THE INFLUENCE OF JAPANESE COLONIAL POLICY ON EDUCATION IN KOREA AND THE RESISTANCE OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND STUDENTS TO 1919

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Without new ideas a new form of education cannot come into being, and without a new form of education a new idea cannot be propagated. Modern education in the Western world is a product of a new idea, and the modern age of the Western world was rapidly formed by modern education. Essentially what is "new" and "modern" denies and rebels against what is "old" and "conventional". A creation denies the tradition on which it stands. Modern education, whether Western or Oriental, started with this attitude of denial. It had to fight against conventional ideas and social institutions. Therefore the early part of its history was a trial period.

The early history of modern Korean education, however, has unique features. In the first place, modern education in Korea, as well as in China and Japan, was born in the transitional period of civilization changing from Oriental to Western, and it had to assume the mission of receiver and propagator of Western civilization. Therefore, modern Korean education not only fought against old ideas and
social institutions but also against wide aspects of conventional civilization. Under this situation modern education in Korea was compelled to a daring resistance against conventional ideas, social institutions, and civilization. This struggle appeared with peculiar contrasts in a variety of educational aspects. Conventional school buildings were traditional Korean buildings with straw roofs whereas modern schools were roofed with tile; the conventional school students wore topknots and traditional Korean clothes, but modern school students cut their hair and wore western style clothes; the conventional school taught Chinese classics, the modern school western knowledge. Some lamented the disappearance of conventional education and some criticized the modern schools because they did not teach the Chinese classics. Whenever the students of the two sides met each other severe controversies or quarrels occurred.

In the second place, much of the early period of modern Korean education was under Japanese colonial rule. Modern education originated from the modern idea which emphasizes equality, liberty, and the dignity of the individual. This idea was essentially in opposition to colonial rule. Therefore the Japanese interrupted the growth of modern education in Korea. They closed many modern schools which had been es-
tablished by the Koreans, and they confiscated many schools and dominated them with their policies. They struggled to bring Korean education back to the medieval way by enslaving the minds of the students.

These two conditions, which many other countries did not have, gave modern Korean education a severe trial period in its early history. This trial period required more strong resistance for the growth of modern education than was necessary in probably any other country.

Korea, like other underdeveloped countries, did not have the modern historical process that the Western world had. In Korea there was no Renaissance and no industrial or political revolution. The coming of the large wave of Western civilization compelled Korea to take a short cut from feudalism to modern life. There was not enough time, therefore, for her to form her own ideas and to have a group of thinkers for the development of a modern society and nation. There was mostly imitation of Western civilization and it increased as each new group of students learned Western ideas and propagated them. Thus the students of Korea, as in other underdeveloped countries, were and are in the vanguard of the new era and are the core power of resistance. They formulated and carried out the revolt against conventional ideas and
social institutions, Japanese colonial rule and dictatorship.

In this thesis the resistance of Korean people and students against Japanese colonial rule and educational policy will be the main subjects of study.
I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem. This study is being undertaken to consider the following problems:

1. How did modern education start in Korea?
2. How did the people and students resist Japanese rule?
3. How did the Japanese control modern Korean education?
4. What was the aim of education during Japanese colonial rule?
5. What is the meaning of the Korean students' anti-Japanese movement in the history of modern Korean education?
6. Did Japanese educational policy succeed in Korea?

Importance of the Study. This study has two main purposes: to analyze Japanese colonial rule as it affected education, and to analyze the resistance of the Korean people and students to Japanese colonial rule.

The history of the Korean people's resistance to the educational policy of the Japanese has unique features. The purpose of the Japanese colonial rule
in Korea was to assimilate the Korean people into Japan, and education was an instrument of assimilation. For the most part Japanese colonial rule was an exception in the history of colonialism. In the Western world colonial policies were applied by highly cultivated countries to extremely underdeveloped ones. Under Oriental civilization Korea was a more advanced country than Japan, but Japan's geographical location made her import Western civilization earlier than Korea did. It was a deplorable thing for the peace of the Orient and the world in the first half of the twentieth century that Japan imported colonialism first instead of other wholesome aspects of Western civilization. She carried out colonialism in Korea and, with a borrowed civilization, she tried to assimilate the Korean people into the Japanese. This kind of study has not only historical value for the clarification of past events but is also important in understanding the world of today, because the conflicts between colonialism and nationalism, and between totalitarianism and liberalism are still serious world wide problems.

Scope and Limitation of the Study. The early part of the history of modern Korean education is made up of the struggles between the oppressions of the Japanese and the resistance of the Koreans. In other words it is a history of the conflict between colonialism and
nationalism, totalitarianism and liberalism. This conflict was expressed profoundly by the outstanding event the "March 1st Independence Movement" which occurred on March 1, 1919. This study gives emphasis to the resistance of the people and the students to the educational policy under the Japanese protectorate and colonial rule. The resistance of both the people and students, and the educational policy under the Japanese colonial rule are primarily political problems. But this study will consider them as they affected education. The political aspects of these events will, therefore, be limited to those which have a close relationship with the educational aspects. The study will be focused on the period between 1905 to 1919, because this period is one to use to evaluate Japanese efforts in education in Korea. The March 1st Independence Movement clearly marked a period in the history of Korean education as well as of the country as a whole.

II. PROCEDURES AND SOURCES FOR THE STUDY

Data was obtained from the following sources for this study:

1. The main library of the Ohio State University.
3. The Library of Congress
4. Dissertations from Columbia University and
Harvard University.

5. Materials from institutes in Korea.

III. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Common School. An institution in which children are given the common education forming the basis of national education. The period of study for a Common School was four years. This, however, was shortened by one year subject to the conditions of the locality in which the school is established.

Higher Common School. This school gives boy students higher common education, by which is understood training in common sense and in national characteristics and instruction in knowledge and art necessary for the gaining of a livelihood. It is attended by boys at least twelve years old, who are graduates of a four-year Common School or by boys whose qualifications are recognized as equal or superior to this standard.

Higher Girls' Common School. This girls' school is an institution for giving them higher common education, in order to foster in them femi-
nine virtues, cultivate national characteristics and instruct them in the knowledge and art necessary to making a livelihood. Girls not less than full twelve years of age who have graduated from a Common School the period of study in which is four years, or those whose qualifications are recognized as equal or superior to those of the aforesaid are eligible for admission to a Girls' High School.

**Industrial School.** An Industrial School trains students wishing to engage in agriculture, commerce and technical industry, giving them the necessary education therefor. The period of study was two or three years beyond the completion of the common school.

**Special School.** It gives to boy students education in higher branches of science and art. The period of study for a Special School was three or four years beyond the higher common school.
CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

In this chapter the writer gives the necessary background for this study: the geographical setting of Korea, a brief history of Korea, and a brief history of Korean education.

I. THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING OF KOREA

Korea is a peninsula thrust down from the Asian mainland between Japan and China. It is 600 miles in length from north to south and the average distance from west to east is 170 miles. It lies between 33°7' and 43°1' north latitude and between 124°11' and 130°57' east longitude. The peninsula covers 84,738 square miles. The climate is roughly the same as in those parts of the middle western United States which lie in the same latitude. The east coast of Korea is steep and rugged and has few good harbors. The western coasts are deeply indented where, unlike in the eastern shores, the tides rise from 20 to 30 feet, making navigation difficult.

Interior Korea is largely mountainous, the principal ranges extending from Paiktu-san on the
northeastern border coast where the Diamond mountains are.

The principal agricultural products are rice, wheat, barley, soya beans, and cotton. The mineral wealth of the country is great, for it has gold, iron, tungsten, and coal.

The present population is approximately 30 million, two-thirds live in South Korea.

II. A BRIEF HISTORY OF KOREA

Beginning (2333 B.C.) Korean history dates back four thousand years. According to mythological stories, Tangun, a chief of a tribe, controlled the tribal groups that lived in Puyo, where southwest Manchuria lies. These tribes became known as Chosun (the Land of Morning Calm).

Three Kingdoms (57 B.C.-918 A.D.) In the year 57 B.C. the kingdom of Silla emerged at the south of the Naktong River. In 37 B.C. there arose on the upper-stream area of the Yalu another new kingdom, Koguryo, embracing the vast territory of present day Manchuria.

After severe struggles the Kingdom of Silla unified Korea (668 A.D.) and brought about a cultural golden age.

From 309 A.D. the kingdom of Paickche on the
southeastern coast, had a cultural relationship with Japan. A number of Korean artisans and craftsmen went to the Japanese islands as teachers. The famous paintings on the walls of the Horyuji in Nara are outstanding examples of their work. The famous scholar Wang-in was invited to be the teacher of the king's family.

**Koryo Dynasty (918-1392)** The Silla dynasty declined and the Koryo dynasty came to power. Koryo had to fight against the aggression of the continental powers throughout this period. In 1231 Mongolian hordes invaded the country, and the monarch held off the enemy for thirty years. Shortly before the Mongolian invasion the actual ruling power was taken over from the king by the warriors.

The significance of the Koryo dynasty in Korean history is that it was the transition period from Buddhism to Confucianism. The moral and religious aspects of the everyday life of the people were governed by Buddhism, and the intellectual aspects of the people were influenced by Confucianism.

**Yi Dynasty (1392-1910)** General Yi, who was a vassal of the Koryo dynasty, established the Yi dynasty in 1392. The culture of this dynasty was Confucian. King Sejong, the fourth king of that dynasty, encouraged various inventions and promoted culture.
most significant of all was the invention of a purely phonetic alphabet (in 1445). It consisted of twenty-eight characters (now twenty-four characters) and the Korean language could be described perfectly with this alphabet.

In 1592 Japan invaded Korea. In this invasion many historical remains: famous Buddhist temples, books, and much valuable art were burned by the invaders. During this invasion the Japanese learned from Korea the technique of making pottery and printing books. During the latter half of the Yi dynasty party strife became severe. It brought many political changes and tragedy.

During the early 17th century, Christianity was introduced into Korea through books. In the 1780's Christianity was propagated by a French priest. In 1876 the Japanese forced a treaty in which Korea had to open the port of Pusan. In 1882 the United States negotiated a similar treaty. This paved the way for the conclusion of similar treaties with such major powers as Great Britain, Germany and Russia. This, however, resulted in setting off rivalries among the ambitious nations. Under the terms of the Tientsin Treaty concluded between China and Japan in 1885, the Japanese started a war against China, and sent six thousand troops to Korea to help quell a
disturbance in 1894. The war ended with the disgraceful defeat of China. From then on, the Japanese vigorously pursued policies aimed at making Korea a colony. The only power challenging Japan in Korea was Russia, and Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 gave Japan exclusive power in Korea. Japan forced Korea to accept the so-called "Protectorate Treaty" on terms prearranged by the Japanese. This treaty, which stipulated that control over administrative functions and foreign relations be handed over to the Japanese, enabled Japan to seize the paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea and, in 1919, Japan finally annexed Korea.

Japanese Colonial Rule. After annexation Japan enforced police and military rule in Korea. The Korean people lost not only political sovereignty, but also cultural freedom and civil liberties. On March 1, 1919, a great independence movement broke out in Seoul. This movement rapidly spread all over the country. In 1928 in Kwanju a students' anti-Japanese movement broke out and this movement was propagated throughout the country.

Emancipation. Korea was liberated in 1945 as the result of the Second World War, but the military occupation of Korea divided it into two parts, North and South. Northern Korea was under the strong influ-
ence of Russia and Southern Korea, the American military government. On August 15, 1948, the Republic of Korea was established, but it controlled only the southern part of the country.

On June 25, 1950, the Soviet-trained North Korean Communist Army invaded South Korea with heavy arms. The so-called Korean War brought a matchless tragedy to the Korean people. After long drawn-out talks an armistice was finally signed on July 27, 1953, but the Korean War destroyed many houses and industrial facilities, and the worsened economic situation had agitated the social order.

On April 19, 1960, the dictatorship government was brought down by a students' revolution. Consequently, the second Republic emerged on August 15, 1960.

**Summary.** Throughout its history Korea has fought against continental powers and Japanese invasion. Its geographical location has made its history tragic.

In the circle of Oriental civilization, Korea had been civilized by its close relationship with China, which was the cradle of civilization. Korea's tragic geographical location did, however, enable it to introduce Buddhism and continental culture to Japan.
The impact of Western civilization helped to overcome in Korea the negative Confucian culture, but the country was occupied by Japan before it had become really westernized. From the occupation to the end of the Second World War, it lost the chance to develop itself and to contribute to world culture. After the Second World War, it was emancipated from Japanese colonial rule. This emancipation, however, could not bring the country happiness because it was divided into two parts, and this division caused the tragic Korean War. It will never be possible for a modern, truly Korean culture to develop, unless Korea is reunified.

III. A BRIEF HISTORY OF KOREAN EDUCATION

This history of Korean education will review it from the time before ancient Chosun to the present. It is divided into four parts: from ancient Chosun to Unified Silla, the Koryo dynasty, and the Yi dynasty, and modern education.

The Education of Puyo to Unified Silla (2333 B.C.-918 A.D.).

1. Puyo. During the early period of Puyo there were no true schools. Education in this primitive period was provided by mature members of families. It emphasized loyalty to the clan and tribe, and gave training in manual work and military skills.
2. Education in Koguryo. There were two kinds of school systems in Koguryo kingdom. One of them was the taehak and the other one was the hyangdang. The first, the taehak, was established in 372 A.D. The taehak was operated by the state and admitted the sons of the upper class only. The curriculum of this school was composed of Chinese classics, literature, history, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, music and training in military skills. The purpose of education in the taehak was to train state leaders.

The hyangdang was a kind of private school in Koguryo. It is considered to be the predecessor of the sodang, which flourished in the Koryo dynasty. These private schools were established in every village in Koryo. In the Jutangshuo, which is an old record of China, a reference to hyangdang is given as follows:

People loved books, and officers and common people built large halls in villages and towns. They named them hyangdang. Many unmarried men read books and trained in the skill of the archer there. The books that they read are fine Chinese classics.  

Both the taehak and hyangdang were patterned after the Chinese school system. The purpose of hyangdang education was to teach Chinese culture and to train military skills for state defense.

1Mankyu Yi, Chosun Kycyuksa (History of Korean Education) Seoul: 1949, Vol. 1, p. 48
3. The Hwarang-do in Silla. The Hwarang-do (literally, Way of the Flower of Manhood) was a unique system of training young men. The group of Hwarangs, as they were called, were organized by selected handsome young men of the upper class in the middle of the sixth century. Originally two women headed this organization, but later they were replaced by men. The Hwarang received an education that consisted of academic, moral, emotional, and military training. There were five principal instructions which were given by the outstanding Bishop Wonkwang: to serve the King with sincere loyalty, to serve parents in filial piety, to serve friends in trustfulness, to fight an enemy without knowing retreat, and to choose what and when to kill and what and when not to kill.

Many state leaders came out of this group and this unique education enabled Silla to unify Korea by defeating Paikche and Koguryo.

4. Education after the unification of Silla. The Kukhak (literally, State School), which was established in the second year of king Sin-mun (682 A.D.) was the major institute of this period. It was a nine-year course and admitted students from fifteen to thirty years old. It was headed by a Kyong (presi-

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2 Sungun Yi, Hwarangdo Yongu (A Study of Hwarangdo) Seoul, Korea: Naedong Munwha-sa, 1950, p. 6-7
dent) and the staff members were organized under several Paksa (professors), Chokyo (assistant professors), and several taesa (12th grade officials of the state). The school taught Chinese classics and literature, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine. The school expelled those with poor academic records.

This school system was copied from the Tang dynasty in China.

**Koryo Dynasty. (918-1392).** Until the Silla dynasty, the predominant philosophy was Buddhism and the Koryo dynasty was a transition period in the changing ideas and living habits of the Korean people from Buddhism to Confucianism. At the beginning of the Koryo dynasty the influence of Buddhism was stronger among the people than that of Confucianism, but by the middle of the dynasty Buddhism had lost its strength. The people of the Koryo dynasty learned wisdom from Confucianism and satisfied their religious desire with Buddhism.

In the early days of the Koryo dynasty there were three major state-operated schools: Kukchahak, Taehak and Samunhak, each of which accommodated 300 students. The Kukchahak was founded by King Songjong in the eleventh year of his rule (992). This school admitted only those whose families enjoyed a rank higher than the third "pum" (grade). The greater part of
the curriculum of the nine-year school was Confucian classics. Students who finished more than three years of study at the school were eligible for a public service examination. Attached to the Kukchahak were three other departments, yulhak (law), schak (geography and astronomy) and sanhak (mathematics), which admitted children of lower ranking officials and private citizens. The three auxiliary departments were all six-year courses. The Taehak admitted only those whose family enjoyed a rank higher than the seventh "pum". The curriculum of those two schools was composed of Chinese classics, mathematics and military training. Education during this dynasty mainly emphasized the training of officers. Officers were selected by kwago (the public service examination). This kwago system was formally inaugurated by the king of Kwangjong in 958. This system remained until 1904 which was the end of the Yi dynasty.

In the capital of Koryo there were many private schools. Several prominent scholars founded private schools and taught the young men. In the capital city there were twelve such private schools and they had a better reputation than the state operated schools.

In the provinces there were many hyanggyos or hyanghaks (both mean literally province school). The accurate date of the beginning of hyanggyo is unknown. These provincial schools taught Confucian classics in
much the same way as the state school.

**Education During the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910).**
The Yi Dynasty was predominantly Confucian. The Chuzushou, one of the interpretations and analyses of Confucian classics by the Sung scholars of China, was readily accepted as the orthodox philosophy of the early Yi dynasty. Since that time Confucianism influenced the people's daily life and helped support the feudalistic kingdom.

The Yi dynasty inherited the educational system of the Koryo dynasty. The Kukchagam of the Koryo dynasty was changed in name only to Sunggunkwan. The Sunggunkwan consisted of two main establishments: mummyo and myongyundang. The former was a shrine honoring Confucius as well as leading Korean scholars of the Confucian tradition. The latter was the school building. The school accommodated one hundred students. Students were admitted by rigid entrance examination.

During the Yi dynasty the number of hyanggyo increased greatly. The hyanggyo also had its mummyo and became a center for various ceremonies held by the citizens of the province or town where it was located. The teachers of the hyanggyo were supervised by each provincial governor, and they were approved by the government on the recommendation of the provincial governor. Students of the hyanggyo were exempted from the yearly
tax, but, if a student could not complete a certain degree of study before he was thirty years old, he would be expelled from the hyanggyo.

The sodang was freely established by the citizens. It was the lowest level educational institution. These sodangs can be divided into four different categories: those which were managed by school masters, by a private volunteer, by groups of volunteers, and by a cooperative village. The curriculum consisted of Confucian classics, Chinese and Korean classical literature, and calligraphy. The teaching method depended mostly on recitation.

Sowon, a new type of institution, came into being in the thirty-eighth year of Chung-jong, the 11th king (1543), when a provincial district chief, Chu Sebung, founded the Paegundong sowon. Fundamentally a private institution, the sowon taught Confucian classics for fees and held Confucian rites twice a year. These sowons built powerful financial foundations with private contributions and loyal grants. Besides, many excellent scholars, who were expelled from the central government by severe party strife, escaped to these sowons and taught many provincial young men. Therefore many new scholars appeared from many of these sowons. This result, however, caused more severe party strife because it brought about too many groups of scholars.
Modern Education in Korea (1882). Confucianism preferred mere theory and was not applicable to the daily life of the people. The purpose of the study of Confucianism was to become a high ranking official by passing the kwago (the public service examination). During the Yi dynasty, all officers of high and low rank were Confucian scholars. And Confucianism, which preferred mere theory and that which was really futile, brought severe party strife into the court, and statesmen argued with each other about the theory of Confucianism rather than practical problems. Thus Confucianism carried academic discussion too far and politics were far from the life of the people. Besides, the increasing number of new scholars made competition severe. This situation was directly related to party strife and made it worse and worse. Since the latter half of the Yi dynasty, a new movement appeared among some scholars. This academic circle was called Sillhakpa (literally practical school), but the Confucian idea was too deeply corrupted to be reformed by those small groups of scholars. This situation was condition enough to allow for the reception of new ideas from the outside. In the early part of the 17th century, Western ideas and things began to flow into Korea. Several scholars studied Catholic theory, astronomy, and other sciences from books that were brought from China. New scienti-
fic knowledge was created by scholars and the theory of Christianity was vaguely discussed among the scholars before the coming of foreign priests. In the 19th century, despite the Taiwon-gun’s isolationism, several French priests came to Korea and the number of Christians increased to thirty thousand in 1893. This prevailing Western idea compelled the government to change to Western ways. In the 19th Year of King Kojong’s reign (1882), the first royal decree on modern education in Korea opened the gates of the state-operated schools to common citizens. In June of the twenty-second year of King Kojong (1885) Paijai Hakdang, the first modern secondary school, was established by Henry G. Apenzeller, who was a missionary of the Northern Methodist Church of the United States, and soon many modern schools were established by American Protestant church missionary groups. In 1904, the Kwago, the public service examination with undue emphasis on Confucian classics, was abolished and the reorganization of the educational system began.

From 1905 on, Japan began to intervene in the educational affairs of Korea, directly and indirectly at the instigation of the Japanese military. Since that time modern Korean education has undergone a period of great suffering. While the public schools were gradually placed under Japanese colonial rule, many private schools made determined efforts to cultivate a
spirit of resistance and to spearhead a movement to enlighten the people at large. In 1910, Japan annexed Korea, and two opposite efforts were brought to bear on education: One treated education as an instrument of assimilation and slave education, and the other aimed to take back freedom and sovereignty. These two opposite efforts resulted in two great events: the so-called March 1st Independence Movement in 1919 and the Kwangju Students Movement in 1928.

In 1945, the Japanese colonial rule ended as the result of the end of the Second World War. From August of 1945 to August of 1948, the southern part of Korea was under U. S. military government. All the aspects of education were rearranged to make them democratic. In August of 1948 education was put under the control of the Ministry of Education as the result of the establishment of the Republic of Korea.

On June 25, 1950, the Korean War broke out. This three-year period of war destroyed all school buildings. During the War and for a few years after, classes were held under the blue sky. After the Korean War school buildings were rapidly reconstructed mainly with the help of the United States in various ways.

The 19th of April 1960 was a day to commemorate forever. On that day Korean students rose again
against dictatorship. That day is called "the Day of the Students' Revolution". In the revolution more than one hundred students were killed by the police of the dictator, Shingman Rhee.

Summary. From 372 A.D., when the Koryo Kingdom established the first true school in Korea, to the end of the nineteenth century, Korean education had been under a strong Chinese cultural influence. The school systems were copied after those of China and the curricula were mostly Chinese classics except for the Hwarang-do which was instituted during the Silla Kingdom.

The traditional educational system was entirely conservative and backward-looking, with recognition of no learning except that which was bound up in the Chinese classics.

True modern education in Korea was started by the Protestant missionary groups who established modern style schools at the end of the nineteenth century. But the infant period of modern Korean education has suffered under Japanese colonial rule, the division of the country, and the Korean War.
CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE JAPANESE PROTECTORATE GOVERNMENT AND THE KOREAN FOLK MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION

Our first consideration must be the conflict between the Japanese Protectorate Government and the Korean people over education. During the period of the Protectorate Government, from 1905 to 1910, the Japanese gained ground in education as well as in other political aspects, preparatory for the annexation which was carried out in 1910.

During this period Japan gradually deprived Korea of the right to control educational affairs. The Korean people, however, strongly resisted this aggressive Japanese policy. In order to combat Japanese aggression, the Korean leaders enthusiastically devoted themselves to modern education. They established modern private schools and organized many educational associations. Consequently, this folk movement provoked the Japanese to various oppressive policies. The conflict was not only between the Japanese Protectorate Government and the Korean people but also between the Japanese Protectorate Government and the missionary groups who were engaged in educa-
tion in Korea and whose schools supported the nationalist sentiments of the Korean people.

A thorough review of Korean education under the Protectorate Government must involve analyses: (1) of the characteristics of the time, (2) of the folk movement in education, (3) of the contribution of missionaries to modern education in Korea, and (4) of the educational policy of the Protectorate Government.

I. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TIME
(1905-1910)

On November 17, 1905, Korea was compelled by the Japanese Prince Ito to conclude the so-called Protectorate Treaty. In order to get the agreement of the Korean Government, the Japanese army surrounded the court and arrested several ministers and officers who opposed the concluding of this treaty. After the murder of the Korean Queen by the Japanese in 1895, the court had been under Japanese domination. By the treaty of 1905 Korea lost her sovereignty in foreign affairs and the policy of the government was enacted under the supervision of the Japanese Resident-General. The principal provisions of this treaty were as follows:

I. The Japanese government will take control and direct the foreign relations and affairs of Korea, and Japanese diplomatic
representatives and Consuls will protect the subjects and interests of Korea abroad.

II. The Japanese Government will take upon itself the duty of carrying out the existing Treaties between Korea and foreign countries, and the Korean Government binds itself not to negotiate any Treaty or Agreement of a diplomatic nature without the intermediary of the Japanese Government.

III. (a) The Japanese Government will appoint under His Majesty the Emperor of Korea a Resident-General as its representative, who will remain in Seoul chiefly to administer diplomatic affairs with the prerogative of having private audience with His Majesty the Emperor of Korea.

(b) The Japanese Government is entitled to appoint a Resident to every Korean open port and other places where the presence of such Resident is considered necessary. These Residents, under the supervision of the Resident-General, will administer Consulates in Korea and all other affairs necessary for the satisfactory fulfillment of the provisions of this treaty.

IV. All the existing treaties and agreements between Japan and Korea, within limits not prejudicial to the provisions of this Treaty, will remain in force.

V. The Japanese government guarantees to maintain the security and respect the dignity of the Korean Imperial House.

After the promulgation of this treaty, in November 1905, confusion was spread all over the country. The president of the Whang Sung Sinmun (the Whang Sung Newspaper) who attacked the treaty was arrested by Japanese police. People attacked those who agreed with Japan to conclude this treaty, and also the Japanese police stations, and pro-Japanese

1 Quoted from F. A. McKenzie, Tragedy of Korea, New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., p. 309
organizations. Ito who was the Japanese prince, became the Resident-General and he brought several able officers from Japan who planned and effectively carried out an aggressive policy.

In July 1907, they forced the conclusion of another treaty, by which Korea was deprived of all sovereignty. This treaty was signed on July 24, 1907, and the provisions were as follows:

Art. I. The Government of Korea shall follow the guidance of the Resident-General in effecting administrative reforms.

Art. II. All the laws to be enacted and all important administrative measures to be undertaken by the Korean Government shall previously receive the consent and approval of the Resident-General.

Art. III. Distinction shall be observed between the administration of justice by the Government of Korea and the business of ordinary administration.

Art. IV. The appointment and dismissal of high officials of Korea shall be at the pleasure of the Resident-General.

Art. V. The Government of Korea shall appoint to the Government offices of Korea any Japanese the Resident-General may recommend.

Art. VI. The Government of Korea shall engage no foreigner without the consent of the Resident-General.  

In December of 1909 the Japanese prince Ito was killed by a Korean in Manchuria, and in December of the same year Lee, Wan Yong, who was the chief pro-Japanese leader was assassinated in Seoul. Many groups of

\[\text{\textsuperscript{2} Ibid. P. 310}\]
guerillas were organized throughout the country to fight against Japan.

Thus the time was filled with uncessiness and confusion, and the feeling of nationalism suddenly arose among the people.
II. THE FOLK MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION

The Rise of the Folk Movement in Education.

After the conclusion of the Protectorate treaty in 1905, Korean leaders felt strongly the necessity of modern education. They realized that modernizing Korean education was the only way to get back sovereignty from Japan. Many political leaders became educators and the people who had property contributed it for the growth and establishment of modern education. Many national leaders emphasized education in their lecture tours throughout the country and many associations were established for the development of education. Ann, Chang Ho, who was the great national leader, appealed to the people to provide modern education and to learn modern knowledge. He said, "We have been annexed by Japan because of our lack of power, so we should have power. Where does power come from? It comes from knowledge. Therefore we must provide modern education and learn according to it." 3 Thus an educational fever prevailed throughout the country and it emerged as a folk movement. Many schools were established and a number of educators

3 Paraphrased from Kwangsoo Lee, Tosan Ann, Chang Ho (The Biography of Tosan-Ann, Chang Ho), Seoul: Taisung Munwhasa, 1959, PP. 19-20
went out from the capital city to the countryside.

Table I shows the number of schools which were established by this folk movement.

**TABLE I**

THE NUMBER OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN MAY 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Common School</th>
<th>High School</th>
<th>Indus. School</th>
<th>Misc. School</th>
<th>Mission School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seoul</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyunggi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chungnam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chungbuk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyungnam</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyungbuk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chunnam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chunbuk</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangwon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whanghai</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyungham</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyungbuk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hambuk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1,402</td>
<td>823</td>
<td>2,250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This figure is only the number of schools recognized by the Protectorate Government. Therefore the actual number of private schools is presumed to be more than 2,500.*

*Source: Mankyu Yi, Chosun Kyoyuk-sa (History of Korean Education) vol. 2, Seoul: Eulyu Munwhasa, 1949, pp. 153-4*

**The Changing Faith in Education.** This folk movement, which was caused by the prevailing modern idea and the feeling of national crisis under the
Japanese Protectorate Government, made a significant change in the people's faith in education. The traditional aim of education was to produce high ranking officers who could pass the Kwago (public service examination). Education was merely an instrument to allow the educated to rise in the world to satisfy their own selfishness. But their interest in education was broadened from one of selfishness to one of public welfare. The sole purpose of education became the rescue of the nation from the aggression of Japan. This aim of education was firmly built not by professional educators or scholars or the government but by the people without their having held any educational meetings or conventions. The cause of the change of the aim of education was not only the prevailing modern idea and the feeling of the national crisis, but also the contemptuous feeling against the officials who served the Protectorate Government, because since the Protectorate-Treaty (1905) only the pro-Japanese became officials. Therefore the officials became the mark of the people's hatred, and the traditional conception which preferred officials was completely changed.

The Rising of the Educational Associations. This folk movement was brought about by many associations, which were organized by outstanding national leaders for the development of education. Most of them were estab-
lished in the capital city of Seoul but they engaged in the development of education throughout the country by sharing the responsibility with the districts. Subuk Hakhoi (responsible for Pyungnam, Pyungbuk, and Whangheoi provinces), Kiho Hakhoi (responsible for Kunghi, Kangwon, Chungnam and Chungbuk provinces), Kyonam Hakhoi (responsible for Chunnam and Chunbuk provinces). Hungsa-dan and Daidong Hakhoi were organized for the support of nationwide educational enterprises. Hungsa-dan in particular was organized with a lofty purpose and it was led by Ann, Chang Ho. It became the center of the anti-Japanese movement throughout the period of Japanese colonial rule. These associations engaged in the establishment of schools and the collection of funds for educational enterprise. Some of them and several other groups published magazines for the promotion of education. The Subuk-Hakbo, the Kiho Hakbo, the Honam Hakbo, the Posung Hakbo, the Daihan Hakbo, the Kyeyuk Wolbo (The Monthly Report on Education), and the Sonyonjabji (The Juvenile Magazine) were prominent. These magazines encouraged independence of spirit as well as the promotion of education.

The National crisis caused the nationwide folk movement. The people's interest in education was broadened from a conventional selfishness to an interest in the public welfare. A great number of schools
were established through the people's spontaneous contribution of both money and effort. The National leaders established many educational associations to speed the growth of modern education. Indeed all the efforts of the people to rescue the country were concentrated in educational enterprises.
III. THE CONTRIBUTION OF MISSIONARIES TO MODERN EDUCATION IN KOREA

No one can overlook the contribution of the American Protestant missionary groups to modern education in Korea. From 1883 when the first Protestant missionary came to Korea, to 1910 when Japan annexed Korea, marks the period of the Protestant missionary group's successful establishment. During this period the Korean Government concluded treaties with Western countries and granted religious freedom. The following list shows the years in which the first missionaries of each church came to Korea.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name of Church</th>
<th>Name of Missionary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Presbyterian Board of U.S.</td>
<td>M. N. Allen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Presbyterian Board of U.S.</td>
<td>H. G. Underwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Methodist Parent Board of U.S.</td>
<td>H. G. Appenzeller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Australian Presbyterian Mission</td>
<td>Two persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>Charles John Corfe and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Southern Presbyterian Mission of U. S.</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Junkin and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Southern Methodist Church of U. S.</td>
<td>C. F. Reed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Seventh Day Adventist Church of U. S.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Oriental Mission Association of U. S.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Salvation Army of England</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Sources 1. Underwood H. Horace, Modern Education in Korea, PP. 8-10  
2. Mankyu, Yi, op. cit., PP. 19-22
Instead of being severely persecuted, Christianity was rapidly propagated by the early French missionaries. In 1896, when the propagation of Christianity was permitted by the Government there were 30,000 believers, 34 missionaries, 23 schools and 450 churches.\footnote{Mankyu Yi, op. cit., P.18} This rapid spread was further promoted by the coming of missionary groups from Protestant churches.

There were several reasons for the rapid spread of Christianity. In the first place, people had suffered a long time under feudalistic social and political institutions. Society during the Yi dynasty can be roughly grouped into three classes according to the people's occupations. The civil and military officers belonged to the upper class, the so-called Yangban; the farmers and merchants belonged to the common class; and certain kinds of craftsmen and butchers belonged to the lower class. This stratification made the common and lower classes the objects of exploitation for the Yangban class. The gap between the upper class and the two lower classes had widened. The distinction was severe not only between the social classes but also between men and women. According to the Confucian conception women are sub-
ordinate. Academic learning was not allowed them, and young widows could not marry again. If a woman got a bad disease that could be reason enough for her husband to divorce her. Besides, a man was allowed to have more than one wife.

Confucianism, which emphasized loyalty to the King, filial piety towards one's parents, and obedience of women to men was thus an instruments to maintain monarchial feudalism. Christianity, which proclaimed equality and freedom, was a great gospel for those oppressed people.

In the second place, during the early period of the Yi dynasty, Buddhism was rejected and suppressed by the government because of the predominant Confucian idea. But the government could not take away the religious desire of the people and Confucianism could not satisfy them because it is not a religion. Without religious beliefs the people had degenerated into a superstitious life, and this tendency had produced many social evils. Under this situation, Christianity, which has a highly developed doctrine, was attractive enough to the people to make them become Christians.

In the third place, people were overwhelmed by Western civilization. The feeling of inferiority made people lose their critical attitude toward Christianity.
In the fourth place, the great discovery of the missionaries for the propagation of their religion was "Hangul", the purely phonetic Korean native alphabet. The worth of these characters had long been denied by the stubborn Confucian scholars. But pioneer missionary groups recognized the excellency of Hangul for their purposes. In 1887 the British and Foreign Bible Society published the Bible in the national language written in these characters and it was taught to the believers.  

In the fifth place, under the Japanese protectorate and colonial rule, Christianity was a strong agency to encourage the feeling of freedom and nationalism. In the early period of Japanese colonial rule in Korea, Japan could not interfere with or prevent the missionary group’s work in churches and schools, which thus became centers and shelters of nationalism.  

In 1885, the first modern school was established in Korea by Dr. H. G. Appenzeller, an American Methodist missionary, who arrived in Seoul, Korea, in 1885. Since that time many modern schools have been established by various missionary groups. According to the statistics of the Department of Education of Korea, Pyungyang, Korea: Union Christian College Press, 1927, p. 110. Underwood & Horace, Modern Education in Korea, New York: International Press, 1926, p. 18.
the Protectorate Government the number of mission schools, which were legally recognized by the Government, reached 796 in 1910. The following table shows the number of these schools, divided according to religious sect and nationality of the founding group.

TABLE II

TYPES OF MISSIONARY SCHOOLS IN FEBRUARY 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Korean</th>
<th>American</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>412</td>
<td>27</td>
<td></td>
<td>501</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adventist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Sects</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown Sects</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of teachers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV. THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE
PROTECTORATE GOVERNMENT

In analyzing the educational policy of the Protectorate Government, we must first consider the ways in which the Japanese undertook to prepare for control. Then we can observe the development of Japanese official policies concerning the private schools, the educational associations, and the mission schools, and the textbooks to be used in schools.

The Preparation for Control. From the time of the conclusion of the Protectorate Treaty, Japan speeded up its assumption of authority in the control of education. They thought the firmness of their colonial rule in Korea depended on the assimilation of the Korean people into Japan, and that such an assimilation could be performed by education. Therefore controlling educational policy in Korea was a national enterprise for Japan. On the other hand, the resistance of the Korean people to this Japanese educational policy was the expression of a struggle to survive. Japan adopted various policies and tactics. Sometimes she used the right of a ruler, sometimes she threatened, and sometimes she made promises she did not keep.

In order to achieve this purpose first of all, Japan made changes in personnel. In 1905, under the
Protectorate Treaty a Japanese was made the Counselor of the Department of Education. In 1908, the Government discontinued this position and made a Japanese the vice minister of the Department of Education, and, under the guise of rearrangement and reform of Korean education, they invited many Japanese teachers from Japan and made them deans in every government high school. Thus the Ministry of Education was entirely under Japanese control and the government schools were operated by the Japanese.

The Policy on Private Schools. The private schools were the biggest source of anxiety to Japan. The first task of educational policy was, therefore, to put down the folk movement in education. For this reason the Protectorate Government promulgated Imperial Ordinance No. 62, issued on August 26, 1908. The Ordinance contained seventeen articles and its chief provisions are as follows:

1. A private school should be established by applying to the Minister of Education for a permission.
2. A private school is required to provide a copy of the school regulations as to the period of study, the academic year, grade of curriculum, specified number of students, method of examination, tuition fee, qualification of applicants for entrance, etc.
3. A private school is required to use textbooks compiled by the Department of Education or approved by the Department.
4. The founder of a school, principal and teachers shall not be appointed from among persons who have undergone criminal punish-
ment or disciplinary correction, or who have been dismissed from a position, or have had taken from them their teaching certificate or who have not a good moral character.

5. The Minister of Education may order a school to alter its equipment, manner of instruction or other matters if he deems it necessary.

6. A school may be closed by the order of the Minister of Education in case of violating laws or ordinances or injuring the peace and order.

If this Ordinance were manipulated by a democratic government, it could be a wholesome one. But unfortunately, it was not. It was provided not for the desirable development of a nation but for satisfaction of Japan's aggressive purposes. The first provision looks relatively tolerant, because it was possible to establish a school only by applying to the Minister of Education. But this tolerance was not their intention, for the ruling was designed to cope with the resistance of the people. This situation was clearly described by Yuge Kotaro, the chief of the section of education under the Government-General from 1911 to 1920, in his book as follows:

It was beyond question to say that this Ordinance was not strict enough to break down the unwholesome state of the private schools and to lead education into ways of justice. At that time, however, the government could not control more than this degree, because the Government did not have sufficient power for

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The regulation covering the closing of a school was merely a statutory ornament. The Government did not have any intention of enforcing those provisions. If the Government disposed of those schools then the Government would not be able to remain itself, because of the resistance of those many schools.

At any rate, the apparent tolerance of the first provision does not have any meaning because of the crucial limitations of the other provisions.

Provision 2 does not involve any political scheme itself. One can easily imagine the disorder of private schools at that time. Many of those private schools were built not in the ordinary way but by urgent desire of the people.

Textbooks, the concern of Provision 3, will be dealt with in a later section of this chapter.

Provisions 4, 5, and 6 include terms most oppressive of Korean patriots. The terms, "undergone criminal punishment", "who have been dismissed from a position or have had taken from them their teaching certificate", and "who have not good moral character", directly affected those Korean patriots who had engaged in educational enterprises. According to the point of view of the Japanese officers, the patriots were potential criminals, and a man who

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9Kotaro Yuge, Chosen no Kyoyuku (Korean Education, Tokyo: Jiyutokyu-sha, 1923, p.73
did not think their Emperor was a living god was considered immoral. The term "freedom" was interpreted as an immoral term. Whenever a student asked for freedom in class, his teacher scolded him by saying "You should go to America". Under these rulers, whose sense of values was completely reversed, those provisions were strict enough to close all private schools. At that time, however, the Government did not have enough power to enforce this ordinance.

The Protectorate Government used not only threats, such as these, but on the other hand adopted a conciliatory measure to weaken the nationalist movement in the private schools. At the same time, when the ordinance relating to Private Schools was promulgated in 1908, Regulations Concerning Financial Aid for Private Schools were issued by a decree of the Education Department. According to these regulations, a private school having the following qualifications could receive financial aid from the Government:

1. A school established in accordance with the Private School Ordinance or maintaining the same grade of curriculum as a Common School maintained by the Government.
2. The school must have adequate teaching force and equipment.
3. The school must have existed for two years since its establishment.
4. The school must have done good work and have shown good results.

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By these regulations a number of private schools were approved and granted aid. Table III presents the significant data.

TABLE III
FINANCIAL AID TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1908-09

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>Amount of aid (yen)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Annual Report 1908-1909*, pp. 171-172

This policy involved two Japanese aims. First, at that time Japan had to care about international public opinion. So this policy was necessary to camouflage their oppressive policy regarding private schools. Second, they schemed to strengthen their power of control over private schools. At that time this policy was a great temptation for those who maintained the private schools, because under the strong oppression of the Government they had had severe financial difficulty. Even in this situation Japanese policy could not be effected successfully, because of the restrictiveness of the policy. This aid was quite different from the aid for government or public
schools. It was granted under special conditions. The private school which sought government aid had to receive one Japanese teacher as the dean of that school and one or two Korean teachers. Mankyu Yi describes this governmental trick as follows:

The Government aided the selected schools with human resources. One Japanese and one or two Korean teachers were sent to teach in each private school. These teachers were appointed as public school teachers but they were required to teach in private schools. At the same time Japanese teachers were appointed as the deans of these schools and they controlled administration and instruction. One of the reasons for such a strange policy was that if the Government had allowed the schools to control their own personnel, the schools would have changed teachers freely and the government would not have been able to reform the schools.  

This policy brought an opposite result, because it won the people’s hatred instead of favor. Yi described such a tendency as follows:

...Thus people avoided sending their children to public schools, and they did not want to change the private schools into public schools and they even avoided government aid. The children who belonged to higher than middle class so disliked entering public schools, that the public schools were called the poor man’s school. And the prevailing conception was 'the public school provides education for the interest of the Government, while the private school provides education for the people.'  

12 Ibid., p.85
The Oppression of the Educational Associations.

The educational associations were subjected to oppressive measures by the Protectorate Government. These were thought of by the people as a kind of "Ministry of Education", and they willingly contributed their property to the educational enterprises of these associations. Many provincial private schools had direct or indirect close relationships with these associations. Therefore they were a great obstacle to the Government's policy in education. Finally the Government promulgated an Ordinance regarding educational associations on August 26, 1908, when the Private School Ordinance was issued. The reasons for the promulgation and the chief provisions were explained by the authorities as follows:

A number of political associations which were organized by natives, ostensibly for educational purposes, often mislead young students by giving a mixed idea of politics and education. In addition, many so called "educational associations" have been recently organized as a result of the present "educational fever". Some of these not only engage in political discussion, but often undertake forcibly to levy contribution like taxes on a plea of educational expansion in interior districts where the administrative control of the authorities is not sufficient.\(^{13}\)

The chief provisions of this ordinance were as follows:

1. For the establishment of an Educational Association an application shall be made to

\(^{13}\)Annual Report (1908-9), p. 172
the Minister of Education for permission.

2. An Educational Association shall enact Regulations of the Association, definitely stating its object, the business which it proposes to engage in, etc.

3. An Educational Association should not engage in any pecuniary business, or intermeddle in politics.

4. In case an Educational Association acts in a way violating public order, the permission of such Association may be revoked.

5. An Educational Association engaging in its proposed work without permission of the Minister of Education, shall be disbanded.

This Ordinance apparently was intended to destroy the functions of the associations. After several informal meetings the leaders of those associations reached the following conclusion: "Primarily the purpose of our associations, as well as that of other national movements, is to develop patriotic movements. It is nonsense to ask the enemy to allow us to have patriotic movements, and even if we apply to the Government for permission for our associations they will not permit them. Therefore we should change our practices and become an underground movement."15 Thus most of these associations became underground organizations. According to the announcement of the Government thirty-three applications for the establishment of Educational Associations were submitted for Government approval up to the end of December, 1909. Of these,

14Ibid., p. 173
15Paraphrased from Kwangsoo Lee, op. cit., p. 50
twenty-two were recognized during the year by the Government. But those associations which applied for Government recognition were only a small percentage of the numerous.

The Policy on Mission Schools. In Imperial Ordinance No. 62 on private schools, which was issued on August 26, 1908, there was a sentence which dealt with mission schools. It said, "It is deplorable that among the managers of private schools there are persons who attack government policy." This Ordinance, however, did not mention any method to check them. The attitude of the Government toward the mission schools was somewhat permissive, because of the international political situation.

The American missionary group, however, were worried about the possible attitude of the Residency-General towards their schools. The United States Consul, therefore, took the matter up with the Japanese officials at the request of a committee of the General Council of Missions. The missionary group received a positive reply from the consul as follows:

I am now able to convey to your committee the positive assurance of the Director of the

16 Annual Report on Reform and Progress in Korea (1910), Government-General Chosen, Seoul: 1910 p. 156
Department of Foreign Affairs of the Residency-General that "the freedom of Christian religious teaching in mission schools will not be interfered with in any manner under the proposed registration of these schools in accordance with Korean government regulations." I am further assured that the Korean government is disposed to afford every possible facility to Christian educational work without discrimination of any nature of form and that they (the Korean authorities) have requested the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Residency-General to assure me that the said schools will enjoy all privileges on exactly the same footing as other private schools. 18

During the period of the Protectorate Government the mission schools were relatively free. For the authorities they were the great knotty problem. In the first place, the mission schools were an obstacle for achieving their policy. In the second place, they were an exposure of Japanese weakness in international relations, and they affected their colonial rule.

This attitude towards the mission schools was clearly expressed by a letter of Yahada Hozumi, a prominent Japanese scholar, who wrote to the chief of the Bureau of Education of Government-General Teizaburo Sekiya (1910-1919). This letter was a reply to the demand of Sekiya to comment on the draft of the Educational Ordinance of Korea. In the letter Hozumi commented on the problem of the mission schools as follows:

According to common talk about mission schools

which were established by foreign missionaries it seems to me very dangerous. ...The theory of Christianity conflicts with our national policy and ethics. ...The ethic which insists on loyalty and filial piety is radically different from the ethic which insists on philanthropy. The theory which insists on the equality of human beings and denies discrimination between the man of high birth and the man of low birth is quite different from the theory which sanctifies the Emperor and respects the father and worships ancestors. ...Therefore a strict control is required. But it is related to the affair of diplomacy so I am hesitant to discuss that problem. 19

The Policy on Textbooks. From the beginning of modern education until the Protectorate Treaty, the compiling of textbooks was left to private individuals. Consequently, there were many textbooks which were unsuitable to Japan not only from the political viewpoint, but also from an educational one. Most of the available textbooks were not pleasing to the authority. The Resident-General's Annual Report in 1909 commented on this state of affairs as follows:

...There are a large number of textbooks compiled by private individuals. ...More particularly, certain foolish native authors, taking advantage of the unsettled state of mind of the Koreans, have compiled textbooks of a seditious nature referring to the independence of the country, inculcating anti-Japanese insurrection or using dangerous words to excite students. These textbooks contribute nothing to the education of the young but simply impel students to useless political agitation. 20

19 Kenichi Ono, op. cit., p. 49-50
20 Annual Report on Reform and Progress in Korea (1908-1909), Seoul: Residency-General Chosen, 1909, p. 175
For this reason, after the Protectorate Treaty the Department of Education undertook the preparation of textbooks directly under the supervision of the Japanese counselor. The Department of Education, could not, however, carry out this enterprise satisfactorily. First it compiled the textbooks for the common schools, a task roughly completed in May of 1909.

These textbooks were lent to the students of the Government Common Schools and the Public Common Schools without charge, while they were sold to the students of Private Schools. Table IV gives a list of published textbooks and the number of each distributed and sold.
### TABLE IV
NUMBER OF TEXTBOOKS DISTRIBUTED IN CERTAIN YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>1908 Number sold</th>
<th>1908 Number lent</th>
<th>1909 Number sold</th>
<th>1909 Number lent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching of Morals, 4 vols.</td>
<td>3,931</td>
<td>3,558</td>
<td>21,900</td>
<td>16,368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean Reader, 8 vols.</td>
<td>6,748</td>
<td>7,836</td>
<td>38,726</td>
<td>33,946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Reader, 8 vols.</td>
<td>9,284</td>
<td>9,383</td>
<td>37,896</td>
<td>33,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Primer</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Reader</td>
<td>3,225</td>
<td>4,055</td>
<td>22,835</td>
<td>12,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics, 2 vols.</td>
<td>1,186</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>3,921</td>
<td>2,464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing, 4 vols.</td>
<td>3,124</td>
<td>3,115</td>
<td>8,427</td>
<td>10,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,672</td>
<td>1,512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penmanship</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67,559</td>
<td>48,756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28,071</td>
<td>29,429</td>
<td>202,936</td>
<td>159,314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report, 1909-1910, p. 155

The Department of Education did not compile any textbooks on history or geography. It was a difficult problem for the Government to compile history or geography textbooks. If they taught Korean history to students, it would inspire patriotism and a spirit of independence, and the Japanese disliked letting students know the historic cultural superiority of Korea over Japan. For this reason in Korean and Japanese readers they used some fragmentary historical stories, which were mostly complimentary to Japan. It was
expressed by the authorities as follows:

The textbooks for geography and history have not yet been issued separately, but are included in the Korean and Japanese readers.\(^{21}\)

History and geography are most important in any curriculum, so an inharmonious curriculum resulted. Yuge, who was the chief of the educational section under the Government-General from 1911 to 1921, speaks about this problem from the Japanese point of view:

In the curriculum of the common school there were history and geography, but in order to avoid complication, the textbooks on those subjects were not compiled separately, but those are added to the textbooks of the Korean and Japanese readers. It is a wonderful idea.\(^{22}\)

It is easy to imagine that a man who had completely reversed his sense of values could see this procedure as "a wonderful idea". It is also easy to understand how such a person manipulated educational policy in Korea as the key man in Korean education from 1911 to 1921.

The Approval of Textbooks Compiled by Private Individuals. In August 1908, the Government promulgated regulations concerning the official approval of textbooks compiled by private individuals. The

\(^{21}\) Annual Report (1908-09), p. 174
\(^{22}\) Kotaro Yuge, op. cit., p. 84
following are the chief provisions of these regulations:

1. Textbooks to be used in a school shall be sent to the Minister of Education for official recognition.

2. A textbook which has received official recognition should show the date of such official recognition, the names of the author and publisher and the price of the book in each volume.

3. Any person selling books prescribed or using the words "Official Recognition" or any other similar words in a book which has not received such sanction, will be compelled to pay a fine. 23

The compilation of textbooks certainly should be guided and encouraged by the Government or authorized educational and professional organizations. But these regulations were not for wholesome purposes; since the Protectorate Treaty textbooks, which were compiled by private individuals, had been an obstacle in the way of achieving Japanese colonial policy. Therefore the main purpose of these regulations was to eliminate all nationalistic character from all textbooks. Table V and VI show the distance between the educational aims of the Government and those of the Korean educators. In table V are reported the results of application for recognition by individual textbook writers. Table VI shows the results of applications made by private schools for approval of textbooks already in use.

23 Annual Report on Reform and Progress in Korea (1906-1909), p. 175
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>No. of texts application</th>
<th>No. of texts recognized</th>
<th>No. of texts unrecognized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching of morals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean reader</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese reader</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biography</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese reader</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and economy</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>117</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>62</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: This figure was made by the Department of Education.

\(^{23}\) Mankyū Yī, op. cit., pp. 167-8
### TABLE VI

RESULTS OF APPLICATIONS FOR OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE TEXTBOOKS USED IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1908-1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>No. of texts application</th>
<th>No. of texts recognized</th>
<th>No. of texts unrecognized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching of morals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist book</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian book</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean reader</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese reader</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese reader</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English and others</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature study</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law and economy</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeping</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

24 Mankyu Yi, op. cit., pp. 167-8
Drawing       11       11       -
Penmanship     3        3       -
Manual work    1        1       -
Domestic       2        2       -
    economy
Total          448      380      68

Note: This figure was made by the Department of Education.

In order to find the true meaning of the distance between the Government ideas in education and the ideals of Korean educators, let us extract from table V, the subjects which might be called "ideological", because they were potentially supportive of Korean patriotism. This special compilation is set forth in table VII.

TABLE VII

DATA CONCERNING TEXTBOOKS ON "IDEALOGICAL" SUBJECTS COMPILRED BY INDIVIDUALS, 1908-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of texts</th>
<th>No. of texts</th>
<th>No. of texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>application</td>
<td>recognized</td>
<td>unrecognized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching of morals</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean reader</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese reader</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As this table shows among all "ideological" textbooks for which recognition was sought only 28%
were recognized. Besides, it must be realized that this figure still cannot really measure the gap between the ideas of the people and the Government, because obviously many authors must have compromised their ideas with those of the authority in order to achieve recognition.

V SUMMARY

The Protectorate Treaty brought about a great confusion throughout the country for a time. The national crisis led to a nationwide folk education movement. Since the movement began really too late and could not hope to achieve sufficient facilities and instructors, it was impossible to get desirable results with these insufficient conditions. Moreover, the process of Japanese aggression did not give the Koreans enough chance to develop their schools. The Japanese severely oppressed the private schools and educational associations by promulgating an ordinance to control them stringently. The Protectorate Government had not only an oppressive policy but also took conciliatory measures to break down the nationalist movement in the private schools.

The mission schools, however, were rela-
tively free, because of the international political situation. They remained a consistent aid to the national aspirations of the Korean people.

The Government oppression affected not only the private schools and associations but also the compilation of textbooks. No nationalistic subjects or content were allowed to be taught in the schools.

Thus the folk movement in education was broken and the private schools were under an oppressive policy and close supervision. This suppression was necessary in order to prepare Korea for occupation.
CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AS THE INSTRUMENT OF ASSIMILATION
AND THE MARCH 1ST INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT
(1910-1919)

The Japanese occupation of Korea, as we have said, stirred a strong opposition of spirit from the Koreans. In less than ten years, although they were weak and unarmed, the Korean people felt compelled to assert openly before the world their claim to justice and independence. Education and the schools had an important role in the development of the independence movement. In studying Korean education in these days, we must consider (1) the principles underlying Japanese educational policy, and (2) the operation of this policy, (3) the special policy of the Japanese with respect to private schools, and (4) the March 1st Independence Movement and the student movement which was part of it.

1. PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING JAPANESE EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The Rescript on Education. As a result of the annexation of Korea to Japan the Rescript which was originally issued for the guidance of the
Japanese people was promulgated to the Korean people as the most fundamental educational principle in Korea as well as in Japan. It is translated as follows:

Know Ye, Our subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall yet not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best tradition of our forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all places, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.\footnote{Hugh Keenleyside and A. F. Thomas, \textit{History of Japanese Education}, Tokyo: Hokuseida Press, 1937, p. 100}

In this Rescript the Imperial House is dignified, and loyalty is emphasized as the ultimate pur-
pose of education. The concept of the Japanese of their Imperial House was far from that of the Koreans. According to the Japanese concept the Emperor is the living god and is, therefore, sacred and inviolable. Since this concept is a product of their unique history, it was quite incomprehensible to the Korean people. And emphasizing loyalty to the Imperial House was extremely far from the feeling of the Korean people. To the Korean people the Japanese Emperor was the most hated enemy, not the object of their loyalty.

Whenever a ceremony was held in a school this Rescript was brought out from the office of the school by a teacher. The Rescript scroll was carried on a specially made wooden tray and the teacher could not see it because of its sacredness. He had to lift it higher than his eyes, bow his head low and walk slowly. The principal of the school received this Rescript from the teacher, untied the tie; then he read it with a solemn voice. It was a great source of laughter for the students in every school in Korea. Many times ceremonies were held with students laughing and Japanese teachers scolding.

In a democratic state an educational principle cannot be established without relationship to the tradition, culture, and welfare of the people.
To receive this Rescript the Korean people had to forget their past, tradition, culture, and even their national ideals. It was the authorities' intention to destroy those things in order to assimilate Korea, and the Rescript was adopted for that as a principal instrument.

The Announcement of Governor-General Terauchi on Education. The first Governor-General Terauchi promulgated an educational policy in 1910, the main parts of which are as follows:

The importance of education is to teach a man to establish himself, and to manage his home by cultivating intelligence and improving virtue. But you people are apt to avoid labor and devote yourself to vain argument and many of you have become useless idle people. Hereafter you should correct this evil, and abandon vanity and devote yourself to work and to doing away with idle habits and to trying to build the fine custom of diligence. 

Terauchi suggested providing a kind of practical education in Korea. His scheme for education became clear when he gave instructions to the chief of the section of home affairs of the provincial government on February 6, 1913. He clearly referred to education as follows:

The time is not yet come to provide higher education for the Korean people. Education

---

2 Kenichi Ono, Chosen Kyoyuku Kankan (A Bird's-eye view of Korean Education), Seoul: Chosen Kyoyukukai, 1936, p. 30
should be aimed at producing persons who can work as responsible men. Accordingly, schools should manage education for the achievement of this purpose, and should provide the knowledge that could make the graduates the leaders of the people. Therefore it is necessary to provide industrial education even in the common school education. It is an important policy of the Government to lay stress on the village schools and industrial schools. Therefore, it is necessary to make this idea affect educational aspects in order to make easy the carrying out of this policy. If you neglect this main principle, and manage educational enterprise without any relationship to this policy, i.e., if education were just for education, the common school were just for the common school, and the administration were just for administration, then it would not be possible to control Korea successfully.  

This educational policy was a part of the general policy of Japan in Korea. Korea was the bridgehead for Japanese aggression on the Asian continent, the supplier of resources for the preparation of their aggressive war and their everyday needs, and the market for their products. All the policies of the Governor-General were established to achieve these three ends, and educational policy was not an exception. Their first aim in education, therefore, was to guard the supplier of their daily needs and the resources for the preparation of aggressive war. Second, the Japanese were afraid

that if they provided higher education for the Korean people, they would not be able to control them. This idea was expressed by Rentaro Mizuno, who was the General of the Government-General (1919-1922) when he gave an address in a conference of the principals of all Japan, which he said:

...there was some controversy about Korean education. It was divided into two parts; it is wrong to provide education for the Korean people, and education should be provided for the Korean people. The former opinion is that if we provide education for the people of the annexed territory, they would promote their knowledge and ideals and this would result in inspiring independence of spirit. Therefore education should not be provided for the people of the colony.  

The Notification to Teachers. In order to approach this educational policy, the Governor-General issued a Notification to the Teachers of Korea on January 4, 1916. The main provisions of this Notification were as follows:

1. The fostering of loyalty and of filial piety are to be made the basic principles of education, and special attention is to be given to the cultivation of moral sentiments.
2. Practical utility shall always be held in view when imparting instruction.
3. Robust physical development is to be striven for. 

The main emphasis of this Notification was to
make students good subjects of the Japanese Emperor and good sons to their parents, to provide technical training, and to promote physical development. The Notification particularly emphasized provision 2 with the following explanation:

The object of education is to produce practical men able to meet the requirements of the State. How can it be expected that a man will establish himself and succeed in life, thus advancing the national interest, if he devotes himself to vain argument, and thus becomes of little use to the world, or if he is averse to industry and labor, and neglects the practice thereof? It is therefore required of persons engaged in educational work that they pay earnest attention to the principle of the utilization of knowledge, to the promotion of the national welfare, and to the imparting of useful instruction, so that practical persons able to meet the national requirements, will be found to be the rule and not the exception in the Empire.⁶

The Educational Ordinance of 1911. In order to achieve Japanese educational principles Governor-General Terauchi had promulgated an Educational Ordinance on August 23, 1911, very early in the occupation. The important articles are as follows:

Art. I. Education for Koreans in Korea shall be given in accordance with this ordinance.

Art. II. The essential principle of education in Korea shall be the making of loyal and good subjects by giving instruction of the basis of the Imperial Rescript concerning education.

⁶Ibid., p. 40
Art. III. Education in Korea shall be adapted to the need of the times and the condition of the people.

Art. IV. Education in Korea is roughly classified into three kinds, i.e., common, industrial and special education.

Art. V. Common education shall aim at imparting common knowledge and art, special attention being paid to the engendering of national characteristics and the spread of the national language.

Art. VI. Industrial education shall aim at imparting knowledge and art concerning agriculture, commerce, technical industry and so forth.

Art. VII. Special education shall aim at imparting knowledge and art of higher branches of science and art...

Art. IX. The period of study for a Common School shall be four years. This, however, may be shortened by one year subject to the conditions of the locality in which the school is established.

Art. X. Children not less than eight years of age are eligible for admission to a Common School....

Art. XII. The period of study for a Common High School shall be four years....

Art. XVI. The period of study for a Girls' High School shall be three years....

Art. XXII. The period of study of an Industrial School shall be two or three years...

Art. XXVII. The period of study for a Special School shall be three or four years.7

In this Ordinance an important principle is presented as Article III. It says, "Education in Korea shall be adapted to the need of the times and the condition of the people". This principle cannot be rejected as one of the most basic principles for an establishing of the school system of a state. And the school system was established according to this principle.

This school system has two features: the "short-years" system, i.e., the 4(3)-4-3(4) system, and the emphasis on practical education. These features were what the time required in Korea. At that time the rapid propagation of modern education was required rather than higher education for a few people, and the miserable economic situation compelled the providing of practical education. Therefore this Ordinance, which emphasized the short-years school system and practical education appeared appropriate for the time.

This Ordinance, however, involved a potential danger. If the ruler so intended, the short-years school system policy could be an excuse to avoid providing higher education, and industrial education could be a slave education. In Korea, unfortunately, the potential danger of the Ordinance was fully exercised by her ruler. Table VII expresses the true meaning of this Educational Ordinance.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1912</th>
<th></th>
<th>1919</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G.</td>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Pr.</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Common Schools</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls H. C. Schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commer-Tech.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplem. Ind.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Techni.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>1,317</td>
<td></td>
<td>680</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Schools</td>
<td>823</td>
<td></td>
<td>430</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Schools</td>
<td>494</td>
<td></td>
<td>260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,717</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,320</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: G.—Government School; P.—Public School; Pr.—Private School

Source: Kenichi Ono, *A Bird's-eye View of Korean Education*, p. 69
According to this table during seven years of Japanese rule, the number of common schools increased from only 355 to 517, and in total the number of schools were decreased from 1,717 to 1,320. If we compare the number of Korean students with the number of Japanese students in Korea, in proportion to the number of all Koreans and Japanese living in Korea (see Table IX), the figures are most revealing.

**Table IX**

**Proportion of Korean and Japanese Students Enrolled in Major Types of Schools about 1920**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Students per 1,000 of population</th>
<th>Students per 100 Japanese students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Sch. (K)</td>
<td>16,916,078 89,288 5.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Pri. Sch. (J)</td>
<td>347,850 42,811 123.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common H. Sch. (K)</td>
<td>16,916,078 3,156 0.19</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Middle Sch. (J)</td>
<td>347,850 2,010 5.81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.H. Com. Sch. (K)</td>
<td>16,916,078 687 0.04</td>
<td>0.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and G.H. Sch. (J)</td>
<td>347,850 1,905 5.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1. The number of the population is the figure at the end of 1920.
2. (K) - Korean. (J) - Japanese
Source: Annual Report, 1918-1921

This table shows the essential unfairness of the
Government educational policy and the way it sabotaged existing schools. Therefore the Educational Ordinance, which emphasized the short-years school system and practical education, was not for the rapid promotion of the Korean people's intellectual life, but for the profit of Japan.
II. THE OPERATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE PRINCIPLE

The efforts to assimilate the Korean people into Japan and to produce industrial laborers were emphasized in the various operational aspects of education. These efforts can be illustrated by treating two important aspects of education: administration and curriculum.

**Administration.** After the annexation the Japanese reduced the Department of Education to a Bureau and placed it under the Home Department. At the same time the dual system of education—Korean schools for Korean children and Japanese schools for Japanese children—was adopted because of the distinction of the school system between the schools for the Korean and the Japanese. The first Annual Report of the Government says:

> When the Government-General came into existence after annexation, all educational administration both for the Japanese and the Koreans alike was brought under uniform supervision of the Educational Bureau created in the Home Department of the Government-General.

The reduction of the Educational Department to a

8 *Annual Report (1910-11), p. 222*
bureau was taken by the Koreans to be an expression of the lack of sincerity of the Japanese in regard to Korean education.

For the complete control of education the Japanese exchanged all Korean principals for Japanese after the promulgation of the Educational Ordinance in 1911. Kotaro Yuge, the chief of the section of education under the Governor-General from 1911 to 1920, bluntly explained this policy in his book:

Before the promulgation of the Educational Ordinance (1911) the principals were all Koreans. At that time it was the policy to adopt Japanese teachers and have them aid the Korean principals by giving them the position of dean. But in fact, these Japanese deans carried out all of the principal's job, and the Korean principals were merely nominal principals. At that time there was no other way because of the lack of ability among Korean principals. After the promulgation of the Educational Ordinance, such a situation made us recognize the necessity of letting Japanese teachers take over the positions of principal, so all the positions were filled by Japanese and the position of dean was abolished.9

The personnel change actually affected not only the position of principals but also of teachers. About one-third of the common school teaching posts were filled by Japanese teachers. This policy created many difficulties because Japanese princi-

9Kotaro Yuge, Chosen no Kyoyuku (Korean Education), Tokyo: Jiyu Tokyu-sha, 1923, p. 145
pals and teachers lacked an understanding of Korean customs and language. Under the Japanese teachers' instruction, Korean children had to spend their first one or two school years without understanding anything until they became familiar with the Japanese language. Kotaro Yuge reports the practice thus:

The Government took all Japanese Common School teachers in Japan and trained them for one to three months by giving them necessary instruction as educators for Korea. But this system was not satisfactory, so the Government created the Second Department in the Temporary Teachers Training Institute. Attached to Keijo Common High School. This Department accommodated the Japanese who were the graduates of Middle schools or who had the same level of scholarship and trained them to be the prospective educational leaders in Korea by giving them one year's training in the Korean language and other things necessary to educational work in Korea.

This policy was not genuinely for the education of Korean children. There were two purposes. One was to achieve assimilative education by interrupting the transmission of the national ideals and traditions which would likely be passed on by the Korean teachers. The other was to give jobs to Japanese and to bring in immigrants. The policy did not result from the lack of Korean teachers. Yosup Chu who was a professor of Kunghi University in Seoul, Korea, spoke

10 Ibid., p. 147
bitterly of this policy:

One third of Common School teachers are Japanese. But there is not one Korean teacher in a Japanese school in Korea. If there were not enough Korean teachers, it would be understandable. There are, however, so many qualified Korean teachers who can not get jobs. Why does the Government have to hire Japanese teachers instead of Korean teachers?11

The number of the Japanese teachers hired, which maintained a ratio of one-third of all the Common School teachers, seems to have reflected a consistent policy. Table X exhibits the striking uniformity.

11Yosup Chu, Chosün Kyoyuk ui Kulhan (The Defeat of Korean Education), Seoul: Segesa-won. 1929, p.32
TABLE X

NATIONALITY OF THE TEACHERS IN COMMON SCHOOLS

1910 - 1929

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Korean Teachers</th>
<th>Japanese Teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Proportion of Japanese Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>22.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>888</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>1,258</td>
<td>29.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1,113</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>27.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>501</td>
<td>1,701</td>
<td>29.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>1,274</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>1,820</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>1,345</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>1,951</td>
<td>31.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,431</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>2,071</td>
<td>30.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,538</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>2,181</td>
<td>29.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,593</td>
<td>694</td>
<td>2,287</td>
<td>30.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1,661</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>2,335</td>
<td>28.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,854</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>2,721</td>
<td>31.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>2,481</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>3,505</td>
<td>29.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>3,071</td>
<td>1,246</td>
<td>4,317</td>
<td>28.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,809</td>
<td>1,581</td>
<td>5,390</td>
<td>29.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>4,588</td>
<td>1,904</td>
<td>6,492</td>
<td>29.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>5,176</td>
<td>2,038</td>
<td>7,214</td>
<td>28.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>5,578</td>
<td>2,156</td>
<td>7,734</td>
<td>27.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>5,822</td>
<td>2,289</td>
<td>8,111</td>
<td>28.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>5,992</td>
<td>2,416</td>
<td>8,408</td>
<td>28.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>6,190</td>
<td>2,398</td>
<td>8,588</td>
<td>27.92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average proportion 29.06

Source: 1. Annual Reports from 1910 to 1917
        2. Yosup Chu, op. cit., pp. 32-33

In those schools higher than common level the proportion of Japanese teachers to Korean teachers was much higher, as Table XI shows.
TABLE XI
NATIONALITY OF THE TEACHERS IN ALL KOREAN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1919 AND 1918

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Schools</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>Ratio K:J</th>
<th>1919</th>
<th>Ratio K:J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common School</td>
<td>1,143</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1,661</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Common</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' Common</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>700.00</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial School</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>223.33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,204</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>1,801</td>
<td>1,005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1. Annual Reports from 1912 to 1917
2. Yosup Chu, op. cit., pp. 32-33
The children's minds and spirit were warped not only by the lack of understanding of their Japanese teachers of Korean customs and language, but also because of their warlike behavior. The Japanese teachers wore swords. It is impossible to find an example of such a custom in the history of education except in military schools. How many innocent children must have been greatly frightened by these manners. Sangman Park describes his own experience thus:

I entered a common school as a student of the first grade in the April of the year before the occurrence of the March 1st Independence Movement. At that time my teacher in charge was a Japanese whose name was "Yamada". He spoke the Korean language very well. He always wore a black hat and uniform decorated with gold stripes, and he wore a sword on his wrist and taught us by rattling it. I was so afraid that I spent all the year without going near him. 11

Another writer who commented on this unbelievable behavior was Henry Chung, who wrote forty years ago:

Up to this year, 1920, all teachers were required to wear swords in school rooms. Think of a teacher of little boys and girls of eight and nine strutting into a schoolroom rattling a sword! It is an interesting commentary on Japan's lack of humour. 12

12 Henry Chung, The Case of Korea, New York: 1921, pp. 136-37

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Curriculum. In education, the plan of the curriculum is a blueprint for guiding students. It depends on what kind of people the community and state want. The Japanese rulers, of course, planned from their point of view. The official curriculum is shown in table XII.

**TABLE XII**

THE COMMON SCHOOL CURRICULUM, 1916-1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1. The principal can decide the class hours in drawing, music, manual work, sewing, and manual arts by receiving permission of the Governor of the province.

2. The principal can increase or decrease the class hours of Japanese, Korean, and Chinese within 2 hours by receiving the permission of the Governor of the province.

Source: *Kotaro Yuge, op. cit., pp.* 139-140

This table shows two peculiar features. One is that it did not give even one hour for social studies: history and geography, and the other is the predominant number of hours for the Japanese language. A child had to devote more than one-third of his school hours to Japanese. The Japanese officers thought that assimilation could be accomplished only
by erasing the Korean history and national language. Therefore it is not difficult to presume what their original scheme was. They certainly wanted to teach Korean children Japanese history rather than Korean history, but they were afraid of the aversion of the minds of the people, because the time was not yet ripe enough to teach only Japanese history. Therefore they eliminated both histories. But their scheme was finally realized in 1919 by the revision of the Educational Ordinance which was promulgated in 1911, in which the official explanation for a change in curriculum is given as follows:

In order to confirm the foundation of national education...it (the revised Educational Ordinance) decided to teach Japanese history and geography.  

And the textbooks of history and geography were compiled by the Government in a fraudulent way. These books were intended to give a contemptuous view of Korea and a glorified one of Japan. Sidney Greenbie said as follows:

The Japanese are taking it upon themselves to invent even ethnological facts. In imitation of England they are trying to make it appear to Koreans that Japan is their mother country, as England was to America, and invariably speak of it in that manner.

13 Quoted by Sangman Park, Hankuk Kyoyuk-sa, (History of Korean Education), Seoul: Chungang Kyoyuk Hongu-so. 1957, p.182

14 Quoted by Henry Chung, The Case of Korea, New York: Fleming Revell Co. 1921, P.137
In the history textbook, Japan was always presented as a more cultivated country than Korea, and as the historic protector of Korea. Koreans were pictured as an inferior race. This distortion appeared as a rationalization in all material which discussed different standards for the treatment of Koreans and Japanese. For example the reasons given for the short-years school system were analyzed by H. H. Underwood as follows:

This gave to the Korean boy who went through the system as it was planned a total of twelve years as against either fifteen or seventeen in Japan. Again, in explanation of the ordinance many Japanese, both in public speech and in the printed press, stated that the Koreans were "an inferior race", "on a par with the Ainu and the wild tribes of Formosa", etc., etc.\textsuperscript{15}

This warped historical view had almost immediately been attacked by Dr. William Elliot Griffis:

The nursery tales, accepted as sover facts, which picture Korea as conquered and made tributary to Japan, are simply mirrors of Japanese vanity and conceit with no reflection in history. ...The Japanese are deeply indebted to the Koreans for the introduction of writing and literature. Not only did hundreds of Korean peaceful envoys and men of the pen, the brush, the chisel and the sutra enter the Mikado's domain, but along with them came refined and educated women, who were governesses in the noble

\textsuperscript{15} Horace H. Underwood, Modern Education in Korea, New York: International Press, 1926, p.193
families and instructors of court ladies and teachers of etiquette.\textsuperscript{16}

The Japanese language is completely foreign to Korea. Therefore it was a cruel thing to teach a foreign language to the common school children for more than one-third of school hours. Besides, social studies were completely neglected. This curriculum plan destroyed not only the psychological well being of the children but also neglected their individuality and interests. The common school children who were from seven to eleven years old, could not have any necessity for or interest in learning a foreign language. But, this language teaching was not the only tragedy. The Japanese forced the common school children to use Japanese in school except during the Korean language class hour. The teachers taught in Japanese and the younger children had to sit through all the class hours without knowing anything. Thus the children lost interest in learning and thought of school as a kind of prison. These difficulties became the subject of public objection, so Yuge, who was the chief of the section of the Educational Bureau, reluctantly answered this criticism:

I have heard that in some schools the students were forced to use the national

\textsuperscript{16} Quoted by Henry Chung, \textit{The Case of Korea}, New York: Fleming Revell Co., 1921, pp. 137-8
language (Japanese) except during the Korean language class hours and in special cases. It may be true. 17

This was a dishonest and irresponsible expression. All the students were compelled to use Japanese in the schools. The author of Modern Korea, Andrew J. Grajdanzey reports straightforwardly:

...All education is conducted in the "national", i.e., Japanese language, so that this "national language" fills all hours of instruction except three or four school hours a week left for the Korean language. 18

After all the basic intention of the Japanese was clearly stated in an early Annual Report:

After the annexation the universal use of the Japanese language was specially aimed at, and common schools were required to allot 8 to 12 hours a week to the Japanese language, and also to make fair use of it in teaching other subjects. 19

Although it occupied only one hour per week in the curriculum, the teaching of morals by the Japanese was most unfortunate. In this subject Korean children were badly mistaught. The highest moral act was said to be loyalty and next was filial piety. A student had to think of himself as a straw or a feather. (These two terms, "straw" and "feather", were usually

17 Kotaro Yuge, Chosen no Kyōyuku (Korean Education), Tokyo: Jiyu Tokyu, 1923, p.142
18 Andrew J. Grajdanzey, Modern Korea, New York: The John Day Co. 1944, p.296

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used by the Japanese as expressions of a valueless thing, particularly when compared to the Emperor. There was no attempt to teach any principles of conduct or behavior in our human relationships. Grajdanzev says sharply:

Japanese "morals" on the other hand, mean loyalty to the Emperor and state and filial piety. Thus selling one's daughter to a brothel, according to this code of morals, is not immoral; but criticism of an official is.²⁰

Common school education was the most important part of the Japanese educational policy. Therefore, knowing the policy on common schools, it is possible to presume what their educational policy was as a whole. It is appropriate to quote Kotaro Yuge who was the key determiner of the educational policy in Korea:

I did my best to make Korean students have loyalty for Emperor and state, because it is our purpose to turn Korean people into Japanese.²¹

²⁰Andrew J. Grajdanzev, Modern Korea, New York: The John Day Co. 1944, p. 269
²¹Kotaro Yuge, Chosen no Kyōyoku (Korean Education), Tokyo: Jiyu Tokyu-sha, 1923, p. 124
III. THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS

After the annexation, the Japanese rapidly rearranged education. But the private schools which were supported by Koreans and by American missionary groups were unmanageable, and became great obstacles to their purpose. Many thoughtful Koreans considered the private schools to be the final national position from which a national counterattack would be brought into being. The problem of the private schools thus created a severe conflict between the Government and the Korean educators and between the Government and the missionaries who engaged in education in Korea.

In March of 1915, the Government revised the Regulation for Private Schools which had been promulgated by the Residency-General in 1909. This revision was a crucial blow to both Korean educators and missionaries who were engaged in education. Governor-General Saito justified the revision in this language:

...When the annexation was accomplished, the number of private schools reached almost 2,000, but now because of the enthusiastic effort of the Government towards the reform and advance of the educational system, many of these schools have been closed and have changed into public schools so the number of these private schools was reduced from 1973 in May of the Year Meiji 43 (1910) to 1242
In May of the year of Daisho 3 (1914). Thus during four years the number of these schools was reduced by 731. Among these schools there were 746 schools which were carried on by missionary groups in May of the year of Meiji 43 (1910), but these were reduced to 473 schools in May of the year of Daisho 3 (1914). During four years the number of schools which closed and changed their form reached 273. Thus the number of private schools was gradually reduced, but it is still hard to say that the number of these schools is small. Besides, some of these schools so impudently resist the State's request that their influence on children is very disturbing. The reason the Government sets up a certain educational system is to bring firmness and lastingness to the existence of a nation by fostering worth-while people who can support the nation. Therefore the schools which foster the nation, no matter whether public or private, should obey certain educational direction. If the Government allows these private schools to provide unworthy education, it will not be able to have consistently perfect education.

The principal revised provisions are as follows:

Article II. The establishment of a Private School shall be required to have the recognition of the Governor-General of Chosun. Without recognition a Private school cannot be established....

Article III, 2. The trustee of a private school giving special instruction shall be a financial, juridical person in possession of estates sufficient for its establishment and maintenance....

Article VI, 2. The subject of study and their standard in a private school other than a Common School, an Industrial School

---

or a Special School, but giving common, industrial or special education shall be fixed after the model of the regulations for common schools, industrial schools or special schools.

In the case of a school coming under the foregoing clause it is not allowed to add any subject of study other than those set forth in the regulations for common schools, higher common schools, industrial schools or special schools....

Article X, 2. Teachers of a private school giving a common, industrial or special education shall be those well versed in the national language (Japanese), and have scholarly attainments sufficient to teach the subjects in such a school....

Article XVI. The direction of a private school shall annually report to the Governor-General of Chosun during the month of June the names of the members of the school faculty, subjects of study taught by them, number of pupils registered, and that of those attending school, according to classes, conditions of graduates, distribution of text books to classes, and accounts as these stand on the last day of the preceding month.23

Let us take these articles up one by one.

Article II limited extremely the establishment of private schools. But Article III, 2, was a crucial blow to the private schools. At that time many of the private schools did not have sufficient funds. Even missionary groups' schools had difficulty with this provision. Underwood described this influence on some missionary schools as follows:

Article III, 2, required that such

23 Horace H. Underwood, op. cit., p.195
schools as the Chosun Christian College and the Severance Union Medical College secure charters of incorporation, which must be applied for, and might well be denied on one ground or another. The clause "in possession of estate sufficient for its establishment and maintenance" could easily have been used to deny a charter to institutions without endowment and depending on annual grants from the United States. 24

Article VI, 2, was the most crucial one. If a private school followed this Article all of its nationalistic character would be removed from it. The clause, "It is not allowed to add any subject of study other than those set forth in the regulations," could have removed all reason for the existence of private schools, because the main task of the private schools which were supported by Koreans was to provide nationalistic education, and the main purpose of the private schools which were carried on by the missionary groups was to provide religious education. But according to this Article it was impossible to teach any nationalistic and religious subjects.

In Article X, 2, the Government aimed to remove all undesirable tendencies of private schools. Many of these schools' teachers did not have teachers' certifications. Some of them refused to get certifications because it was a Japanese rule.

24 Horace Horton Underwood, Modern Education in Korea, New York: International Press, 1926, p.197
Many thoughtful Korean teachers left schools because they did not want to teach their students in Japanese. Besides, there were very few Korean teachers who had teachers' certifications in certain subjects: teaching of morals, the Japanese language, Japanese history, Japanese geography, and physics. Therefore this Article not only prevented nationalistic and religious education but also brought about the result that the private schools had to hire many Japanese teachers.

**Article XVI** aimed to place the private schools under a closer supervision by the Government.

The supplementary rule gave to individual teachers five years of "grace", and to schools already holding permits ten years of "grace", in which to set their affairs in order and swing into line. Kotaro Yuge who had planned this revised Private School Regulation was satisfied with the result of this regulation as is shown in this quotation:

Under this revised rule the Private Schools could not be newly established and expanded. The mission schools particularly suffered, because the person who was educated under the foreigners could not get a job as a teacher because he could not speak the National language. As a result of this regulation the Private Schools were largely swept away, and the National language (Japanese) was preferred; even the
foreign teachers had to learn Japanese.\textsuperscript{25}

The policy of the Government on the private school, again, was not for their guidance and encouragement, but for their oppression and eradication.

\textsuperscript{25}Kotaro Yuge, \textit{Chosen no Kyoyuku} (Korean Education), Tokyo: Jiyutoky\-yu-sha, 1923, p. 193
IV. THE MARCH 1ST INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT AND
THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

A living thing resists when it is oppressed by another. If it has a strong individuality then it will offer strong resistance. Resistance is a reflex action of life for its self-preservation and self-expansion, and, therefore is an expression of life itself. Death is nothing but an eternal loss of resistance, and the history of a person or a nation is nothing other than the repetition of resistance.

The sense of identity of the Korean people was formed by a long history and their resistance has grown through many political and ideological conflicts with the countries and races on the continent.

On March 1, 1919, a great Korean people's resistance broke out against Japanese colonial rule in a peaceful demonstration throughout the country. Before this independence movement the first student movement had broken out in Tokyo, Japan by those students who were studying there. We should first review the Independence Movement in its general aspects and then relate it to the student movement which was closely involved in it.

General Review of the Movement. It is necessary
to describe the Independence movement rather before specifically describing its educational aspect. This movement was inaugurated by thirty-three national leaders. The night before the demonstration was to begin, thirty of those who supported the Declaration of Independence gathered in the Bright Moon, the most famous cafe in Seoul. Two of their members were sent to Shanghai the day before the Proclamation was issued in order to carry the news to the outside world, and one of their members was late in arriving from Pyongyang. After the most significant banquets the Declaration of Independence was read and cheers of "Mansei" (an old Korean battle-cry meaning "Long Live") were given. Then some went to the telephone and called up the Japanese police, told them what they had done and that they were ready to go to prison. When the police came to the cafe there was no resistance and the leaders were taken to prison. Since Pastor Kil who came from Pyongyang was late in attending the banquet he went directly to the prison and asked to be arrested, so that he might take his place with his comrades.

The next day, March 1st, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the historic Independence Movement began
simultaneously in every city or town throughout the
country. This movement occurred not only in Korea but
was also carried out in the outside world by Koreans.
Carlton Waldo Kendall described the uprising in his
book published in the year it occurred:

In the United States demonstrations were held
by the Koreans in New York, Chicago, Denver,
Detroit, Honolulu, Akron, Ohio; Pueblo,
Colorado; Yakima, Washington; Superior,
Wyoming; and in San Francisco, Sacramento,
Stockton, Riverside and Los Angeles,
California. ... Other demonstrations were held
in Mexico, Manila, Shanghai, Pekin, Siberia
and Manchuria. In many of these places pro-
clamations were issued, declaring the inde-
pendence of Korea, and given into the hands
of the foreign embassies.26

Everywhere demonstrations were held. The
Declaration of Independence was read before the
people started their demonstration and they marched
in the streets shouting "Manseï".

All the demonstrations were perfectly peace-
ful. McKenzie, a famous British journalist, des-
cribed the event in his book as follows:

The movement was a demonstration, not a riot.
On the opening day and afterwards - until the
Japanese drove some of the people to fury-
there was no violence. The Japanese
scattered all over the country, were unin-
jured; the Japanese shops were left alone;
when the people attacked, elders ordered

26 Carlton Waldo Kendall, The Truth about Korea, San
Francisco, California: The Korean National Association, 1919 p.34
the people to submit and to offer no resist-
ance. 27

This passive demonstration, however, was
attacked by the Japanese in a cruel manner. McKenzie
goes on to describe the Japanese brutality:

The police used their swords freely. What I
mean by "freely" can best be shown by one
incident. A little gathering of men started
shouting "Mansei" in a street in Seoul. The
police came after them and they vanished. One
man - it is not clear whether he called
"Mansei" or was an accidental spectator - was
pushed in the deep gutter by the roadside as
the demonstrators rushed away. As he
struggled out the police came up. There was
no question of the man resisting or not
resisting. He was unarmed and alone. They
cut off his ears, cut them off level with his
cheek, they slit up his fingers, they hacked
his body, and then they left him for dead. 28

This is one example of many killings. In many
places the Japanese committed group slaughter and
badly tortured women and young girls in filthy ways.
The number of killed and wounded people, according to
the Government announcement, is set forth in Table
XIII.

27 F. A. McKenzie, Korea's Fight for Freedom, New York:
Fleming H. Revell Co., 1920, p. 252
28 Ibid., p. 253
TABLE XIII
NUMBER KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS
OF MARCH, 1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Killed</th>
<th>Wounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officials</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agitators</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>1,409</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Annual Report, 1918-1920, pp. 158-159

But no Korean and no foreigner who was in Korea at that time believed this account. Andrew J. Grajdanzev has said, "Korean writers give the number of those killed and executed at over 7,000." 29

The desire to be free was an immortal fire in the Korean nation. This original desire, which was deeply rooted in the human mind, could not be crushed with sword, torture, and killings. Henry Chung said two years later:

Despite the 28,934, who were thrown into jail during the first four months of the revolution, and the 9,078 who were flogged and thousands who were put through cruel third degrees by the police, the spirit of fight is far from broken. 30

The Beginning of the Student Movement. The first Korean student movement, which broke out in

29 Grajdanzev, op. cit., p. 56.
30 Henry Chung, op. cit., p. 310

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Tokyo, Japan, in February 8, 1919, greatly influenced the Independence Movement just described.

The accumulation of the Korean people's anger against the vicious Japanese rule was stimulated by President Wilson's famous declaration of the rights of weaker nations. Despite the Japanese control of means of communication of world news, one sentence was rapidly passed from mouth to mouth: "The International Peace Conference (to be held at the end of the war) will provide for the freedom of small nations, to prevent the domination of small nations by big ones."

The students who were studying in Tokyo had several secret meetings, and finally decided upon the following:

1. To proclaim a Declaration of Independence and to shout "Mansei".
2. To send delegates to the International Peace Conference and to evoke world public opinion by proclaiming that we cannot live together with Japan.\(^3^1\)

But this required time and money to develop this movement. So they sent Mr. Song, who was a student in the education college in Waseda University in Tokyo to Korea to obtain Korean leaders' help, both physical and spiritual. The leaders who were asked for help by Mr. Song were stimulated by hearing of

\(^{31}\) Sangman Park, op. cit., p. 161
the student movement, so they decided to have another independence movement in Korea. Thus the March 1st Independence Movement was stimulated by the students.

On February 8, 1919, the students read the Declaration of Independence aloud in Tokyo and attempted to give the Declaration of Independence to the Japanese Emperor, the Diet, and several foreign ambassadors. These events are described by Kendall as follows:

Before the outbreak of the Independence Movement in Korea, proper, the Korean students in Tokyo, Japan, numbering about eight hundred, drew up a petition to present to the Japanese Emperor and Diet, as well as the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers in Japan, asking for the freedom and independence of Korea. When they attempted to hand in the petition they came into conflict with the Japanese and an open fight ensued. Over sixty students were arrested and some given prison terms.32

The Independence Movement was started not only by the students who were studying in Tokyo, but also by the students in Korea. Meetings had been held among the Korean students prior to the outbreak of the March 1st Independence Movement.

On January 26, 1919, Hi Do Park, who was the manager of the Central Y. M. C. A. in Seoul, invited eight prominent student leaders to a Chinese Cafe and

32Carlton Waldo Kendall, The Truth about Korea, San Francisco: The Korean National Association, 1919, p.34
asked their help to collect new members for the Y.M.C.A. After this banquet they held a serious discussion on the Independence Movement. In a secret publication of the Police Bureau of Government-General of Chosun this student movement was described as follows:

...After the banquet Ik Chu, who was a graduate of Posung Special School said, "As the result of the end of the First World War the world is going to be rearranged and the color of the world map will be changed. According to the news from papers and other sources, it is sure that several nations who have been under the territory of other countries will become independent and organized their own governments. There are some indications the problem of Korea will be a subject for discussion on the International Peace Conference. Therefore if we arise and develop a movement the situation would bring a success. I think it is a good chance to develop such a movement. What are your opinions?" After an exchange of opinions they agreed with each other and almost reached the conclusion that, "the students who are studying in Tokyo are planning an Independence Movement and are going to proclaim a manifesto; therefore we should also proclaim a manifesto and evoke public opinion and we should appeal to the sympathy of the World." But Won Byuk Kim, who is a student at the Yun Hi Special school, alone objected to this decision. He said, "I agree with you about independence, but I think the time is not yet ripe. ... Therefore let us have one more week to think about it." 33

During this one week these students gave serious thought to the project. Won Byuk Kim visited several foreign teachers and missionaries to get a clear picture

33 Police Bureau, Government-General of Chosen, Sojujikeno Gaikyo (An Outlook of the Agitation), Seoul: Gyosei Gakkai Insatau-sho, 1929, p. 15-6

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of the world situation and the possibility of the success of the movement which they were going to start. The police record described the conversation between Mr. Kim and G. S. McCune who was an American missionary and the principal of Sinsung High School as follows:

...He (Mr. Kim) visited McCune, who was the principal of Sinsung High School in Sunchun Pungbook Province, and asked him about the possibility of independence. McCune answered "...Without action nothing could be done." Kim interpreted this as "you should start the movement, the action is the final arbiter." After returning to Seoul he immediately expressed his agreement to his fellows. This was February 3rd or 4th. Thus these students decided to distribute a Manifesto and to develop a movement.34

In this way the student movement was organized before the outbreak of the March 1st Independence Movement, and it joined this movement which was led by the national leaders.

The students and the Independence Movement.
March 1st 1919, in Pagoda Park in Seoul about four or five thousand students gathered.35 In this movement the public school students were more enthusiastic than the private school students. This can be taken as evidence of the failure of the Japanese assimilative educational policy in Korea. When the student

34 Ibid., p. 17
35 Aikuk Donji Wonho-heum, Hankuk Doklip Undong-ss (History of Korean Independence Movement), Seoul: 1956, p. 100
leaders were going to organize a cell in every high school for the Independence Movement, they began in the government and public schools first rather than the private schools, because in the government and public schools there were more Japanese teachers than in the private schools, and there was more forced assimilative education than in the private schools. Therefore the students of the government of public schools had even a greater aversion to the government. McKenzie explained it in his book as follows:

The new educational system, with its constant inculcation of loyalty to the Mikado, made even the little girls violently Nationalist. School children were spied upon for incipient treason as though the lisping of childish lips might overthrow the throne. The speeches 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.36

The printed Declaration of Independence mani-

Festos were carried by girl students throughout the country. When they carried them they disguised themselves as beggars. In many cities and towns the movement was led by students. McKenzie describes the movement in Pyongyang, which is the second largest city and an old capital, as follows:

There was no tremor of fear in the voice of the college graduate who rose to his feet and came to the front. "This is the proudest and happiest day of my life." (It was his very graduation day) He said. "Though I die tomorrow, I cannot help but read." He had a paper in his hand. As the vast audience saw it, they gave a great cheer. Then he read the Declaration of Independence of the Korean people. 37

After Independence Day the schools were reopened, but there were no students. The refusal of the students to come to school disturbed the authorities. Even those who went to school were not cooperative in their attitudes. McKenzie describes the students' attitude of that time:

In one large junior school, the boys were implored to come for their commencement ceremonies. ...The boys apparently yielded, and the Commencement ceremonies were begun, in the presence of a number of officials and other distinguished Japanese guests. The precious certificates were handed out to each lad. Then the head boy, a little fellow of about twelve or thirteen, came to the front to make the school speech of

37 Ibid., pp. 277-8
thanks to his teachers and to the authorities. He was the impersonation of courtesy. Every bow was given to the full; he lingered over the honorifics, as though he loved the sound of them. The distinguished guests were delighted. Then came the end. "I have only this now to say," the lad concluded. A change came over his voice. He straightened himself up, and there was a look of resolution in his eyes. He knew that the cry he was about to utter had brought death to many during the past few days. "We beg one thing more of you." He plunged one hand in his garment, pulled out the Korean flag, he cried out, "Give us back our country. May Korea live forever. Mansel!" 38

The tendency of the students to refuse to come to school was remarked by Kotaro Yuge when he gave an address to the graduates of the Common School Teachers Training School on July 25, 1919:

Almost all the secondary level school students of twenty-three schools in Seoul attended this agitation (the March 1st Independence Movement) and eighty of them (those who were already released, were excluded from this figure) were arrested by gendarmes. The students who came from the countryside went back to their homes, and therefore it was impossible to guess when the schools would be able to open again. Consequently it was quite impossible to hold the important administrative functions: the yearly final examination, the commencement, and the entrance ceremony. 39

Tables XIV and XV show the officially announced number of students and teachers sentenced for participation in the demonstrations. The bare figures are eloquent.

38 Ibid., p. 255-6
Quoted by Keijofu, Keijofu-shi (History of Seoul), 39 1941, p. 732
### TABLE XIV

**THE NUMBER OF SENTENCED STUDENTS, 1919, DIVIDED ACCORDING TO TYPES OF SCHOOLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common Schools</th>
<th>H. Common Schools</th>
<th>Special Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>376</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE XV

**THE NUMBER OF SENTENCED TEACHERS, 1919, DIVIDED ACCORDING TO TYPES OF SCHOOLS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Common Schools</th>
<th>H. Common Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>355</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>423</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Section of Investigation, Bureau of General Affairs, Government-General of Chosen, Chosen no Tokuritsu Shise oyobi Undo (The Independence Spirit and Movement of Korea), Seoul: Daikai-do, 1920, pp. 102-5
V. SUMMARY

If we examine the first nine years of Japanese occupation of Korea, we can see that a policy of military rule was consistent from the beginning to the end. During the previous five years, from 1905 to 1910, the Japanese had already built the base for colonial rule, so in this period, in order to establish permanent occupation, they tried to erase all of the national character of the Korean people. These efforts were most strongly and intentionally directed toward education. The Korean people's folk movement in education was oppressed by this military policy, which suddenly instituted education aimed at assimilation. Those in control set up new educational principles, and changed the educational system and methods in an attempt to assimilate the Korean people into the Japanese. They enacted more and more restrictive measures with respect to private schools and filled many posts in the public schools with teachers of Japanese birth.

But the policies and efforts of the Japanese overlords in Korea brought an opposite result to what was intended. The Korean people, and especially the Korean students, steadfastly refused to become obedi-
ent subjects. The March 1st Independence Movement was the culminating expression of Korean defiance.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The whole term of Japanese colonial rule in Korea can be divided into three periods according to its political character. The first period would be from the annexation in 1910 to the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919; during this period, the military policy was carried out by the military governors. The second period would be the so-called period of cultural policy, from 1919 to 1936, the year in which the China-Japanese War began; in this era, Governor General was changed from a military General to a civilian official. The third period is the period of Japanese aggressive policy from 1936 to the end of the Second World War 1945. During this period Japan invaded China, and declared war against the United States and Great Britain, and of course enforced again a military rule upon Korea. These many changes in general policy directly influenced educational policy.

In this thesis, the writer has studied the Japanese educational policy in Korea, 1905-1919, and the resistance of the Korean people and students to it. Possibly the most effective conclusion to this study
can be achieved by answering the questions raised in chapter one: (1) How did modern education start in Korea? (2) How did the people and students resist Japanese rule? (3) How did the Japanese control modern Korean education? (4) What was the aim of education during Japanese colonial rule? (5) What is the meaning of the Korean students' anti-Japanese movement in the history of modern Korean education?

How did Modern Education Start in Korea? Modern education in Korea was fostered by several conditions. In the first place, the atmosphere for its rise was created by the people's wearying of Confucian culture. Conservative Confucianism had been adopted as the instrument to rationalize the feudalistic society. The country was dominated by a few people who belonged to an upper class which was not concerned with the mass of the people, and was the sole beneficiary of the old idea of culture. Under this situation the ordinary people eagerly desired something new.

Further, the basis for the rise of modern education was prepared by the importation of Western civilization with its emphasis on science which was attractive enough to arouse the people's curiosity about all Western culture and knowledge.

Again, modern education was initiated by the
missionary groups even though their aim was primarily religious. Many modern schools were established by missionary groups of various sects.

Finally and most importantly, modern education in Korea was stimulated by the national crisis. The people thought that the primary function of education was to rescue the country from its perils.

These conditions made the early history of modern Korean education stormy.

How did the people and students resist Japanese rule? The people realized that the only way to rescue the country was to provide modern education. Many leaders, therefore, established modern schools and organized educational associations. This folk movement, however, came too late to save the country from its immediate problems. After the Annexation in spite of strong Japanese oppression, Korean leaders enthusiastically devoted themselves to educational enterprises. The private schools were thought of by the Korean people as the final strategic defense of the nation. Increasing severity of Japanese military rule and Japanese domination of all schools nullified the courageous attempts of the Koreans to rebuild their national consciousness through schools.

The forced assimilative education filled the
Korean students with antipathy, which accumulated until it broke out in the first student movement in Tokyo and in the March 1st Independence Movement all over Korea.

How did the Japanese control modern Korean education? Japanese educational policy, as all of Japanese governmental policy in Korea, was divided into two stages during the period from 1905 to 1919, which is the time span of this study. The first stage lasted from 1905 to 1910, the Protectorate Government, and the second from 1910 to 1919, the Annexation. The period from 1905 to 1910 was used as a preparation for the complete control of education. Japan deprived the Koreans of the right to control their own educational system.

The second stage, from 1910 to 1919, was an experimental period in which the attempt was made to assimilate the Korean people into Japan. In order to achieve their purpose the Japanese adopted a coercive policy. Among the measures adopted were these: most school books were prepared by the government; any textbooks prepared by individuals had to be approved by the Government, which was not slow to reject books which might strengthen nationalist sentiment or otherwise endanger the occupation; private schools existed only by sufferance of the Government and could in no way deviate from the curriculum of the government schools, except with per-
mission of the Government; a third of all teachers in the common schools, half or more of the teachers in the higher schools, and all principals everywhere were Japanese. The early hope of the Koreans that they could somehow hold to their own education as a means of retaining their national identity were completely disappointed. The Japanese worked quickly and forcefully to erase all traces of Korean nationality, and in the schools they neglected the individuality of the children and the people's welfare.

What was the Aim of Education During Japanese Colonial Rule? The aim of education during Japanese colonial rule was to assimilate the Korean people to the Japanese and to create a labor force to serve the Japanese efficiently. These aims were clearly expressed through Japan's educational principles and policies. No effort was spared to convince the children that the Koreans were inferior to the Japanese and must continue to occupy a lower status. Only a fraction of the Korean children were admitted to school, whereas a much higher proportion of Japanese children living in Korea were provided for. The discrepancy was even more marked in the higher schools. Japanese language was the medium of instruction, no Korean history was taught, and the Japanese instruction in morals was required for all children. Even
the writings of the leading Japanese educators in Korea clearly show the intention of the Japanese to force the Koreans to become assimilated to Japan and to do so very quickly quietly accepting an inferior status.

What is the Meaning of the Korean Students' Anti-Japan Movement in the History of Modern Korean Education? The longlasting importance of the student movements in Korea was that they set a style for political activism by the students. Time and again since 1919, the students of Korea have been in the forefront in working for, in demonstrating for, even in dying for governmental reform or other patriotic reasons. The first great patriotic act of the students was their enthusiastic participation in the March 1st Independence Movement.

Quite as important a result of the students' anti-Japanese activities was that now all the world knew, and significantly all Korea knew, that the young would never lose their love for their country. No one expected the older Koreans to be reconciled to Japan, but from March 1, 1919 all knew that even the young would not be reconciled. Young and old would stand together for Korean national spirit.

The most immediate result of the students' uprising was that the Japanese recognized that their repressive, coercive, militaristic attempt at assimila-
tion through the schools was a failure. They then took steps to modify their educational policy and practices and to soften their previous measures. The new policy failed too, but an analysis of that development lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

**A Final Remark.** Assimilation requires an inner change. It also requires something finer or something higher to be assimilated to. Japan did not have a superior enough culture, tradition, history, philosophy, and religion to assimilate the Korean people. Some educated Japanese came to understand this fact. One prominent Japanese scholar, Hajimu Hosoi, wrote in the early 1920's:

Many Korean students who are studying in Japan will be surprised that all that lectures are about Western ideas which came from England, America, Germany and France.\(^1\)

At first, the Japanese government tried to ignore the problem and force rapid assimilation by coercing innocent young children. When this pressure miscarried, the Japanese tried a "cultural" policy until 1936, but even that was no more successful, and again an oppressive policy was adopted.

There was one other way to assimilate the Korean people to the Japanese, but that method Japan never

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tried. That was to stop all political, economic, and cultural discrimination. If they had done this there could not have been a strong resistance by the Koreans. But, in truth, this method would not have resulted in assimilation. It would instead have brought about a fusion between the two nations, because of the many strengths in Korea's own culture. One would hypothesize that it is impossible for a nation which does not have a superior history, tradition, and culture to assimilate through education another nation which has a long history and a highly developed culture of its own.
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