R. Crane*, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library: 339. This 612-page memoir is accessible online at https://ia801404.us.archive.org/17/items/ldpd_10973088_000/ldpd_10973088_000.pdf. Accessed on April 20, 2017.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 340-41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 342.

¹² *Ibid.*, 342-43; The old story went like this. Once upon a time a Korean king heard that there was a great deal of trouble between the wives and husbands of his town. So he sent a command

When Crane arrived in Beijing, he received a warm welcome from Paul Reinsch, the American Minister to China. Crane continued to travel to Shenyang, Harbin, Nanjing, Xuzhou, and Hangzhou. He arrived in Shanghai on November 26, two days ahead of Thanksgiving Day, and left two days later on the evening of the twenty-eighth.¹³ It must have been a sea change for him to see Shanghai again in 1918, twenty-eight years after his first visit to the city. The following describes Crane's schedule over his three-day stay in Shanghai.¹⁴

On November 26, Crane arrived at the Shanghai train station where he was greeted by a Chinese diplomat, military and naval officers, and various American government officials. A Chinese military band, as well as soldiers, was lined up alongside 180 students from an American school in Shanghai. The students had come at the suggestion of Thomas Sammons, the American consul general in Shanghai, and Crane was indeed pleased to have them welcome him at such a grand ceremony. He gave a brief speech. Despite his short stay in Shanghai, Crane left a favorable impression on the locals. Sammons pointed out that the reason the Chinese were so hospitable toward Crane was because he was introduced as a personal friend to President Wilson, who was admired worldwide. The day Crane arrived, Sammons hosted an official welcoming dinner at the Shanghai Club where

throughout the town for all the Korean men to appear at the palace gate the next morning and when they assembled he went down to them. Then he said to the men, "Now I want all of those who obey their wives to go over and stand under the blue flag and all of those who do not obey their wives to stand under the red flag." Practically all the men crowded up under the blue flag but one lone little man walked over and stood under the red flag. When the king asked what the little man was doing under the red flag, he answered "Well, as I left the house this morning my wife told me I must avoid crowds." The gentleman from the Korean YMCA who told Crane such a witty story is likely to have been Yi Sang-jae or Yun Chi-ho. Yun Chi-ho kept a diary of his YMCA activities, but it contains nothing about Crane's visit to Korea.

¹³ American Consulate General, Shanghai (Thomas Sammons) to Secretary of State (Robert Lansing), "Visit of Honorable Charles R. Crane to Shanghai," 30 November 1918, State Department Decimal Files, 1910-1929, Box 307, 032.C85, Record Group 59 (hereafter RG 59), National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA).

¹⁴ Information on Crane's schedule in Shanghai was also gathered from "Hon. Charles R. Crane's Visit to Shanghai," Millard's Review of the Far East, 30 November 1918, State Department Decimal Files, 1910-1929, Box 307, 032.C85, RG 59, NARA.

prominent public and private Chinese as well as foreign officials were present.

On November 27, Chinese organizations and the American University Club jointly hosted a welcoming luncheon for Crane at the Carlton Café. According to what was reported by Millard's Review of the Far East, 325 people attended the luncheon, making it the largest yet welcoming event to be held in Shanghai. Two-thirds of the attendees were Chinese. In the evening, the American Chamber of Commerce in China hosted a dinner reception at the Columbia Country Club with Crane as the guest of honor, which was attended by around one hundred American businessmen in Shanghai.

On the morning of November 28, Crane gave a speech at the American Thanksgiving celebration in front of his largest ever audience during his visit to Shanghai.¹⁵ He highlighted the importance of defending China's constitution and strengthening China's administrative structure to do so, stressing that it would serve as the roof for protecting China's interests. The Chinese cheered keenly in response to Crane's speech. The American Thanksgiving celebration held at the Holy Trinity Cathedral saw the largest yet crowd of nearly 800 people gather for the occasion that day. In his memoirs, Crane noted that the event was attended by well-known politicians and members of distinguished families in China, including Sun Wen (孫文), Tang Shaoyi (唐紹儀), and Kong Xiangxi (孔祥熙).¹⁶ Consul Generals from the Allied Powers were also officially invited guests at the celebration. In the afternoon, Crane gave another speech to prominent Chinese entrepreneurs at the American Chamber of Commerce. In the evening, he met with eminent Chinese figures at the official residence of Julean Arnold, a commercial attaché working at the American consulate, where Crane was staying. This list of events that occurred during Crane's 1918 visit to Shanghai was surmised from the report by the American Consul General in Shanghai and Millard's Review of the Far East.

¹⁵ "Speech by Charles Crane," 28 November 1918, Records of the Department of State Relating to World War I and Its Termination, 1914-1929, State Department Decimal File, 763.72119/3978, MF 367, Roll 393, RG 59, NARA.

¹⁶ Crane, *Memoirs of Charles R. Crane*, 353.

The date Lyuh Woon-hyung met Crane at the Carlton Café was previously thought to be November 28.¹⁷ However, according to the schedule listed above, the date Crane attended the welcoming luncheon at the Carlton Café was November 27.

This is how Lyuh remembered his meeting with Crane eleven years later while being interrogated by the Japanese authorities. “A welcoming reception for Crane was jointly hosted by the Shanghai diplomatic corps and the Pan-Pacific Conference” at the Carlton Café on Ningbo Road in Shanghai, where about a thousand people had gathered for the occasion. “Anyone from the Shanghai International Settlement was allowed to attend free of charge.” Because the son of Fitch who managed the Mission Book Company where Lyuh worked was a member of the Pan-Pacific Conference, Lyuh stated that he too attended as a member of the conference.¹⁸

The son Lyuh referred to must have been George A. Fitch, whose father George F. Fitch worked as manager at the Mission Book Company. George A. Fitch headed the Chinese YMCA for many years, and the *Mil-lard’s Review* also mentioned that the one who introduced Lyuh to Crane had been “a member of the Chinese YMCA.”¹⁹

III. Lyuh and Crane’s Meeting on November 27, 1918

Lyuh Woon-hyung was greatly impressed by the speech Charles Crane

¹⁷ Nagata, *Ilbon eui joseontongchi wa gukjegwangye*, 101; Lee, *Lyuh Woon-hyung*, 152-53.

¹⁸ “Interrogation Report no. 1,” July 8, 1929, Gyeonggi Provincial Police Agency; “Interrogation Report no. 5,” August 5, 1929, Prosecutions Bureau under the Seoul District Court; “Interrogation Report no. 1 (Report of trial),” February 22, 1930, Seodaemun Prison from Hamyang Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 409, 508, 560.

¹⁹ George A. Fitch was born on January 23, 1883 in Sozhou, China as the son of missionaries George F. Fitch and Mary McLellan Fitch. After spending his childhood in China, he went to study in the United States and graduated from Wooster Academy and College, Columbia University, and the Union Theological Seminary. He returned to China to work with the YMCA in Shanghai and later became a central figure within the Chinese YMCA. Fitch was sympathetic toward and supported the Korean Provisional Government in Shanghai as well as Korean independence movements. For more, see George A. Fitch, *My Eighty Years in China* (Taipei: Mei Ya Publications, 1967).

gave at the welcoming luncheon. A summary of that speech can be found in Millard's Review. Crane spoke of President Wilson's approach to world issues. Once a topic was determined, President Wilson would consider it to the extreme before moving on to the next topic. That was how President Wilson would gain a surprisingly deep level of knowledge by the time he arrived at a policy decision, which is what made him a great, eminent personality of the world. Crane emphasized that President Wilson was trying to build a world republic based not on force, but on justice and mutual understanding. The one piece of advice Crane offered China was that it should be well prepared for the Paris Peace Conference to prevent anyone from interfering with its plans.²⁰ This is what Lyuh Woon-hyung later recalled about Crane's speech at the Carlton Café while being interrogated by the Japanese authorities.

Crane mentioned how each country was striving to fulfill a critical mission through the peace conference to be held in Paris, which is likely to have major consequences. The conference would be aimed at removing emotional misunderstandings between different countries to bring about true world peace and because the conference will highlight the need to liberate oppressed peoples, it will be the best opportunity for such peoples to achieve liberation. Crane therefore suggested that China should aim for its own liberation by sending a representative to the conference to describe the oppression it has suffered. - Interrogation Report no. 1 (July 8, 1929, Gyeonggi Provincial Police Agency)²¹

The Chinese were heartened. Lyuh was also impressed and was able to meet Crane in a separate room because of having been especially introduced to Crane by the Chinese diplomat Wang Zhengting (王正廷).²² Remaining interrogation reports include accounts with various nuances about

²⁰ "Editorial statement regarding Mr. Crane's purpose in visiting China," Millard's Review of the Far East, November 30, 1918.

²¹ Hamyang Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 409.

²² Yi, *Lyuh Woon-hyung Seonsaeng Tujaengsa*, 21.

the conversation Lyuh had with Crane.

I told him how tremendously inspiring his speech was and how we too are oppressed people who wish to achieve liberation by sending a representative to make Korea's situation known and earn sympathy from other countries. When I asked whether Korea might encounter any problems in sending a representative to the conference, he said he expected none and that Korea should by all means send one because he would be more than capable of lending support.²³

Lyuh Woon-hyung wished to send a Korean representative to the Paris Peace Conference to earn sympathy from the participating countries and thereby achieve liberation. What can be gathered from Charles Crane's response to Lyuh's questions is as follows: (1) On the matter of oppressed peoples, the Paris Peace Conference will deal with abstract generalities instead of referring to specific countries; (2) It is uncertain as to whether the matter of Korea will be formally selected as an item of discussion at the Paris Peace Conference; (3) There should be no problems with sending a Korean representative and submitting a petition to the Paris Peace Conference; and (4) If Korea does send a representative, he will offer his support.²⁴

Crane's comments were somewhat vague. Considering his rank and position, Crane would not have been able to support a Korean representative at the Paris Peace Conference. In addition, because Crane had so many events to attend and crowds to face during his brief stay in Shanghai, there is no telling whether he gave Lyuh precise, detailed advice.²⁵

According to Frank Baldwin, Lyuh did come and personally talk with

²³ Hamyang Lyuhssi Daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 409-10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 409-10, 505-11.

²⁵ During his visit to China, Crane met and spoke to thousands of Chinese officials of various rank as well as businessmen. He also met without appointment any official, businessman, or missionary from the United States, Britain, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy who wished to speak with him. See "Editorial statement regarding Mr. Crane's purpose in visiting China," Millard's Review of the Far East, November 30, 1918.

Crane at the reception, but because Crane was too busy, he asked Lyuh to write and send him a message later. Lyuh consulted other Koreans and drafted a petition in the name of the New Korean Young Men's Association. One of them brought the petition to where Crane was staying and left it with one of Crane's assistants, asking that it be delivered to President Wilson.²⁶

Lyuh Woon-hyung was greatly buoyed by Crane's sympathy toward China's situation and his suggestion to send a representative to the Paris Peace Conference. The festive mood in Shanghai due to the end of World War I and the Chinese society's enthusiastic welcoming of Crane as Wilson's envoy is likely to have felt promising as well. Moreover, Lyuh must have come to hold detailed expectations for the Paris Peace Conference because of the way Crane highlighted Wilson's fourteen points, especially in terms of national self-determination and the liberation of oppressed peoples. Such expectations must have led Lyuh to hope it would be possible to send a Korean representative to Paris, make colonial Korea's situation known, and gain enough sympathy from the Allied Powers to liberate Korea.

Such positive expectations and the mood of the times prompted Lyuh to begin seeking diplomatic ways to launch an independence movement by sending a Korean representative to the peace conference and petitioning for Korea's independence.

IV. Lyuh's Letter to Crane on November 29, 2018

After meeting Charles Crane, the first person Lyuh Woon-hyung went to meet was Jang Deok-su, who had been in Shanghai since the summer of 1918. Lyuh relayed the details of Crane's speech and his meeting with Crane. He then suggested to Jang that a Korean representative be sent to the Paris Peace Conference. In case enough travel expenses could not be raised to send one, he also proposed that they should report about Korea's

²⁶ Baldwin, "The March First Movement," 35.

situation in writing. Below is from Lyuh's recollection of what he discussed with Jang.

At the time, it was impossible to send a representative on my own, so we created two copies of a petition aimed at reporting about and earning sympathy for Joseon's situation. We arranged for one copy to be delivered to President Wilson, and in case it became impossible to send a representative to the peace conference, we entrusted the other copy's delivery with Millard, the editor-in-chief of the English language weekly *Millard's Review of the Far East* published in Shanghai (Millard had come from the United States and served as an adviser to the Chinese delegation to be sent to the peace conference.) - Interrogation Report no. 2 (August 1, 1929, Prosecutions Bureau under the Seoul District Court).²⁷

In essence, Lyuh Woon-hyung and Jang Deok-su made two copies of a petition and sent one to President Wilson through Crane and the other to the Paris Peace Conference through Millard. According to the statement Lyuh gave while being interrogated by the Japanese, he spent three days drafting the petition at Jang's place at Beile Road within the French Concession.²⁸ Although Lyuh was older and therefore entitled to take the lead, Jang wrote the petition because he was more knowledgeable.²⁹ Once Jang finished writing the petition, Lyuh translated it into English, typed it, and signed the petition.³⁰

At this point, it seems necessary to consider the copy of Lyuh Woon-hyung's letter and petition kept at Columbia University. To Crane, Lyuh sent a total of five pages, a one-page letter and an untitled four-page petition. Several copies of Lyuh's petition exist and their content has partly

²⁷ Hamyang Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 467-70.

²⁸ "Interrogation Report no. 1 (Report on trial)," February 22, 1930, Seodaemun Prison from Hamyang Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 560.

²⁹ Hamyang Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 505, 602.

³⁰ According to Yi Man-gyu's account, Lyuh Woon-hyung drafted two copies of the petition in English with help from Cho Dong-ho, Jang Deok-su, and Shin Guk-gwon, then had the copies proofread by George A. Fitch. See Yi, *Lyuh Woon-hyung seonsaeng tujangsa*, 22.

been disclosed, but the copy kept at Columbia University has never been disclosed prior to this paper's publication. Below is a list of the existing copies of Lyuh's petition, which includes two copies in English, one copy in Korean mixed with Korean-Chinese characters, and one copy in Japanese.

I. Letter (November 29, 1918):

1. English: Crane Family Papers 1877-1986 at Columbia University.³¹ (Figure 1)

II. Petition (November 28, 1918):

1. English: Crane Family Papers 1877-1986 at Columbia University. (Figure 2)
2. English: RG 165 at the National Archives and Records Administration.³²
3. English: Thomas Millard's *Democracy and the Eastern Question*.³³
4. Korean with Korean-Chinese Characters: First issue of *Sinhan cheongnyeong* (新韓青年) (December 1, 1919).³⁴
5. Japanese: "On the submission of a petition for independence" (獨立請願書提出二關スル件) Affairs (January 15, 1920) at the Diplomatic Archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign.³⁵

³¹ "Lyuh, W. H., 29 November 1918," Series I: Charles Richard Crane Correspondence, Subseries 1: Incoming Correspondence, Box 3, Folder 23, Crane Family Papers 1877-1986, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.

³² File 1766-1391-3, Box. 544, Correspondence, 1917-1941, Military Intelligence Division, RG 165, NARA.

³³ Thomas F. Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question: The Problem of the Far East as Demonstrated by the Great War, and Its Relation to the United States of America* (New York: The Century Co., 1919): 38-40.

³⁴ Lyuh Woon-hyung, "Sinhan cheongnyeondang caepyo chi miguk daetongnyeong wiil sonseo" [The Message from the Representative of the New Korean Young Men's Association to the United States President], *Sinhan cheongnyeong* [The Young Korea], December 1, 1919.

³⁵ Chosen sotokufu keimu kyokucho [Head of the Japanese Government-General of Korea's Police Bureau] to Haniwara Masanao (Gaimu jikan) [Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister], "Futeidan kankei zakken-chosenjin no bu-shanhai kariseifu" [On the submission of a petition for independence], 15 January 1920, Ichigatsu nanoka Heian-hokudo chiji hokoku yoshi [Summary of the North Pyongan Province Governor's January 7 Report], Overseas information alert no. 648.

Regarding the letter, it was dated November 29, 1918 and personally signed by Lyuh as “W. H. Lyuh.” Below is the full text of the one-page letter Lyuh typed.

Shanghai, Nov. 29th. 1918.

Mr. C. R. Crane,

Dear Sir: -

Your coming to China we welcomed with all the warmth of our hearts. We want to pay our homage to your noble character and farsightedness. We respect for your being a personal friend of President Wilson, who is the greatest upholder of the Justice and Liberty in the world, and also for your occupying a high position in your government, which is so closely related with Asia. So we welcome you with heart and soul.

Asia, as you know, is the place, where innumerable wrongs, both political and economical [economic], have been done for many years, and they are, we regret to say, still left unredressed and remained a great mystery. There are, therefore, many things to be righted and settled.

Pray give an ear, Mr. Crane, to the appeals of the Asians, especially of us Koreans, who have been, and still are, under a terrible oppressed rule and yet nearly forgotten and unobserved by the world. Thereby please be kind enough to convey this condition, as described in the accompanying papers, to President Wilson and your fellow citizens.

It is a great regret to us that, on account of your being too busy, we could not personally receive you. We can do no better at present than to wish you a pleasant and safe journey to your country and a great success in your future.

Very respectfully yours,

The New Korean Young Men's Association in China

Secretary

W. H. Lyuh

The letter has been typed on white, letter-size paper and is presumed to be the oldest surviving original copy made by Lyuh. Oxidization has

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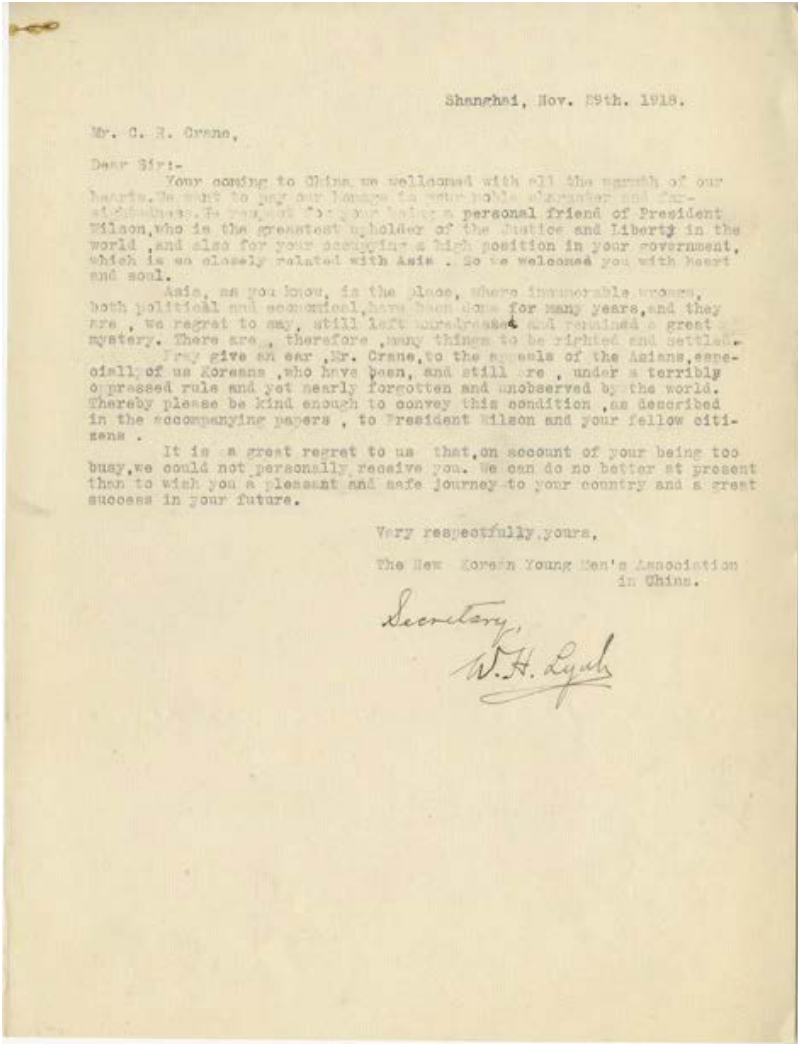


Figure 1. Lyuh Woon-hyung's Letter to Charles Crane (November 29, 1918)

The great world war is, at least, over. It is indeed the greatest conflict and sacrifice since the world began, and we thank God that He has worked and smitten the Devils and that the world is cleared of evils through the war. The voice of Righteousness and Liberty was exalted to Heaven and its reward came in the form of a complete victory. We offer our heartfelt thanks to the great accomplishment of the Allies and especially to the Americans for their high spirit and noble action during the war. And the victory was, it must be said, much due to the Americans. So our heartfelt congratulation to you and your country men.

The world is going to open a new page of its great history. It is going to start new progress with new spirit and new arrangement. An eternal world peace called the League of Nations as advocated by President Wilson will be discussed at the coming peace conference in Europe. Thus we are going to enter the greatest epoch in the world history.

It would not be out of place to seriously consider how now Korea and Japan are related with world peace.

Let us consider Japan first. Japan has only two thousand and five hundred years of history. She received her civilization from Korea, such as religion, morality, art, industry and like, and this civilization is acknowledged by her. She had been governed at first by civil statesmen, but gradually militarists came to power, and the so-called "shogunate" predominated for more than one thousand years. Thus the Japanese had lived under the militarism till Meiji restored the sovereignty about fifty years ago. Then what kind of national spirit they have! They accustomed only to despotism, militarism, bureaucratism and imperialism. Thus liberty, righteousness and humanity are foreign to them, and the noble idea of the League of Nations can not be fully realized. Notwithstanding that they have a constitutional government they firmly believe in the Divine rights of King. Yet they claim to be one of the most civilized and advanced peoples of world. Before the Russo-Japanese war broken out, the true condition of Japan had not been known to the world. They are not merely lovers of flower and beauty, but they are the Spartans of Asia.

What is their aim and desire? What can we expect from such a people? They declare themselves as ruler of Asia and intend to fly their flag in the centre of China. Manchuria has been already placed at her disposal and Mongolia is under her influence. They are applying the Monroe doctrine to Asia in the wrong way. That was the aim of the twenty one demands to China and the American Japanese declaration lately made by Ichi, utilizing the time when the powers were busily engaged in the great war! It was nothing but to obtain the superior position in China. They are leading and advocating the open door and equal chance policy, yet they are not to be trusted. This can be easily proven by the annexation of Korea. Where they are expanding their power, they admit no competition. This is so in Korea and Formosa. In a word, it is their plan to exclude any other's influence from ASIA.

They have in mind not only Asia, but the archipelagoes in the South Sea. Formosa being their main footing. They consider those islands as their ancestor's native land, so they have taken oath to get them back. To carry this into effect some way or other they have expanded their naval power and not to self-defend as they declared. In this way they are dreaming to establish a world empire, for which they would fight against the United States of America or put the Anglo-Japanese treaty to naught. It was not an incident but a reality that Terauchi once spoke of the "Asian Japanese alliance. From this we can see that their opposition to the League of Nations is not because they do not understand it fully, but because they have such an ambition.

The Japanese are so excelled in concealing their real schemes that one is apt to be misled. Thus their national spirit and intention clearly show that they are the menace to the peace of the world at large. The chief factor of their late expansion was the possessive possession of Korea. It was indeed a great misfortune that the world should have been mute in her annexation of Korea. Therefore Korea became dangerous to the peace of Asia and will remain such so long as Korea is in the grip of her hands.

Then how about Korea? Korea is a peninsula connected to the continent of Asia and extended out to the Pacific Ocean and occupies so important a position over looking both the continent and ocean that its domination of the Balkan peninsula was justifiable, for the possessor of it is placed in a favourable position to overcast Asia. Especially Korea is gripping the throat of Japan, and so without Korea the Japanese army and navy will be rendered lame, which fact was shown in the Chino-Japano-Korean-Japanese wars.

What kind of people are the Koreans? Their history began long before the Christian era, namely four thousand and two hundred years ago. They taught Japanese and have co-operated with China in developing the civilization of Asia. Their first empire was established in Manchuria with territories along the North-eastern coast of China. They had been as brave as the Romans, but cruelty was unknown to them, being taught to be graceful by Confucius, the founder of their country. They are called the "Garden of Japan". Like the old Greeks, they love art and peace to such an extent that they have been lapidarians of their freedom and they are now toiling under the brutal rule without any chance of being developed.

After the Russo-Japanese War three different treaties were formal between Korea and Japan in 1905, 1907 and 1910 which gave the way to the annexation. From the time when we, the Koreans, first came into contact with the Japanese up to the time of annexation, Japanese were ringing nothing but "Peace, Peace" and the final outcome was the destruction of our country. Their words are sweet, but their hearts are bitter.

The present condition of Korea may be described in three parts: I. Spiritually.

Knowing that a nation depends on the spirit of its citizens the Japanese are trying in every way to stop our spiritual development. Christianity in Korea has been recognized as the national religion, from which we have learned the meaning of democracy and the value of liberty. Since the American missionaries introduced our people to the Saviour of the world, the number of Christians has grown steadily and so fast that there are now more than half million of people living under the light of life. Thus Christianity is playing the most important role in our spiritual development. But in Korea Christianity itself is in state of persecution by the Buddhist or Sinitist ruler. For example, in 1911, about two hundred of best Christians were arrested and imprisoned giving the pretext of conspiracy against Teranouchi the then governor-general. To every church the Japanese send two or three spies to overhear what preachers preach and pray. On the other hand, Buddhism, Confucianism and Sinitism are strongly encouraged among the Koreans. But finding that this plan, being behind time, can not succeed, they employ and seek the Japanese pastors to Korea not to preach but to bend their whole effort in assimilation. They even force us to worship their king as a God to our greatest pain.

There is only one news paper in our own language in Korea, but even that is managed and published under Japanese administration. Magazines are not allowed; even though it be allowed, it can not give any benefit to Koreans, for the protocols should be carefully examined by the police before publishing.

Public meetings are absolutely forbidden in any place and at any time. Not a single university nor a library club exists in Korea. There are four colleges being run by the government, but literature, history and politics are not taught, but merely vocational education, and they can admit no more than eight or nine hundred students. There are only three middle schools, but very low graded, more over, all the lessons are taught in Japanese. How a waste of national ability it is! Their purpose of educating us is to enhance our loyalty to their emperor and not to guide us to become good citizens. It is needless to say that bible teaching is not allowed in either Christian or non-Christian schools, and English is prohibited, but the Koreans know the affairs of the world, so the Koreans are both "blind" and "deaf" to the current movement of the world civilization. Under such conditions how can you expect the Koreans to be cultivated and uplifted?

II. Politically,

It is safe to say that Korea is governed by police and soldiers. We have neither right nor liberty, but the duty of paying taxes. There is no safety even for private houses and letters. There is neither parliament nor municipality, so the wrongs done by the brutal Japanese police here nowhere to be appealed and redressed. All the laws and affairs are made and executed by the fist of the Japanese officers and no Koreans has any part in it. Thus you can imagine what kind of life the ~~KOREAN~~ Koreans are living.

III. Economically,

Co-operation if fair is the fundamental principles of economics, but the Japanese do not allow the Koreans to do so, for they have the minimum of capital is placed so high for cooperation by the law that an ordinary Korean can not effort to start it. And in case he can effort to do so, his inexperience will turn him out a failure. Thus we have no company or factory that can be called a cooperation. The Koreans, in this way, are compelled to make their living by only cultivating the land and the land, as you know, is capital of agriculture. But so many Japanese immigrants coming over every year that very soon all the land shall be occupied by them, and lack of capital being color, no mines are allowed to be opened by the Koreans. The Japanese announce to the world that they are helping Korea financially, but it is nominal; on the contrary, they are profiting greatly by exporting our national wealths to their country and imposing heavy taxes on us. ~~So~~ Thus Korea is drained of her money and resources rapidly, and difficulty of living has therefore been the inevitable result.

Understanding that they can not ~~Japanize~~ Japanize the Koreans, the Japanese are trying to destroy Korea by these cruel policies, which are their own invention. What is, then, left for Koreans to do? They are lost in a maze. Yet they are not so content and indeed nothing can discourage them. They struggle with all their hearts, minds and bodies for independence, justice and peace. For this we are crying to the conscience of the world, especially to the Americans who uphold the grand principle of President Wilson that a nation should be ruled in accordance with the governed. As long as Japan practices these cruel policies the world peace which we so much desire can never be realized.

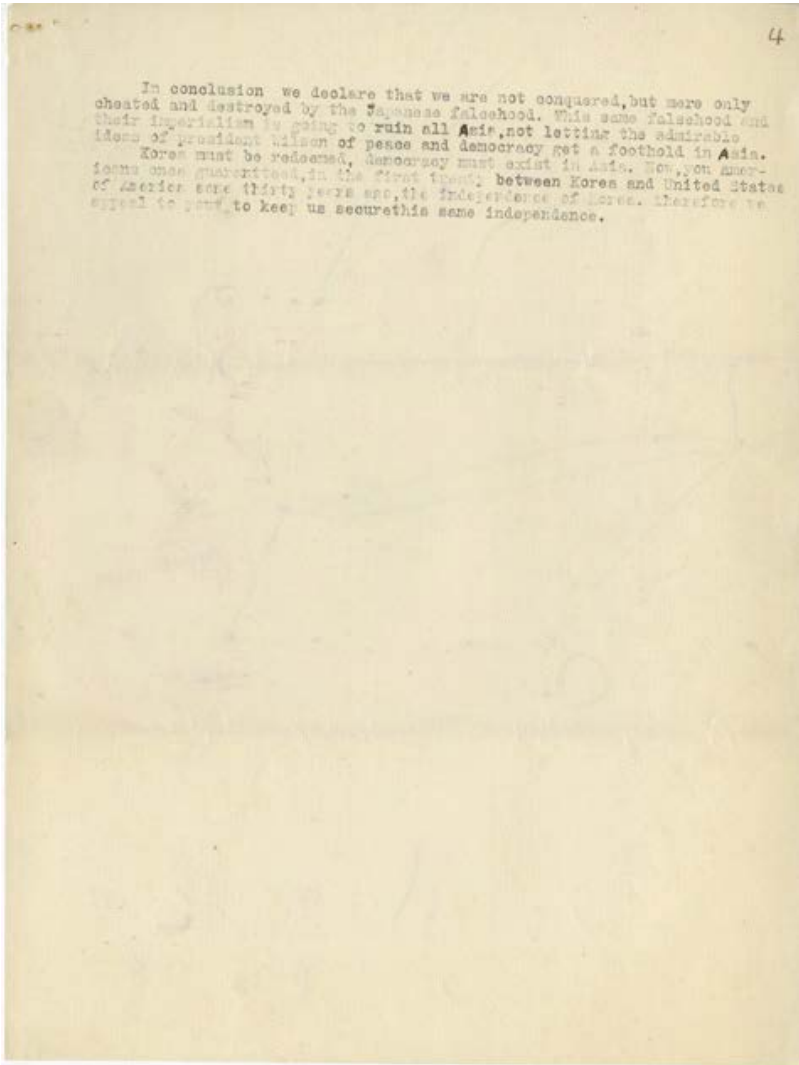


Figure 2. The Petition Lyu Woon-hyung Sent to President Wilson (November 28, 1918)

caused the paper to discolor after ninety-nine years and there is a staple mark on the upper left corner. The letter conveys the terrible situation Korea is in to Crane, a high-ranking government official who is also President Wilson's personal friend and asks Crane to deliver the attached petition to President Wilson. The two most notable things about the letter are that it is dated November 29, 1918 and that it was sent in the name of Lyuh Woon-hyung as the secretary of the New Korean Young Men's Association.

While being interrogated by the Japanese authorities, Lyuh stated that right after he met Crane, he spent three days writing the petition at Jang Deok-su's place. Assuming that Lyuh met Crane on November 27, the petition as well as the letter must have been finished on the twenty-ninth. The petition was dated November 28, 1918 in the copies authored in Korean with Korean-Chinese characters and in Japanese. Based on this, writing the petition could have been finished on November 28, and the accompanying letter addressed to Crane could have been written the next day.

Sending the letter as the secretary of the New Korean Young Men's Association is related to the matter of when and how the association was established. Estimates made through previous studies about when the association became established tend to be divided between August and November of 1918.³⁶ Lyuh stated to the Japanese police and prosecution that he had twice held meetings with Jang Deok-su, Cho Dong-ho, and Shin Seok-woo since August 1918 and took inspiration from the Young Turks to organize the New Korean Young Men's Association. Later, however, Lyuh corrected his statement during his trial by saying that the association was established in November 1918 around the time he met and handed Crane the petition.³⁷ Prior to November, preparations were being made for the association's establishment. Furthermore, the Chinese language edition of the

³⁶ Shin Yong-ha argued that the association was organized in August and expanded in November 1918, whereas Kim Hee-gon argued that the association's organization occurred in November 1918. See Shin, "Sinhan cheongnyeondan eui dongnip eundong," 96; Kim, "Sinhan cheongnyeondang eui gyeolseong gwa hwaldong," 151.

³⁷ "Report of trial no. 1," June 2, 1930, Seoul Court of Review in Hamyang lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 626.

first issue of "The Young Korea," the association's official bulletin, indicates that the New Korean Young Men's Association was established on November 28, 1918.³⁸ Lyuh also admitted later that the association had been hastily organized in order to submit the petition.³⁹ Hence, it can be inferred that Lyuh Woon-hyung had been closely associated with Jang Deok-su, Cho Dong-ho, Shin Seok-woo, and Shin Guk-gwon since the summer of 1918 and as they drafted and handed the petition to Crane, the New Korean Young Men's Association became officially formed on November 28, 1918.

According to Lyuh's statement, no positions or divisions other than his as secretary were initially created within the association. After recruiting more members, the association failed to gain consensus on its initial plan to appoint Son Byeong-hui as president and ended up appointing Kim Kyu-sik as chairman of a board of four directors.⁴⁰

V. Copies of the Petition Dated November 28, 1918

As previously mentioned, the remaining copies of the petition Lyuh Woon-hyung created include three copies in English, one copy in Korean and Korean-Chinese characters, and one copy in Japanese. Among these copies, only the content of the Japanese copy has so far been partially disclosed.⁴¹

³⁸ "Bondang giryak [Summary of the Association's Statutes]," *Sinhan cheongnyeon* [The Young Korea], March 1, 1920.

³⁹ Lyuh, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung*, 26.

⁴⁰ "Interrogation Report no. 2," August 1, 1929, Prosecutions Bureau under the Seoul District Court in Hamyang Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 467-70.

⁴¹ Chosen sotokufu keimu kyokucho [Head of the Japanese Government-General of Korea's Police Bureau] to Haniwara Masanao (Gaimu jikan) [Japanese Deputy Foreign Minister], "Futeidan kankei zakken-chosenjin no bu-shanhai kariseifu [On the submission of a petition for independence]," 15 January 1920, Ichigatsu nanoka Heian-hokudo chiji hokoku yoshi [Summary of the North Pyongan Province Governor's January 7 Report], Overseas information alert no. 648. A Korean translation of this report can be found in Kang Deok-sang, *Lyuh Woon-hyung pyeongjeon* [A Critical Biography of Lyuh Woon-hyung], trans. Kim Gwang-yeol Kim, vol. 1 *Jungguk ilbon eseo pyeolchin dongnip undong* [Independence Activities in China and Japan], 2 vols. (Yeoksa bipyeongsa, 2007): 168-72.

The following offers a brief overview of each copy.

Copy II-1 in English is the original copy created by Lyuh and kept at Columbia University. This four-page copy is what this paper is based upon and appears to have been typed with the same typewriter on the same paper used to create Lyuh's letter to Crane.

Copy II-2 in English is the one Kim Kyu-sik carefully carried on his journey to Paris, Washington D.C., and Hawaii. On November 15, 1920, Kim Kyu-sik was caught trying to stow away on the U.S. Transport Thomas headed for Manila from Hawaii and was forced to leave the ship. Around that time, the leading Korean independence activists in the United States had been attempting to find ways to travel from Hawaii to China without stopping by Japan because they feared being arrested by the Japanese authorities. In 1919, Park Yong-man managed to board the U.S. Transport Thomas in Honolulu on May 17 and stopped by Manila before reaching Vladivostok. This was possible because, unlike Kim Kyu-sik, Park had maintained close ties with the American military. Upon the news that Park had succeeded in traveling as a stowaway, Kim naively slipped aboard the U.S. Transport Thomas without the military connections Park had and was discovered before the ship's tugboat could leave the port of Honolulu.⁴² During the process of being caught and removed from the ship, the United States Army's Military Intelligence Division photographed the valuable documents Kim Kyu-sik had been carrying, including a copy of Lyuh's four-page petition. The content of Copy II-2 matches that of Copy II-1 in English, but considering the difference in typeface and editing style, Copy II-2 seems to be a reproduction of Lyuh's petition. Copy II-2 also exhibits traces of minor corrections compared to Copy II-1. For instance, near the very end of Copy II-1, there is a sentence that says "Now, you Americans once guaranteed, in the first treaty between Korea and the United States of America some thirty years ago, the integrity of Korea." In Copy II-2, the sentence has been slightly changed to "Now, you Americans

⁴² For further details, refer to Bang Sun-joo, *Jaemi hanin eui dongnip eundong* [Korea-American Independence Movements] (Asian Culture Research Institute of Hallym University, 1989): 108-10.

once guaranteed, in the first treaty between Korea and the United States of America in 1882 the integrity of Korea.”

Copy II-3 in English is included in *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, a book Thomas Millard published in New York in 1919.⁴³ Rather than covering the entire text, the book only presents the second half of the petition that offers an overview of Korea's spiritual, political, and economic situation under Japanese occupation.

Copy II-4 in Korean with Korean-Chinese characters can be found in the first issue of *Sinhan cheongnyeon* [The Young Korea] published on December 1, 1919.⁴⁴ Since Copy II-4 was included in the New Korean Young Men's Association's bulletin, it can be considered a faithful representation of the copy Lyu Woon-hyung and Jang Deok-su originally created.

Copy II-5 in Japanese is kept at the Diplomatic Archive of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The governor of North Pyongan Province had managed to obtain a copy of Lyu's petition and reported it to the Japanese Government-General of Korea on January 7, 1920. The head of the Police Bureau under the Japanese Government-General of Korea in turn reported the petition to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 15, 1920.⁴⁵ Copy II-5 therefore seems to be a translation of Copy II-4 in Korean with Korean-Chinese characters.

Before moving on to an analysis of the petition's content, it is necessary to consider why Lyu Woon-hyung chose to hand the petition over to Crane and Millard. The petition was drafted to prepare against the possibility of being unable to send a Korean representative to the Paris Peace Conference. One copy was for President Wilson and the other was to be submitted to the conference. Lyu later stated that with Crane's consent, both copies were essentially handed to Crane through "his secretary" Thomas F. Millard (1868-1942).⁴⁶ At the time, Millard was publishing the weekly

⁴³ Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question: The Problem of the Far East as Demonstrated by the Great War, and its Relation to the United States of America*, 38-40.

⁴⁴ Lyu, "Sinhan cheongnyeondang daepyo chi miguk daetongnyeong wiil sonseo."

⁴⁵ "Futeidan kankei zakken-chosenjin no bu-shanghai kariseifu," 15 January 1920.

⁴⁶ "Interrogation Report no. 1 (Report of trial)," February 22, 1930, Seodaemun Prison in Hamyang

magazine *Millard's Review of the Far East* in Shanghai. As a journalist, he had been anti-Japanese and sympathetic toward China's situation.⁴⁷ He was therefore also sympathetic toward Korea as well.⁴⁸ In December 1918, Millard left Shanghai and headed to Europe, where he served as Crane's secretary and unofficially advised the Chinese delegation attending the Paris Peace Conference. At the conference, he antagonized the Japanese by claiming that Japan should withdraw from the Shandong peninsula so that China may regain sovereignty over it.⁴⁹

Millard, however, is said to have lost his copy of Lyuh's petition in Yokohama. Lyuh's friend Yi Man-gyu once said that when Millard stopped by Japan with the Chinese representative Lou Tseng-tsiang (陸徵祥), Lyuh's petition was stolen along with all of Millard's luggage. The robbery was suspected to have been committed by a Japanese spy.⁵⁰ According to Kang Deok-sang's research, the robbery was reported in the newspaper *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun*. "While Lou Tseng-tsiang was in Japan last year between December 6 and 10, a Japanese spy under secret orders from the Japanese police paid a large sum to the man keeping an eye on Lou Tseng-tsiang's luggage to look the other way as the spy stole the bags carrying the most important documents. At the time, Lou Tseng-tsiang was traveling with Thomas Millard, the famous anti-Japanese American journalist from

 Lyuhssi daejonghoe, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung jeonjib*, 560.

⁴⁷ Around the time Crane became appointed as the United States Minister to China, there were rumors that a war might break out between the United States and Japan. Chu Yo-han even hinted that such rumors might be true in a commentary published by *Dongnip sinmun* on March 16, 1920, saying that "the United States Minister to China Mr. Crane is heavily anti-Japanese and is friends with Mr. Millard who publishes an anti-Japanese magazine in Shanghai."

⁴⁸ Among Millard's publications that mention Korea, there is *America and the Far Eastern Question* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1909) and *Our Eastern Question: America's Contact with the Orient and the Trend of Relations with China and Japan* (New York: The Century Co., 1916).

⁴⁹ Bruce A. Elleman, *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shandong Question* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2002): 111.

⁵⁰ Yi, *Lyuh Woon-hyung seonsaeng tujangsa*, 24. Lyuh Woon-hong was the one who declared that the theft occurred in Yokohama. See Lyuh, *Mongyang Lyuh Woon-hyung*, 27.

Shanghai.”⁵¹ The Japanese translation of Lyuh's petition at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Diplomatic Archives (Copy II-5) could therefore have been secretly acquired in Japan by the North Pyongan Provincial Police's secret service and handed to the province's governor.⁵²

However, the suggestion that North Pyongan Provincial Police's secret service stole Lou Tseng-tsiang and Thomas Millard's luggage in Yokohama, Japan and that the governor of the North Pyongan Province reported the incident to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs seems less plausible when considering factors such as jurisdiction and the reporting order. The date that the North Pyongan Province's governor submitted a report about the petition to the Japanese Government-General of Korea was January 7, 1920. The date that the head of the Japanese Government-General of Korea's Police Bureau sent the governor's report to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs was January 15, 1920. What is worth noting, though, is that prior to these developments, the petition meant to be delivered to President Wilson was published on December 1, 1919 as part of an article in the first issue of *Sinhan cheongnyeon* entitled “Sinhan cheongnyeondang daepyo chi miguk daetongnyeong wiil sonseo” [The Message from the Representative of the New Korean Young Men's Association to the United States President]. The published petition is what this paper has been referring to as Copy II-4 in Korean with Korea-Chinese characters. Therefore, considering the sequence of events, the report by the governor of North Pyongan Province and the head of the Japanese Government-General of Korea's Police Bureau is more likely to have involved the petition's Korean version published in *Sinhan cheongnyeon* than a copy of the petition se-

⁵¹ This is a rearranged quote based on reports from the February 14, 1919 edition of *Millard's Review of the Far East*, the February 20, 1919 edition of the Kyoto newspaper *Hinode Shimbun*, and Kang, *Lyu Woon-hyung pyeongjeon*, 168. Meanwhile, the article titled “Rumors of Document Theft Groundless,” in the *Hinode Shimbun's* February 20, 1919 edition reported that “despite repeated rumors that confidential documents have been stolen as Lou Tseng-tsiang stopped by Japan on his way to Europe, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently declared such rumors to be groundless.” The report practically claims that no documents have gone missing.

⁵² Lee, *Lyu Woon-hyung*, 158.

cretly acquired in Yokohama. This conclusion seems even more plausible when the details in the petition's Japanese version from the report (Copy II-5) are compared with those in other copies.

First, if the Japanese Police indeed stole Millard's copy of the petition, the report to the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs would have referred to Lyuh Woon-hyung as the secretary of the New Korean Young Men's Association. However, the report cites Lyuh as the association's representative. The petition originally did not contain Lyuh's name, title, or signature, or the date, because such information was included in the accompanying letter. If the Japanese had obtained an original copy of the petition, the report would have separately mentioned that there was a letter attached to the petition.

Second, the words and their sequence, and the way the sentences are arranged in the report by the North Pyongan Province's governor written in Japanese (Copy II-5) exactly correspond to those in the article written and published in Korean in *Sinhan cheongnyeon*. Comparing the composition of the petition's English, Korean, and Japanese versions makes it more obvious that the article about the petition in *Sinhan cheongnyeon* was used as the original for the petition's Japanese translation. This in turn suggests that Copy II-5 is unlikely to have been created from the petition in Thomas Millard's and Lou Tseng-tsiang's luggage that was stolen by the Japanese police.

Moreover, the book Millard published in 1919 bears no mention of the luggage theft in Yokohama. Instead, Millard does state in the book that he has a copy of the petition Lyuh Woon-hyung gave him.⁵³ This contradicts the well-known story about the stolen luggage and petition. The book also indicates that after meeting Crane on November 27, Lyuh drafted the letter and petition, handed them to Crane, and made another copy of the petition and letter to hand over to Millard in December. This confirms that Millard's copy had been in his possession at the time he was authoring his book in New York in 1919.

⁵³ Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, 38.

According to Frank Baldwin, Millard had been sympathetic toward Korea and agreed to submit the petition to the peace conference. He acknowledged that “in principle the case of Korea is as much entitled to considering as the case of Jugo-Slavia, Poland and Czech-Slavia,” but added that “there was little chance of Korea being considered at the conference.”⁵⁴

Where, then, does this leave the story about Millard losing his luggage in Yokohama? Crane's memoirs hint at the circumstances behind the story's formulation. After visiting Shanghai, Crane was surveilled by the Japanese secret service as he traveled to Nagasaki, Kobe, and Tokyo. The Japanese secret service persistently followed Crane around to determine the purpose of his visit to the Far East. Crane found their approaches “most amusing” as he recalled how they constantly attempted to gather intelligence about him from his associates and friends. Around the time, Thomas Millard happened to accompany Crane and, since their relations “had always been friendly,” Millard was “carefully cross-examined.” “The little Japanese agent got out a notebook filled with information about me, but Mr. Millard advised him to address his questions directly to me.”⁵⁵ Because the Japanese secret service had been so overt in keeping a close eye on Crane and Millard's whereabouts, allowing their luggage to be stolen would have developed into a diplomatic problem difficult to ignore. Furthermore, if Lyuh's petition had been stolen, Millard would not have been able to relay its content through the book he published in New York in 1919.

Based on the above, Millard visited Japan with Crane and the Chinese representative Lou Tseng-tsiang in 1918 between December 6 and 10. Lyuh had entrusted Millard with the petition's delivery because he was aware of the fact that Millard would accompany Crane to Paris as his secretary. Their stop in Japan caused them to be closely surveilled by the Japanese secret service. It is uncertain as to whether their luggage was stolen or

⁵⁴ Baldwin, “The March First Movement,” 35.

⁵⁵ Crane, “Memoirs of Charles R. Crane,” 355-56.

not, but it at least seems certain that both Crane and Millard each carried their own copy of Lyuh's petition back to the United States.

Did those copies then make it into the hands of President Wilson and the Paris Peace Conference? Investigations to date have not been able to unearth any evidence that they were submitted to President Wilson or the Paris Peace Conference. The collection of Woodrow Wilson's papers at the United States Library of Congress includes countless correspondence, petitions, and documents delivered to Wilson during his presidency, but there is no trace of having received Lyuh's petition and letter from Crane.⁵⁶ There is also no trace among the papers of the American delegation to the peace conference indicating that Millard's copy of Lyuh's petition and letter was submitted. Finally, there is no mention of their delivery among the accounts of what happened between 1918 and 1919 in Crane's memoirs and Millard's book.

VI. The Petition Addressed to President Wilson

The petition's content can be arbitrarily divided into an introduction, main body, and conclusion. It begins by outlining how Japan and Korea are related to World War I in the introduction, then dedicates its main body to describing the situation of Korea under Japanese rule, and in the conclusion asks the United States to support Korea in achieving independence.

The following summarizes what is communicated through the petition's introduction.⁵⁷

First, thanks to the United States' participation, World War I ended in a victory for justice, humanity, and freedom.

Second, because the Paris Peace Conference will consider charging the League of Nations, advocated by President Wilson, with the task of en-

⁵⁶ "Woodrow Wilson Papers: A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress." Accessed on March 20, 2017, <http://rs5.loc.gov/service/mss/eadxmss/eadpdfmss/2009/ms009194.pdf>; "Index to the Woodrow Wilson papers." Accessed on March 20, 2017, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000030968>.

⁵⁷ Expressions used in the petition's English version slightly differ from those in the Korean version.

surging world peace, it is worth taking note of how Korea and China are closely related to the matter of peace in the East as well as the world.

Third, the Japanese are “accustomed only to despotism, militarism, bureaucratism, and imperialism,” which is why they are “the Spartans of Asia” with no understanding of liberalism, humanism, pacifism, or the League of Nations.

Fourth, Japan’s expansionist policy is attempting to gain supremacy in Manchuria, Mongolia, and mainland China and is aimed at driving out all other foreign influence from the areas, as it did in Joseon and Taiwan. Japan is therefore a barrier to achieving world peace.

Fifth, Japan’s expansionist policy was launched through Japan’s occupation of Korea and has turned the Korean peninsula, the Balkan peninsula of Asia, into a base for the Japanese army and navy.

Sixth, although Korea has been a civilized country with a nearly four thousand and two-hundred-year history, it became annexed by Japan after the Russo-Japanese War. Japan claimed that it will forever guarantee Korea’s independence and peace in the East, but it ended up destroying Korea.

The petition’s main body illustrates the spiritual, political, and economic conditions of Korea under Japanese occupation. The lengthiest portion is dedicated to the spiritual condition, while the economic and political conditions are less extensively covered.

Regarding Korea’s spiritual condition, Japan’s suppression of Christianity is described in detail, including the 105-men Incident and the ban on bible teaching. Then, the limitation of free speech is exposed by mentioning that only one Korean-language newspaper is being published under the Japanese Government-General of Korea’s supervision, while public speeches and the publication of magazines have been banned. Also mentioned is the scarcity of educational opportunities without any universities or libraries except for four colleges that focus on vocational education and three middle schools teaching in Japanese instead of the Korean language.

The brief description of Korea’s political scene cites that despite paying tax, Koreans have no rights, and with no parliament or municipality, they are not allowed to take part in legislative or administrative activities.

The section about Korea's economic condition points out how incorporation and opening mining businesses have been made impossible for Koreans, while their land continues to be taken over by Japanese immigrants. This section is likely to heavily reflect the views of Jang Deok-su since he was more familiar with Korea's economic situation than Lyuh Woon-hyung. While studying at Waseda University in Japan, Jang Deok-su joined a fraternal association of Korean students in Tokyo called the Jae ilbon donggyeong Joseon yuhaksaeng haguho (在日本東京朝鮮留學生學友會) and wrote numerous articles and analytical pieces on the state of affairs as he served as chief editor of the association's bulletin *Hakjigwang* (學之光). In 1916, Jang helped Kim Cheol-su organize the Sinadongmaengdang (新亞同盟黨), or the New Asian Alliance, with Chinese and Taiwanese students in Japan to launch an international solidarity movement against Japan and imperialism.⁵⁸

The petition's conclusion states that in their struggle for independence, justice, and peace, the Koreans are "crying to the conscience of the world, especially to the Americans who uphold the grand principle of President Wilson that a nation should be ruled in accordance with the governed." The conclusion also declares that the Koreans have not been conquered, but cheated by the Japanese, and emphasizes that only when Korea regains independence can democracy be established in Asia. It ends by adding that since the Americans guaranteed the independence of Korea thirty years ago, the Koreans are appealing to them for their full support in securing that same independence. In essence, the world's conscience, Wilson's self-determination, Japan's treacherous annexation of Korea, and the 1882 treaty between United States and Korea all justified the need for Korea's independence.

In short, the petition's content conveys (1) praise and expectations to-

⁵⁸ Kang, *Lyuh Woon-hyung pyeongjeon*, 120-37; Ono Yasuteru, "Shin a domeito no kenkyu: Chosen Taiwan Chugoku ryugakusei no minzoku o koeru nettowaku no shoki keisei katei" [A Study on the Sinadongmaengdang: The Formation of a Trans-ethnic Network between Joseon, Taiwanese, Chinese Students], *Jisedai ajia ronshu* [Journal of Next Generation Asia Forum], no. 3 (2010): 5-13.

ward the United States and President Wilson for ending World War I and defending justice, humanity, and liberty; (2) a warning about Japan's practice of despotism, militarism, bureaucratism, and imperialism and its expansionist policy taking advantage of the Korean peninsula; (3) a report on the spiritual, political, economic conditions of Korea under Japanese rule; and (4) a request for the United States to support Korea's struggle for independence.

The need for Korea to gain independence was made relevant to the worldwide trend of upholding humanity, justice, and free will. Meanwhile, the brutal reality of Korea under Japanese rule and the potential for Japan's expansionist policy to give rise to conflicts in Asia gave reason to ask for the United States' sympathy and support.

The petition reflects the rationale employed by Lyuh Woon-hyung as well as other independence activists inside and outside Korea around the time the March First Independence Movement occurred. In fact, Lyuh used the same rationale and argument during his visit to Japan in 1919 at the invitation of the Japanese government. While giving a speech at the Imperial Hotel, Lyuh said that "The Koreans acknowledge that the Japanese have a right to live, just as God has allowed the nationally awakened Koreans to demand for liberty and equality. [omitted] Now the world is crying out for reformation through the emancipation of the weak, women, and laborers. It is a worldwide trend that pertains to Japan as well. What also represents that trend, not to mention God's will and a nation's awakening, is Korea's independence movement."⁵⁹ When Lyuh attended a welcoming reception hosted by Shinkinkai (新人會), or the New Men's Society, he remarked that "Joseon's independence is universal justice, not an emotional explosion. It is not solely for the free development of Joseon's people, but for world peace."⁶⁰ The use of terms such as worldwide trend, God's will, and national awakening hints at the infusion of Lyuh's Christian worldview in his rationale for Korea's independence.

⁵⁹ Yi, *Lyuh Woon-hyung seonsaeng tujajangsa*, 36.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 59.

Meanwhile, the petition lacks formality by failing to include the author's name, identity, address, or signature, not to mention a date, title, and recipient name. Such formal details are instead included in the attached letter addressed to Crane. What made the petition and letter appear even less formal was the fact that they were delivered in person to Crane. For these reasons, Crane could have found them tricky to present to President Wilson. Such lack of formality is likely to have resulted from rushing to produce the papers immediately after meeting Crane and from being inexperienced in authoring such papers. It was, after all, the first diplomatic attempt Lyuh Woon-hyung made among his activities for the sake of Korea's independence.

VII. The Effect of Lyuh Woon-Hyung's Petition

The widely accepted theory in academia is that selecting Korean representatives in the United States and Shanghai in 1918 to be sent to the Paris Peace Conference served as a major external impetus for the March First Independence Movement. There may be room for debate as to whether which representative carried more authority, but only the New Korean Young Men's Association in Shanghai managed to send their representative to Paris.⁶¹ In the United States, the Korean National Association's North American branches gathered at the San Francisco headquarters on November 25, 1918 and selected Rhee Syng-man and Chong Han-gyong as the Korean representatives to be sent to the peace conference. However, the selected representatives never made it to Paris because the United States Department of State refused to issue them passports. Moreover, Chong Han-gyong took the lead in sending a petition to President Wilson asking for Korea to be temporarily guided by a mandate, which then sparked disputes over mandatory rule.⁶²

⁶¹ Shin Yong-ha, Yun Pyong-suk, and Ahn Byong-jick, *Samil dongnip undong balbal eui gyeongwi* [Details Behind the March First Independence Movement's Outbreak] (Jisik Saneopsa, 1977): 48-54.

⁶² Bang Sun-joo, "Samil undong gwa jaemi hanin [The March First Independence Movement and

Immediately after entrusting Charles Crane and Thomas Millard with the petition, Lyuh Woon-hyung invited Kim Kyu-sik to Shanghai and sent him to represent the New Korean Young Men's Association in Paris. That was the major outcome from drafting the petition for Crane. The rest of the developments as to how expenses were raised or how the ship ride was secured for Kim to travel to Paris are known well enough not to warrant further exposition in this paper.⁶³

Kim Kyu-sik has often been described as a Korean in Tianjin who was suddenly invited to Shanghai and sent to the Paris Peace Conference by Lyuh Woon-hyung to represent his country. However, Kim was already well known by then as an independence activist in China during turbulent times marked by the Xinhai Revolution, World War I, and the Paris Peace Conference. Since going into exile in China in the spring of 1913, Kim worked closely with Shin Kyu-sik as he became involved in the activities of Dongjesa [Mutual Assistance Society] between 1913 and 1914, Sinhan hyeongmyeongdang [New Korean Revolutionary Party] in 1915, Dae-dongdangyeol seoneon [Declaration of Great Unity and Solidarity] in 1917, and Korea's diplomacy toward the United States leading up to the March First Independence Movement. Kim was therefore a prepared representative with experience in leading Korean independence movements in China.⁶⁴

On his way to Paris, however, Kim Kyu-sik sent a letter from Colombo, Sri Lanka to his wife Kim Soon-ae in Qiqihar of China's Heilongjiang Province. On December 2, 1919, the British Censorship Office in Colombo reported to the British War Office about Kim's letter and the petition draft Kim was carrying to submit to the peace conference.⁶⁵ According to Ku

Koreans in the United States],” in *Samil undong* [The March First Independence Movement], Hanminjok dongnip eundongsa [The History of the Korean Independence Movement] 3 (National Institute of Korean History, 1988).

⁶³ Kang, *Lyuh Woon-hyung pyeongjeon*, 166-67.

⁶⁴ A review of Kim Kyu-sik's activities in China in the 1910s will be published as a separate paper.

⁶⁵ Censorship Office (Colombo) to War Office, 25 February 1919, F.O. 371/3817 (52102/7293); Enclosure in Censorship Office to War Office, 25 February 1919, F.O. 371/3817 (52102/7293); Ku, *Hanguk gukjegwangyesa yeongu*, 234; Ku, *Korea Under Colonialism*, 41.

Dae-yeol's research, the petition for independence Kim Kyu-sik had been carrying was not the same draft as the one authored by Lyuh Woon-hyung. This may have been because "Kim Kyu-sik was not convinced about the petition drafted by the Korean activists in Shanghai, which took an approach considerably different from that of the Korean activists in the United States."⁶⁶ A copy of Kim Kyu-sik's petition was attached to the British Censorship Office's report from Colombo, which is on file at the British War Office. The draft exhibits a slight difference in format compared to Lyuh Woon-hyung's petition yet maintains the same basic structure in terms of content. In addition, the draft served as the prototype for the petition's final draft that Kim Kyu-sik delivered to the Paris Peace Conference's Secretary-General on May 6, 1919.⁶⁷ The petition submitted by Kim Kyu-sik as the New Korean Young Men's Association's representative therefore did eventually convey what was in Lyuh Woon-hyung's petition.

Lyuh Woon-hyung's activities were heading toward a culmination as he submitted a petition to President Wilson and the Paris Peace Conference through Charles Crane, organized the New Korean Young Men's Association, and sent Kim Kyu-sik to represent the association in Paris. To support Kim's task at the peace conference, Lyuh and the association felt it necessary to carry out in Korea and abroad demonstrations and other activities large enough in scale to draw attention to the matter of Korea's independence. They also felt the need to raise more funds to support Kim Kyu-sik's task in Paris.

Lyuh Woon-hyung headed to Primorsky, Russia and Jang Deok-su went to Japan, while Sonu Hyok, Kim Chol, Seo Byeong-ho, Kim Soon-ae, and Baek Nam-gyu went to Korea. They became immersed in publicizing Kim Kyu-sik's activities in Paris and urged for the need to carry out

⁶⁶ Ku, *Korea Under Colonialism*, 41.

⁶⁷ See "Kim Kyu-sik's Letter to the Paris Peace Conference's Secretary-General (May 6, 1919)" and "A Memorandum Presenting The Claims of the Korean People for Liberation" in National Institute of Korean History, *Seohanjip II* [Correspondences II], Daehanminguk imsijeongbu jaryojip [Collection of Materials on the Republic of Korea's Provisional Government] 43, 2011: 18, 24, 403-12, 569-82. The petition was submitted in Kim Kyu-sik's name as the representative of the New Korean Young Men's Association.

demonstrations and raise funds for Korea's independence. Their activities, according to Kang Deok-sang's assessment, "greatly influenced the independence declarations made on February 8 and March 1, 1919." Sonu Hyok met former Christian leaders of Sinminhoe [New People's Association], including Yi Seung-hun, Yang Jeon-baek, and Gil Seon-ju, to gain their support in carrying out a demonstration to support the Korean representative sent to the Paris Peace Conference. Jang Deok-su slipped into Japan to gather more details about the February Eighth Independence Declaration and seek ways to carry its effect over to Korea and Shanghai. Lyuh Woon-hyung traveled to Changchun, Harbin, and Vladivostok to spread the news about having sent a Korean representative to Paris, encourage independence activities to support Kim Kyu-sik at the conference, and raise funds. All these efforts added to the impetus created by the independence declaration on February 8 and evolved into another declaration on March 1.

Changes in the international situation with the end of World War I and the Paris Peace Conference, motivation from overseas through attempts to send Korean representatives to Paris, and the February Eighth Independence Declaration in Tokyo built up into an eruption in Korea called the March First Independence Declaration. These influences exchanged between activists inside and outside Korea created an echoing effect that brought independence activities outside Korea to new heights and led to the Shanghai Provisional Government's establishment, a remarkable achievement in the history of Korean independence movements.

Those who took part in the Shanghai Provisional Government and other Korean independence activities positively regarded the contribution Lyuh Woon-hyung and the New Korean Young Men's Association made to the March First Independence Movement.⁶⁸ The newspaper *Dongnip sinmun* described the petition Lyuh sent to Crane as the beginning of the Korean independence movement. On sending members of the New Korean Young Men's Association to Paris, Japan, Russia, and Korea, the *Dongnip sinmun* portrayed it as "a sign that a massive storm was about to break out

⁶⁸ Kang, *Lyuh Woon-hyung pyeongjeon*, 162-94.

throughout the whole of Korea, which had remained silent (on the surface).”⁶⁹

Lyuh Woon-hyung and the New Korean Young Men’s Association’s activities along with the Korean National Association’s attempt to send representatives to Paris from San Francisco in 1918 served as an external origin for the March First Independence Movement. By succeeding in sending a representative to Paris, Lyuh and his associates particularly became enablers of a diplomatic path to independence that Koreans could lay their hopes on at the time. With a total of two million participants, the March First Independence Movement was a major incident that reawakened a national urge dormant for nearly ten years since the fall of the Korean Empire. Lyuh’s petition served as an important catalyst for igniting that national urge toward independence.

Lyuh Woon-hyung swiftly and precisely gained a grasp of the international situation at the time, responded to an opportunity for Korea’s independence, and took subsequent actions to help turn that response into a success. His fellow activists were hopeful as they strived inside and outside of Korea to publicize ongoing independence activities. Such efforts led to the declarations of Korea’s independence in Tokyo and Seoul in 1919. Lyuh came across news of the March First Independence Movement when he arrived in Changchun from Vladivostok. Lyuh Woon-hyung and Kim Kyu-sik dedicated themselves to the needs of the times, not knowing that a completely unexpected future awaited them.

⁶⁹ “Hanguk dongnip eundongsa (1) [The History of Korea’s Independence Movement (1)],” *Dongnip sinmun*, August 26, 1919.

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