The Government's Role in the Early Development of English Language Education in Korea (1883-1945)

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In loving memory of

Soung-soo Kim,

The most loving, devoted father one could have.

평생을 자식과 가족을 위해 헌신적으로 사시다가

일찌기 하늘의 부름받고 가신 아버님 김성수께 이 글을 바칩니다.

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Since English as a foreign language was introduced to Koreans more than a century ago, it has enjoyed the status as the most popular foreign language during the greater part of its existence in South Korea. The position of English in Korean society has been further strengthened in recent years. There have been unprecedented discussions among the Korean intellectuals and elite on the possibility of elevating the language to an official language. In order to understand why and how the English language has become an important part of present-day Koreans' lives, an investigation of how the language was initially introduced is necessary. This study examines the introduction of the English language and the beginning of English language education in Korea. More precisely, the focus is the critical roles that the government played in the early development of English language education. The incipient stage of Korea's

English language education is divided into two periods, the first period when the Korean government was actively involved in the formation of English language education and the second period when the Japanese colonial government suppressed its development. During the first period between 1883 and 1905, English language education in Korea was introduced and shaped by the Korean government: the government established Korea's first institutions of English language education and enacted and promulgated national regulations for foreign language education. During the second period of 1906-1945, from the Protectorate Treaty to Korea's liberation from Japan, English language education came under the control of the Japanese government-general and was enslaved to the colonial system, whose sole purpose was to serve Japanese gains; thus, the early burgeoning English language education abruptly came to a halt and stagnated. This study attempts to identify the language educational policies during the two periods, the subsequent changes made in the policies, and the social contexts that brought about these changes and discusses implications of these findings for present-day English language education in South Korea.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

THE STATUS OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN KOREA

> [South Korea's] ruling and opposition lawmakers yesterday argued for the elevation of English to the status of an official language to increase Korea's international competitiveness in the era of globalization.[1]

> Korea's English Education is expected to take a historic step, as English classes will be conducted exclusively in English starting from the upcoming spring semester. Initially the beneficiaries of the education reform will be first grade students at middle schools and fourth graders in elementary schools.[2]

> "The Ministry Saturday sent notices to major municipal education offices ordering them to find and name teachers for the English-only classes by March 15," said a ministry official.[3]

In South Korea, two major incidents recently occurred with major implications for the status of the English language and its education. National legislators argued for the elevation of English to the status of an official language while the Ministry of Education ordered local authorities to provide English-language classes in elementary schools and middle schools in English only. These incidents allow a glimpse of the current position of English in Korean society and the government's possible role in ensuring that position. Since English as a foreign language was introduced to Koreans more than a century ago, it has enjoyed the status as the most popular foreign language during the greater part of its existence in what is today South Korea. Since the 1990s, the position of English in Korean society

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[1] (Sohn 2000).
[2] (Lee 2001a).
[3] (Lee 2001b).

has greatly been strengthened. Extraordinary discussions have occurred among the Korean intellectuals and elite on the possibility of elevating the language to an official language, which has resulted in lawmakers' aforementioned discussion. In this remarkable advancement of the English language, the Korean government's educational policies, especially with regard to language, have played crucial roles.

Despite these recent remarkable developments concerning English, Korea is a by and large monolingual country, ruled by two different political systems, South and North Korea. Koreans are among world's most homogeneous peoples, sharing the same ethnic and linguistic heritage.[4] There are no notable ethnic or linguistic minorities in Korea. Korean, an Altaic language, has been the sole language spoken by the Koreans since the unification of the peninsula in the seventh century. The strong influence of Chinese civilization over an extended period of two millennia is manifest in the presence of approximately fifty percent Chinese loanwords in Korean vocabulary.[5] However, the two languages are mutually unintelligible and belong to different families of languages with distinct grammatical structures. The influence of the Chinese language has been most notable in the written language: Koreans use their native alphabet, *Han'gul*, with a mixture of Chinese characters.[6] In Korea, a country of monolinguals sharing an ethnic heritage, the status the English language has achieved is quite remarkable.

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[4] South Korea's population is approximately 46,850,000 and North Korea's 23,700,000 (Yi 1999).
[5] (Savada and Shaw 1990).
[6] In the case of South Korea, nationalistic linguists and educators have discouraged the use of Chinese characters since its establishment in 1948. Although the use has received conservatives' support, it is far less frequent now, and younger generations tend to use *han'gul* alone.

English language education was first introduced to Korea in 1883, when the government opened an English language school in order to train interpreters. Since then, the English language has been an increasingly important part of Koreans' lives both in and outside school. It has been the most studied foreign language in South Korea. The subject of English was introduced into the elementary school curriculum in 1981 and has been taught as a required subject since 1997.[7] The government's recent adoption of early English language education has generated intense interest in English language education among the parents of young children.[8] Preschoolers are often found in kindergartens specializing in English language education.[9] As the government has directed all English classes in fourth and fifth grades in elementary school to be taught in the English language starting in March 2001, the existing strong interest is likely to be heightened.

English is also required in middle and high schools and accounts for a major portion of the secondary-school curriculum. Students, especially in high school, spend several hours daily studying English in preparation for school exams and the College Scholastic Aptitude Test or the university entrance exam. English is one of the most heavily weighted subjects in the university entrance

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[7] (Ko 1991).
[8] (Yun 1997).
[9] In so-called 'English-language kindergartens,' children between three and five learn basic reading, writing, grammar, and conversation often from native English language speakers for three to five hours a day five days a week (Lee 2001c).

exam, considered the sole gateway to social advancement in Korean society and thus provoking fierce competition among the high school students.[10]

In college, English is required for all freshmen, and English language textbooks are widely used in the natural and applied sciences and in graduate schools.[11] A large number of college instructors hold degrees from United States institutions, and their lectures are sprinkled with English technical vocabulary. Outside the classroom, students devote considerable time to English studies in order to prepare themselves for future employment. It is often the case that Korean companies use English qualification tests to sort out job applicants. Due to the insufficiency of English communicative training in school and in order to obtain desirable scores on the relevant English qualification exams, college students seek English training outside school, and thus private language institutes and overseas language programs are popular. The following excerpt from a newspaper article describes the experiences of a college senior:

> …in a foreign country after taking temporary absence from college…Yi is studying English in a private institute for five hours a day. She spends the remaining hours studying TOEIC (Test of English for International Communication) at the library[12] …"The only thing I can do is [to study] TOEIC. The test is the standard that measures your capability, thus I can't help but to be anxious about the TOEIC scores." She left Korea to attend the abroad language program despite her mother's strong objection… like Yi, a majority of her classmates have left for abroad language

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[10] According to the year 2000 College Scholastic Aptitude Test, which was given on November 11, 1999, the subject of English was allotted 80 points (or 20%) of the total 400 points (Han'guk Kyoyuk Kwajong P'yonggawon 1998).

[11] (McTague 1990, 36).

[12] TOEIC is an ETS (Educational Testing Service)-developed test like the TOEFL, SAT, and GRE and is used by corporations and government agencies to evaluate the English ability of their current and prospective employees (TOEIC Services America 1998).

> programs…believing that a graduation certificate from a foreign language institute helps find a job…. [13]

Once employed, many Koreans are required to make continuing efforts to strengthen their English abilities. English has been adopted as an official language in major corporations such as Samsung and SK Corp and is used as the main filter for upward mobility in most corporations. The case of Chŏng, a deputy manager at an electronics company, serves as a good example:

> …the efforts that Chŏng…has made are more heartbreaking…he has made a language institute 'his dormitory.' After work, he studies English conversation for two hours and then sleeps there instead of going to his boarding house. The next morning he attends one hour of early English class before going to work. Also studying at the English institute are many executives in their forties and fifties as well as lower-level office workers in their thirties like Chŏng.[14]

In their everyday lives outside work or school, Koreans are also continually exposed to English. It is used in consumer goods, media advertising, popular magazines, TV, and recreational sports.[15] Product naming and packaging in English are widespread practices. Over twenty million Koreans are users of the Internet, one of the highest rates in the world.[16] Train station and highway signs are bilingual. Subtitled American movies, which can be viewed in theaters across the country, are the most watched foreign movies, and radio constantly plays American pop music. American fast food restaurants are widely popular in cities. Although the Koreans' use of English is generally passive, that is, seeing and

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[13] (Pak 1997).
[14] (Kim 1997a).
[15] (McTague 1990, 40).
[16] According to a recent survey conducted by NetValue, a survey company of Internet usage and behavior, Koreans were the most frequent users of the Internet among the users of twelve countries. Koreans were on the web for 18.1 hours a month, followed by Hong Kong with 12.1 hours and the United States with 10.8 hours (Soh 2001).

hearing English words instead of producing orally, code-switching and borrowing are frequent in everyday conversation, especially in younger and more educated people.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study is to examine the beginning of English language education in Korea as a necessary prerequisite to understanding the phenomenon of the widespread use of English in contemporary Korean society. School education has served as the main vehicle in the spread of English in Korea. The Korean government has played a critical role in the introduction and the maintenance of English use by initiating English language education and sustaining its support for the education. In order to understand why and how the English language has become an important part of present-day Koreans' lives, it is an essential task to investigate how the language was initially introduced and the government's role in the early development of English language education.

To attain the purpose of the study, the following research questions were addressed:

What were the government's English language educational policies in their incipient stage, i.e., from 1883, when the first English language school was established, to 1945, the year Korea regained sovereignty from Japan?

What were the social contexts that brought about the changes made in the policies?

DATA COLLECTION

For an examination of Korea's English language educational policies in their introductory years, I first collected data on a variety of subtopics: Korea's language policy, English language educational policy, educational policy, history of education, history of English education, national curricula of elementary and secondary schools, and English language education in higher education. Most of my research for this goal was conducted in the summer of 1999 at three libraries in Seoul, South Korea: the National Central Library (Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan) and the National Assembly Library (Kukhoe Tosŏgwan), the two largest libraries in the country, and the library of the Korean Educational Development Institute (Han'guk Kyoyuk Kaebarwŏn), with arguably the largest amount of information in the field of education in Korea. Data were collected in the forms of books, theses and dissertations, government documents, and newspaper and journal articles.

The next phase of research began upon my return to the United States in the fall of 1999. I gathered additional data on Korea's English language education through the Internet and the interlibrary loan services of The University of Texas at Austin library.

As the study concentrates on the introductory period of the English language into Korean society, the large volume of data available were sorted out. Data on the Korean and the Japanese colonial governments' policies on English language education between the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were focused among the extensive data collected regarding

Korea's history, educational policy, English language educational policy, history of education, the evolvement of curricula of elementary and secondary school and higher education, and history of English language education. Most of the data pertaining Korea's national language policy were excluded because they mainly dealt with controversies between the use of Korean only and the mixure of Korean and Chinese scripts in different writing media such as newspapers and official documents.

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

Most of the original documents produced by the Korean government in the late nineteenth century and by the Japanese colonial government were written in Chinese classics or Japanese. Due to my lack of pertinent language skills and the relatively limited time for data collection, the task of pursuing original documents was not carried out, and thus this study largely depended on secondary or tertiary sources and translated versions of original documents.

DEFINITION OF TERMS AND OTHER NOTES

During Japanese rule between 1906 and 1945, English, Korean, and Japanese experienced changes in their statuses. Definitions of phrases related to language status are as follows:

> First language is the language one learns at home as s/he is growing up.[17]
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> Second language is language one learns after his/her first language; language that is widely used in a country and may have an official status after the main language of the country.[18]

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[17] (Cambridge International Dictionary of English 2001).
[18] (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. 2001b).

Foreign languages are languages of other countries.[19]

Official language is language adopted by a government and used in governmental offices and institutions.[20]

National language is language representing a nation as a whole rather than a particular part of it.[21]

During the larger part of colonial rule, English was the most popular foreign language. Japanese is discussed as a foreign language first and then as a second language as Japan annexed Korea, and the colonial government adopted it as the official language and required school instruction in the language. Korean remained the first language throughout Japanese rule as it was the language spoken in most Korean homes. Occasionally English language education is discussed as part of foreign language education.

Korean names and terms are romanized according to the system of McCune-Reischauer Romanization, except for well-known names, such as Seoul.[22] When names of individuals from East Asian cultures, that is, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, are cited, family names are used before first names, as is their native custom. All translations of Korean texts into English were my own, unless other sources are indicated.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERATION

The organization of the dissertation is as follows: "Chapter 1: Introduction" gives an overview of the spread of English in contemporary Korean

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[19] (Encyclopedia Americana 2001).
[20] (Department of Justice Canada 2001).
[21] (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. 2001a).
[22] For the McCune-Reischauer System, see Appendix 1-A.

society and discusses the purpose of the study and data collection and analysis. In "Chapter 2: Review of Literature," literature relevant to the worldwide phenomenon of English spread and English language education in Korea is examined. In the main body, Chapter 3 through 8, Korea's language educational policies in the beginning years of English language education are examined. Chapter 3 (1883-1894) examines the Korean government's introduction of the English language; Chapter 4 (1895-1905), the government's early regulations in reference to English language education; Chapter 5 (1906-1910), English language education under the Japanese regency-general; Chapter 6 (1911-1922), the decline of English language education during the first decade of colonial rule; Chapter 7 (1922-1938), the revival of English language education; Chapter 8 (1938-1945), the weakening of the status of the English language and the sharp degeneration of English language education during World War II and the demise of the Japanese colonial government. Finally, "Chapter 9: Conclusions and Discussion" summarizes the findings of the study and discusses conclusions and the findings' implications for present-day English language education. In addition, a glossary is provided to assist the reader's understanding of Korean terms.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

In this chapter, I will examine literature on English spread and English language education. The chapter consists of three parts: the first focuses on the worldwide phenomenon of English spread and Phillipson's theoretical construct of English linguistic imperialism, the second on the importance of national language policy in English language education, and the third on English spread and English language education in Korea.

THE WORLDWIDE SPREAD OF ENGLISH AND LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM

English is currently the most widespread language in the world. It is the language most frequently used for international commerce, diplomacy, and tourism. The estimated number of worldwide English users is over two billion, and the English-speaking population is continually growing.[23] In Eastern Europe, English is replacing Russian as the language of privilege, and an extensive demand for English is expected in the near future. In Western Europe, the spread of English is much more far-reaching. According to the 1994 Eurobarometer survey, the number of English learners and speakers rose three to four times during the past two decades, making English the most popular foreign language in Europe.[24] English is taught as a mandatory subject in most primary and secondary schools in Western Europe, and it is the first foreign language taught in a number of countries such as Denmark, Spain, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands,

[23] (Kachru 1997).
[24] (Labrie and Quell 1997).

and Portugal. In the Netherlands, 99 percent of high school students study English as their first foreign language, and the demands for English use are observable in people's daily life. As a result, some have expressed an extreme view that English will replace Dutch as the national language within the next two generations. In Scandinavia, English has essentially become a second language among young people, and it is predicted that Austria will be in a similar situation as Scandinavia's within fifteen years or so.[25] This wide diffusion of English has been achieved despite various European organizations' aggressive pursuits and many nations' inclusive language education policies toward the preservation of linguistic diversity in Europe. The dominance of English has been considered by some a threat to European multilingualism.

In South Asia and parts of Africa, English has gone through a process of nativization and acculturation, resulting in some unique features at the phonetic, lexical, syntactic, semantic, and discourse levels. In the former colonial countries, such as Kenya, Tanzania, and India, English has maintained or increased its prestige and thus marginalized indigenous languages.

In East Asian countries, there has been heightened interest in learning the English language. A case in point, China has the largest number of learners of English as a foreign language in the world.[26] It has been estimated that 200 to 300 million people are learning and using English in China. English is neither the native nor an official language there and is learned primarily through formal instruction. Most Chinese learners perceive English as a tool to provide them

[25] (van Essen 1997).
[26] (Yong and Campbell 1995).

with social and economic mobility: learning English secures the practical benefits of entering college and consequently finding a job. While the value of English is recognized, Chinese are also concerned about the "negative" effects of the spread of English, such as cultural pollution. People are intolerant of those who mix English with Chinese and of street names changed into English.

Linguistic imperialism is one of the theoretical constructs that aim to explain the phenomenon of linguistic hierarchization created by the worldwide spread of the English language.[27] Phillipson classifies core English-speaking countries, such as Great Britain and the United States, in the Center and English as a second/foreign language countries, such as India and Zambia, in the Periphery.[28] Periphery English-speaking countries are further classified into English as a second language (ESL) countries, e.g., Nigeria and Singapore, where English was introduced as a colonial language, was forced upon indigenous people, and is now extensively used within the educational system and by the government, and English as a foreign language (EFL) countries, e.g., France and Japan, where English is required for international communication. Phillipson argues that linguistic imperialism occurs within the structure of asymmetrical North/South relations and that English has replaced or displaced indigenous languages worldwide. English is seen as the language necessary for modernization, especially in developing countries, and as the international language of science and technology. In Scandinavia, for example, English has displaced local languages in the fields of entertainment and computers. In former

[27] (Phillipson 1997).
[28] (Phillipson 1992a).

colonial countries, as mentioned earlier, English has peripheralized indigenous languages. Phillipson contends English has been able to hold such prestigious status mainly through education.

Phillipson maintains that ELT (English language teaching) experts from the North and elites in the South legitimize the process of English replacement of indigenous languages or linguistic hierarchization.[29] A form of aid that creates or contributes to the promotion of English, ELT has helped the creation or maintenance of structural and cultural inequality between the Center and the Periphery.

According to Phillipson, ELT profession operates on five faulty tenets that may lead to death or loss of other languages. First, there is a belief that English is best taught monolingually, which disregards local languages and creates a language hierarchy. Secondly, it is erroneously believed that the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker. The British government has been able to maintain its presence and influence in its former colonies by exporting ELT profession, and the United States has generally employed the English monolingual approach in its educational system. Phillipson argues that there is no evidence that the native speaker is a better language teacher than the non-native. He contends there is nothing that native speakers can do and that well-qualified non-native teachers cannot do. In fact, inadequate and under-qualified native-speaker teachers are "a menace because of (their) ignorance of the structure of the mother tongue."[30] He cites an example of European countries, where non-native speaker-teachers who

[29] (Phillipson 1992b).
[30] (Phillipson 1992b, 14).

speak the same languages as their students have achieved successful language teaching. Nevertheless, the notion that the native speaker is an ideal teacher has been a central argument of the ELT profession. The third erroneous belief is that the earlier English is taught, the better the results are. Phillipson contends that this has caused underdevelopment of local languages and resulted in deficiencies in the learner's command of both English and his/her native language. The fourth false tenet is that the more English is taught, the better the results are. Extensive research in the field of bilingual education has proven this inaccurate: mother-tongue proficiency is believed to be a prerequisite for successful second language learning. Finally, it is incorrectly believed that if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop. This view, Phillipson maintains, places English within a hierarchy of languages and sees it as dominant over other languages.

Phillipson also argues that there are three types of exaggerated claims about the values of English.[31] First, English is considered having inherent advantages over other languages. Second, the availability of well-developed English teaching materials makes English an easier choice for second-language learning. Third, English leads to the advancement of technology or affluence, and thus it is more useful than other languages.

There are criticisms leveled against Phillipson's construct. Some argue that it disregards the role of people's free will to choose the dominant languages such as English. The spread of English is simply not possible without the economic power of the United States and nations and their people's desire to

[31] (Phillipson 1992b).

share the economic prosperity. Burma, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Malaysia all rejected English once but later decided to restore it.[32] Moreover, in former colonial countries, such as India and Nigeria, complex language situations surrounding their indigenous languages made it possible for the English language to become the official language, but recently there have been productive efforts to restore indigenous languages as the official languages. Furthermore, Phillipson's arguments against the English teaching profession derived from his own convictions rather than a set of hypotheses. Phillipson himself admits that there is no hard evidence of a conspiracy created by the ELT to foster the Center's hegemony. Brann contends that Britain has been far from being aggressive in providing English teacher training in Nigeria, for example: the country has had only one ELT advisor from the British Council for the last fifteen years, contrary to what one would expect from Phillipson's argument.[33] Brann himself has pleaded with the British Council to send more English teaching professionals with few fruitful results. Therefore, Phillipson's argument that Britain or the United States is controlling other developing nations through the ELT presence is erroneous or ignores complex aspects of the relationship between international control and the role of the ELT. Finally, the reasons for the spread and maintenance of the English language are complicated and multifarious. Not all Englishes in the Center are dominant, nor are all speakers in the Periphery subject to the same level of discrimination. Phillipson's construct is, therefore, an overly simplified attempt to explain the complicated phenomena.

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[32] (Davies 1996).
[33] (Brann 1993).

Between 1883 and 1945, the English language was introduced to Koreans and Korea's English language education underwent a formative period. Phillipson argues that the main conspirators involved in the phenomenon of English linguistic imperialism, in which English replaces indigenous languages, are English language teaching experts from the North and elites in the South. However, the Korean government actively pursued the introduction of the English language and showed active interest in English language education by aggressively seeking the United States government's assistance in recruiting English instructors rather than a strong external force facilitated or compelled the use and education of the English language. In addition, English failed to become an accepted language among the Korean elite or to replace Korean, Koreans' native language, or Japanese, the second language during Japanese colonial rule. Instead, English was initially used as a tool to educate and raise the living stardard of have-nots, especially poor females, the most alienated group in Korean society at the time.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Education in English as a foreign language is under the influence of the nation's language policy.[34] English-language curricula and teaching methodology are closely related to the policy. The role and function of English language education are subject to change depending on the nation's political, economic, and cultural needs and international relations. The organizations involved in shaping and implementing language educational policies are the

[34] (Pae 1990, 383-84).

ministry/department of education, which is responsible for converting language policy into the planning of curriculum; curriculum-development institute or research institute; schools and educational institutions; educational media, which provide materials that accept the English language educational policy and learning aids; English educational research institutes, where the efficiency of language policy and the degree of its successful execution are evaluated; teacher training organizations; education evaluation institutes, which develop and carry out examinations, tests, and inspection on the basis of English curriculum; foreign cultural centers, such as the United States or British cultural centers, which assist the ministry of education, teacher training agencies, and English language education in schools.[35]

The factors that influence and motivate the policy decisions and directions taken in English language education are learners, teachers, curricula, administration and finance, and the society.[36] The learner's needs could be classified into individual needs and societal needs, but these needs are inseparable, with the learner's needs as part of the societal needs. The needs for English language learning are directly related to communication and indirectly to the understanding of culture and the training of intelligence. The English language educational policy that concentrates on the acquisition of skills and the policy that focuses on the understanding of foreign culture and the development of mental capacity carry significant differences and have different views of what's important in English language education. The goals for English language learning

[35] (Pae 1990).
[36] (Pae 1990).

may be different depending on individual learners, but a nation's or a society's goals and purposes for English language education are in general decided by national language policies and do not depend on the learner's choice. A learner's choice of specific language skills, such oral and writing skills, could also be influenced by the language policy decisions.

Moreover, English language teachers are influenced by national language policy.[37] They may receive direct requests from those who execute the nation's language policies. They teach in classrooms under the influence of educational policies, regional policies, and institutional organizations. The qualifications of English teachers are decided by the nation's language policies, and English teachers' attitudes towards English could be influenced by the language policies.

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) maintain that ELT professionals, (e.g., teachers, program administrators and developers, and materials and textbook writers,) are deeply involved in the processes of language planning and policy. There are different layers of processes in language planning and policy, i.e., national, institutional, and interpersonal. However, classroom teachers are, Ricento and Hornberger argue, the core of language policy. Without realization, teachers may implement policies that reflect broader social attitudes and practices. If they believe that bilingual education is disadvantageous to minority students, they may use English only in the ESL classroom. Ricento and Hornberger suggest that ESL teachers focus on individual students' needs rather than accepting the goals limited by the society's needs. ELT professionals may feel

[37] (Pae 1990, 385).

the language policy has already been decided for them, but this should not be the case, and they can initiate changes in their practices and through their participation in their institutions, communities, and professional organizations. Therefore, ELT professionals play an important role in the shaping of language policies that affect students' future lives as well as the lives in the communities and nations.

English educational policies are often decided by politicians who are not familiar with educational circumstances. It is desirable that experts in English language education have influence on the policy decisions by offering information of practical applicability of language policies or the success or failure of the existing policies. Professional research and analyses of relevant factors should be considered in the decisions of English educational policy, and directions and goals should be suggested by the outcome of these activities. It is important to make policy decisions such as the adoption of English as an official language or foreign language based on the results of the professional research on the planning and execution of English curricula and syllabi.[38]

THE STATUS OF ENGLISH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN KOREA

Language situations in monolingual countries, such as Korea, have received negligible attention from scholars while there have been numerous studies on linguistic situations in multilingual countries, e.g., in Africa and Southeast Asia.[39] However, thanks to the heightened demands for dominant

[38] (Pae 1990, 387).
[39] (Karat 1973; Kashoki and Ohannessian 1978; O'Barr 1981; Ozolins 1993)

foreign languages such as English and the existence of unimpeded international communication, for example, through the Internet, linguistic situations in traditionally monolingual countries have also become complex. In East Asia, a few articles in English have examined the usage of and attitudes toward the English language in China and Japan, where English has been established as the most popular foreign language, but few studies have been done on the use or status of English in Korean society.[40]

My exhaustive research revealed two anglophone articles that directly treated the topics of Koreans' use of the English language and English language education in Korea. The British Council (1982) briefly outlines the role and status of English language education in Korea by examining the system of English language education, teacher training, textbook use, and British and American support for English instruction, and English outside the classroom. The Council argues that English is strictly a foreign language in Korea and that the intense popularity of the language and Koreans' accepted use of the American style of pronunciation are due to the country's close economic and military relations with the United States. Intensive English language and literature education is provided in the secondary school, but because of excessive attention to grammar and translation skills, the teaching methodology that heavily depends on memorization and repetition, and large classes with up to seventy students, students rarely develop aural/oral ability. The majority of the secondary-school teachers have

[40] (Honna 1995; Ike 1995; Kachru and Smith 1995; Koike and Tanaka 1995; Yong and Campbell 1995).

poor English-speaking skills, and there are only a small amount of native English speakers that are utilized for the purpose of teacher training.

Regarding the educational administration related to English language education, the Council discusses the role of the central government. The Ministry of Education is responsible for the formulation and administration of educational policies of all school levels and areas, including English language education. The Council argues that British English has had a minimal effect on English language education in Korea: it has only one full-time person committed to English language teaching (ELT) in Korea, and British ELT materials are not as popular as American counterparts. The report contends that American support for Koreans' ELT has been implicit but pervasive. Most of the English language textbooks used in universities are produced by American publishers, Koreans are constantly exposed to American films, and there has been a constant presence of the American Forces, which allows Koreans access to American TV and radio programs. In addition, many higher-education educators hold degrees from the United States, and the majority of native English-speaking teachers in private language schools are from the United States. The Council concludes that it has been making efforts to provide the ELT services that Koreans need, such as teacher training, but that it needs to do a lot more than what it has been able to.

McTague (1990) surveyed the English usage on the job and the attitudes toward the English language of college-educated white-collar employees from entry to middle management level at major Korean corporations. The results show that the subjects held complex attitudes about the English language. They

believed that there were too many English words in modern Korean vocabulary and did not like to hear others code-switch, but nonetheless they also believed English was necessary for their career success and envied those who have achieved fluency in the language. One of the frequent comments the subjects made was, "It's not good to use English words when we don't really need them," and a common reason for such a negative attitude toward the use of English was "damaging national pride."[41] Although the majority of the subjects expected that Koreans would use English with a higher frequency in the future, there were marked differences in the disapproving levels of English usage depending on educational levels: high-school graduates were much more critical of others' use of English than graduate-degree holders. McTague concludes that the surveyed population strongly recognized the instrumental value of the English language and desired to achieve a good command of the language for career success, but at the same time they also feared the wide spread use or infiltration of English into their daily lives. It appears that they would like to contain the usage of English within certain areas, such as business and technology, and for specific instrumental value only.

Several journal articles and theses in the Korean language have examined Korea's English language education from the its beginning to 1945.[42] In his examination of the introduction of English language education into Korea in the late nineteenth century, Yi (1969) investigates the first English language schools, Tongmunhakkyo (Common Script School) and Yugyŏng Kongwŏn (Public

[41] (McTague 1990, 178).
[42] (Kim 1996; Mun 1976; O 1980).

Institute of Education). He discusses the government's use of native English speaker-instructors and their excellent quality, the use of Direct Method as the teaching method, the usefulness of classes conducted in English, and the use of English textbooks, and student recruitment. He also offers a detailed discussion of the subsequent government-sponsored English Language School, such as its instructional goals, study length and admission requirements, student recruitment, curriula, instructors, textbooks, and student life. He points out that the school did not make significant contributions to the field of English language education because of its short-sighted educational goals, lack of support for the graduates' further studies in English-speaking countries, the students themselves' lack of commitment to English language education and exploitation of it for their career purposes only. Yi also discusses instructors, instructional goals, and curricula of English language education in private schools. Regarding English language education during Japanese rule, the author concludes that English language education in secondary schools experienced quantitative expansion, i.e., increases in the numbers of students and schools, but its quality suffered greatly because of the meager educational conditions and the Japanese government's oppression against English language education for Koreans. During this period, the major contributions to English language education were made by the graduates of the literature departments in private higher education, that is, American-run mission schools, and in Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, the only university at the time, and by those who studied abroad.

Choe (1989) classifies the early development of English language education in Korea into three periods: the period of formation from the establishment of the first English language educational institute in 1883 to the enactment of the ordinance for the establishment of Western schools in 1895, the period of settlement between 1895 and 1911, when colonial education began, and the period of stagnation between 1911 and 1945.

Concerning the formation period, Choe discusses the educational goals, curricula, and teaching methods utilized in the first English language schools, e.g., government-run schools such as Tongmunhak and Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, and mission schools, e.g., Paejae, Ewha, and Underwood schools. In discussion of English language education between 1895 and 1911, he observes that reading and translation were given the most instructional hours while conversation and dictaction were additionally taught. Natural Method and Direct Method, methods of teaching by directly stimulating the learner's senses and by showing real-life objects, were the most commonly used instructional methods. During this period, Korean speakers with fluent English skills and study-abroad experiences began to teach English, although the majority of English language instructors still consisted of native English speakers. Between 1911 and 1945, Choe observes, secondary schools provided similar curricula across the country while private professional schools provided a variety of English curricula. English language education began to take shape as an academic field beyond the previous linguistic-skill-focused instruction. Japanese speakers or Japanese replaced native English

speakers as English instructors. Grammar and translation were given the most emphasis in instruction.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Today English is considered the most pervasive dominant language in the world. Phillipson's linguistic imperialism is an ambitious, but failed, attempt to explain the phenomenon of linguistic hierarchization created by the widespread use of English. While Phillipson may have made an accurate observation that linguistic imperialism occurs within the structure of asymmetrical North and South relations, he fails to present clear evidence that English language professionals in the North/core-English speaking countries, such as Britain and the United States, are the main collaborators that legitimize the process of English replacement of indigenous languages. Above all, linguistic imperialism disregards the free will of those in the "South" who learn dominant languages for their own purposes and benefits. In the case of Korea, English has maintained its status as the most popular foreign language since its introduction over a century ago. Although in recent years its status has been strengthened, and there has been discussion of elevating it as an official language among the elite and policy makers, the Korean language remains the first and official language spoken by Koreans, and English a foreign language.

English language education is influenced by national language policies: the roles and functions that English language education plays undergo changes according to the nation's political, econmic, cultural needs and international

relations. This phenomenon may be more observable in Korea, where education is highly centralized under the authoritarian government.

There has been insignificant interest in the linguistic situations in monolingual countries like Korea. However, the recent phenomenon of uninterrupted, rapid international communication and demands for dominant languages have created complex linguistic situations in traditionally monolingual countries, and this condition may merit close examination.

In order to understand the current status and the popular use of English in Korea, it is essential to investigate how the language was introduced and how its status has evolved. The majority of relevant studies conducted by Korean researchers focus on the instructional, technical aspect of English language education, such as school curricula, instructional methods, and instructors' qualifications. Few studies have examined the development of English language education within the larger social context outside school, which may allow an insight into the status of the English language.

Chapter 3: Korean Government's Introduction of English Language Education, 1883-1894

EARLIER CONTACT WITH WESTERN CULTURE AND ENGLISH

Korea under the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) was called the "Hermit Kingdom," where interactions with outsiders were seen as undesirable and rejected. It had hapless encounters with neighboring countries, such as invasions of the Japanese (1592-1598) and of the Manchus in the 1620s and 1630s.[43] Prior to the conclusion of the Korean-American Treaty in 1883, Koreans' contacts with Western culture and the English language were limited and indirect.[44] One type of contact was established by English language Protestant missionaries in Manchuria and Japan and by European Catholic priests. Another type of contact came about because of the Western vessels that appeared on Korean shores and attempted to open commercial relations with Koreans or by Westerners' accidental arrivals after shipwrecks. The third source of contact was diplomatic missions sent to China and Japan by the Korean government or by those who studied in Japan during the last period of Chosŏn.

Introduction of Christianity

A Portuguese priest, Gregorio de Cespedes, was the first confirmed European that arrived in Chosŏn. He followed the Japanese army to Komgae (presently near Pusan) in 1594 during the Japanese invasion and stayed over one

[43] (Lee 1988, 10).
[44] By concluding the Korean-American Treaty in 1883, Korea and the United States established diplomatic relations for the first time. The treaty is further discussed in the section of *Opening of Kingdom*, pp. 29-30.

year.[45] However, he did not establish any contact with Koreans during his stay. There were many converts among the Korean captives who were taken to Japan, and these left names written in the history of the Japanese church. A captive during the Manchurian Invasion, Crown Prince So-hyŏn developed a friendship with Johann Adam Schall von Bell, a German priest, and returned to Korea with Catholic literature and statues in 1644.[46]

Importation of Catholicism was strengthened through diplomatic missions sent to Beijing. Yi Sŭng-hun became the first Korean who received baptism, on his trip to Beijing in 1784, and actively proselytized after his return.[47] The entry of French priests in the 1830s gave momentum to the propagation of Catholicism.[48] The dynasty was especially anxious about the diffusion of Catholicism due to its fundamental philosophical differences with Confucianism, (which had sustained the dynasty for centuries) such as the Catholic creed of equality and refusal to acknowledge ancestor worship. The xenophobic government's oppression resulted in severe persecutions, e.g., the deaths of dozens of native Catholics and French missionaries in 1839 and the reported massacres of 8000 native converts nationwide and nine French priests in 1866.[49]

The first arrival of Protestant missionaries in Korea dates back to 1832, when Karl Gutzlaff, a missionary from the Netherlands, landed and stayed over one month on Kodae Island and distributed the Chinese edition of the Bible.[50]

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[45] (Min 1984, 46).
[46] (Yi 1969, 5).
[47] (Min 1984, 62).
[48] As many as 20,000 Koreans became Catholic believers (Lee 1984, 257).
[49] (Cumings 1997, 96; Hosudon Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1999, 7).
[50] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 36).

For the next fifty years, until the Korean-American Treaty of 1882, Protestant missionaries' efforts to reach Koreans were made by individuals and limited to indirect contact outside of the kingdom, with Korean merchants and students in Manchuria and Japan. An important outcome of Koreans' contact with anglophone missionaries during this time was Bible translation into Korean. John McIntyre and John Ross of the Scotland United Presbyterians met Korean merchants in Manchuria and worked together on a translation of the Bible into Korean.[51] Beginning with the publication of the Gospel of Luke in 1882, they continued to translate, and a complete Korean version of the New Testament was published in 1887.[52] Sŏ Sang-nyun, one of the merchants working on the translation, became the first Korean Protestant convert. After extensive travels preaching the Bible, Sŏ settled in his native town of Sollae in Hwanghae Province.[53] In 1884, he received 6,000 copies of the Bible from Ross and established the first church in Korea.[54]

Koreans in Japan also established contact with Protestant missionaries, this time with American missionaries. In his 1883 letter to the mission headquarters, George W. Knox, a Presbyterian missionary, reported that there were at least thirty Koreans studying Japanese, English, and other subjects in Tokyo and that two of them were already baptized.[55] Knox, who himself had

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[51] (Min 1984, 169).
[52] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 36).
[53] Hwanghae is located north of the Kyŏnggi Province, the central region of the peninsula. See Appendix 3-A for a Korean map.
[54] The church was built and managed by the locals and grew to have members of fifty households out of the fifty-eight households in the village; thus, Sollae became the birthplace of the Protestant church in Korea (Min 1984, 172).
[55] (Paik 1998, 74-5).

friendly relations with Korean students in Tokyo, urged the mission's involvement in the opening of Korea.

Contact with Western Ships and Sailors

Western sailors who drifted to Korean shores were the first direct source of Western culture and knowledge for Koreans within the peninsula. In 1627, a Dutch sailor, John Weltevree and his company landed on the shores of Chŏlla Province due to rough seas encountered en route to Japan.[56] Weltevree permanently settled in Korea, taking a Korean name, Pak Yŏn, living with a Korean woman and serving in the Chosŏn military.[57] In 1653, Dutch Hendrik Hamel and thirty-five others drifted to Cheju Island. They were caught and brought to Seoul and served in the Chosŏn military under Weltevree's supervision. Thirteen years later, eight of them including Hamel escaped and returned to their native country. Hamel wrote a book on his adventure, and it was published in French, English, and German.[58]

Early in the nineteenth century, Western powers, including Britain, France, the United States, and Russia, extended imperialistic advances and showed great interest in opening relations with Chosŏn. Foreign merchant ships and warships repeatedly appeared on Korean shores, but the dynasty held onto a strict exclusion policy: it treated the foreign vessels as forces threatening its inward society and refused to open its doors. Westerners' attempts to force the

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[56] Chŏlla Province is in the southwest region of the peninsula.
[57] (Yi 1969, 4).
[58] (Yi 1969, 4). The title of English version was *An account of the shipwreck of a Dutch vessel on the coast of the isle of Quelpart, together with the description of Corea* or *Narrative of an unlucky voyage and imprisonment in Korea, 1653-1666*.

opening resulted in major military clashes with France in 1866 and the United States in 1871.

Korean and American relations began in 1866 under unfortunate circumstances where an armed trade ship, the *General Sherman*, entered Korean waters and made forceful attempts to interact with secluded locals. In response outraged locals burned the ship and killed those aboard.[59] The United States government decided to use the incident to compel Korea's opening and sent ships on a survey assignment in 1871. Reaching Kanghwa Island, the Americans battled fierce but poorly armed Koreans. Eventually, they departed without realizing their intention of opening trading relations with Koreans, leaving casualties of over two hundred Koreans and of only three Americans.[60]

Diplomatic Missions to Japan and China

Chosŏn's early exposure to Western culture mainly came about through contacts with Ming and Ch'ing China. Koreans who visited Ming or Ch'ing came into contact with Westerners in China and returned with some knowledge of Western civilization and modern science.

In 1881, after the conclusion of the Korean-Japanese Treaty of 1876, the Korean government dispatched a *sinsa yuramdan*, or gentlemen's sightseeing group, to Japan for an inspection of administration, military, industries, and

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[59] The *General Sherman*'s owner was an American named W.B. Preston. The ship sailed into Korean waters, firing guns. It proceeded to capture a local official and attempted interactions with local Catholics by letting out the ship interpreter, a British Protestant missionary. These bold behaviors infuriated the locals, who subsequently destroyed the ship, killing everyone on board, including three Americans.
[60] (Harrington 1999, 38).

education.[61] Among the educational institutions that they visited were foreign language schools. Four of the entourage members, including Yu Kil-chun and Yun Ch'i-ho, volunteered to remain in Japan for further studies and learned English from foreigners and American missionaries.[62]

A group of trainees and students were dispatched to China in November 1880.[63] Some of the students were assigned to learn foreign letters and languages, especially the English language, but they returned to Korea when the *Imo Revolt* broke out in June 1882.[64]

In brief, Koreans' early contact with Westerners and their cultures and languages was through Catholic priests or those who entered Korea with mercantile intents or by accident and Koreans traveling or living abroad for diplomatic or commercial reasons. This contact set the stage for the entrance of the English language and its education into Korean society in 1883.

BEGINNING OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

After this long period of indirect, peripheral contact with the English language and Western culture, Koreans were finally directly introduced to the language after the conclusion of the 1882 Korean-American Treaty and the 1883 Korean-Great Britain Treaty.[65] The Korean government and American

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[61] (Mun 1976, 2). The *sinsa yuramdan* consisted of sixty-two members, Hong Yŏng-sik and O Yun-jung with their entourage that included Yu Kil-chun and Yi Sang-jae (Kim 1997b, 41).
[62] (Kim 1997b, 42; Mun 1976, 2).
[63] (Kim 1997b, 23).
[64] (Kim 1997b, 23). The *Imo Revolt*, or the Soldier's Revolt in the *Imo* Year (1882), was an anti-reform and anti-Japanese revolt.
[65] (Mun 1976, 1).

missionaries served as the two initiators in the introduction of English language education in Korea.

Government-Initiated English Language Education

Opening of Kingdom

As King Kojong (1864-1907) was placed on the throne at the age of twelve in 1864, his intractable father, the Taewŏn'gun (Yi Ha-ŭng, 1821-1898), took power and kept the dynasty under his tight control until 1873. The Taewŏn'gun established himself as an engineer and champion of a rigid policy of exclusion. Determined to maintain the dynasty's tradition as the "Hermit Kingdom," he prohibited any contact with outsiders, except for Ch'ing China. In 1873, the Taewŏn'gun entered semi-retirement, and Kojong took over the control of the kingdom.[66] Although essentially a Confucianist, Kojong was more adaptable and pragmatic than his obstinate father. Under his rule, Chosŏn began to establish international relations. Referred to as Korea's first modern treaty, the Korean-Japanese (*Kanghwa*) Treaty was concluded in 1876. The treaty is credited with having Korea step out of seclusion, onto the international stage. However, Korean concessions were coerced, and Japan's real motive was to preclude the influence of China over the kingdom in order to advance its own aggressive political agenda.[67]

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[66] Despite his popular anti-foreign policy, the Taewŏn'gun was forced into retirement by the *yangban* elite and bureaucrats, whose privileges and power had been limited by his reforms. *Yangban* refers to the aristocratic class.

[67] Japan came to the table with warships and soldiers and coerced Chosŏn to accept inequitable terms.

At the time, China had recently reclaimed suzerain rights and was exercising strong influence over the Chosŏn court. To curb Japanese and Russian aggression in the peninsula, Viceroy Li Hung-chang persuaded the Chosŏn government to establish diplomatic relations with the United States.[68] In 1883, following the conclusion of the first Korean-American treaty, also Korea's first treaty with a Western nation, the United States established a legation in Seoul.[69]

Chosŏn had fully accepted the Sino-centric view of the world order and functioned as a tributary to China.[70] However, the Korean-Japanese treaty created a fissure in Korea's prolonged, traditional relations with China, and the Korean-American treaty, although supported by China, further widened the fissure by acknowledging Chosŏn as a sovereign kingdom and thus repudiating China's claim of suzerainty. Kojong and his associates gradually realized that the treaty provisions could be used to free the kingdom from the grip of China and sought close relations with the United States.

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[68] (Harrington 1999, 39). Li and Shufeldt furtively met in China and made a deal and provided the Chosŏn government with the ready-made document. Li arranged Chosŏn's further treaties with the British and the German (Cumings 1997, 106).

[69] The United States government had appointed Robert W. Shufeldt, a military officer, as the negotiator in case a show of military power was necessary to impel the isolationist Chosŏn to accept the treaty terms. However, since the treaty was concluded through the Chinese Viceroy Li Hung-chang, the use of force was not required. Many Koreans opposed the American treaty, with a multitude protesting outside the palace urging the king not to give up the exclusion policy.

[70] This relationship reached its zenith between Ming China (1368-1644) and the Chosŏn dynasty. The traditional tributary relationship between China and Korea was at the ceremonial level. It included envoy exchanges, and neither was involved in the other's internal affairs (Lee 1988, 9-10).

The Modernization of Government

As it began to establish diplomatic and trade relations with Western countries, the Chosŏn government reorganized its administrative structure.[71] It created the Office of Extraordinary State Affairs (*T'ongni Kimu Amun*) in 1881 and set up twelve departments under the Office, including those specializing in international relations, foreign trade, military modernization, and foreign language training.[72] To aid in its modernization endeavors and to deal with increasingly troublesome foreign policy matters, the government sought the assistance of foreign advisers, especially Americans. After the conclusion of the Korean-American treaty, Kojong made consistent efforts to bring in American advisers and experts in various areas including defense, diplomacy, and education. As the advisors' roles and areas of responsibility expanded in the Korean government, so did the need for Korean interpreters. This, coupled with the diplomatic and trade relations with the United States, necessitated a training school for interpreters of the English language.

The First English Language School, Tongmunhak (Common Script Learning)[73]

In December 1882, the royal court decided to open the Tongmunhak, Korea's first English language school, under the Office of Foreign Affairs,

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[71] Following the American treaty in 1882, a treaty with Britain was negotiated in the same year and ratified in 1884. A treaty with Germany was concluded in 1882, Italian and Russian treaties in 1884, and French treaty in 1886. These were followed by treaties with Austria, Belgium, Denmark and other countries (Lee 1984, 275).

[72] (Lee 1984, 271; Yi 1982, 9). The Office was later restructured into the Office of Internal Affairs (*T'ongni Naemu Amun* or *Naeamun*) and the Office of Foreign Affairs (*T'ongni Oemu Amun* or *Oeamun*).

[73] Also called the 'Tongmunhakkyo' (*School of Common Script Learning*), the 'Government School,' or the 'T'ongbyŏnhakkyo' (*Interpretation School*).

following Paul Georg von Mőllendorff's recommendation. Mőllendorff was a German diplomat and the first Western adviser hired by the Korean government.[74] At this time China exerted a strong influence on the Chosŏn court, after having aided Chosŏn in suppressing the *Imo Revolt*. Taking advantage of the opportunity, Viceroy Li Hung-chang arranged for Mőllendorff and a Chinese diplomat, Ma Chien-ch'ang, to be the court's special advisers. Mőllendorff had served in China for many years and was presumably Viceroy Li's close confidant. From his arrival in Korea in December 1882 to the time of his departure in 1885, Mőllendorff was actively involved in the modernization of the Chosŏn government and its politics.[75] Under his direction, the Tongmunhak opened in September 1883. It was located in today's Chedong, Chongnogu in Seoul.[76]

Traditionally, interpreters had been a patrimonial trade of the c*hungin* ("middle people") class, but by stipulating that the school "shall admit even the sons of farmers, industrialists, businessmen, and merchants, and irrespective of class background, considerations shall be given to [the applicants'] academic aptitude only," the government already showed a progressive approach in English language education, i.e. admissions without discrimination based on lineage.[77]

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[74] Mőllendorff won Kojong's confidence and played an important role in diplomatic affairs with Western countries as the Vice Minister of the Office of Foreign Affairs and the Inspector General of the Customs Service. Even though Viceroy Li recommended him to the court in an effort to strengthen the China's position in the court and to help deter the Japanese influence, Mőllendorff came to oppose China and advocated the interests of Chosŏn (Lee 1999b, 24).

[75] Over his failed attempt to use Russian influence to free Chosŏn from China's control, Mőllendorff was dismissed and his responsibilities were shared by two American advisers: Judge Owen Nickerson Denny, in foreign affairs, and Henry F. Merrill, in the customs service.

[76] (Yi 1978, 2).

[77] (Kuksa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1970, 411). The *chungin* were the intermediary class between the *yangban* and the commoner. Medical officers and accountants also belonged to this class.

The Tongmunhak was set up as a one-year interpreter training school. With a Korean principal, there were initially two Chinese instructors, Zhongxian Wu and Shaoyi Tang. Shaoyi was a Chinese scholar educated in the United States. Sent to the United States by the Chinese government at the early age of fourteen, he studied at Columbia University and New York University. He had come to Korea chosen by Mőllendorff and worked in customs affairs while teaching at the Tongmunhak.[78] As Mőllendorff became occupied with other responsibilities, British citizen T. E. Halifax served as chief instructor. Halifax was not considered a qualified instructor and received criticisms from his students because of his background: he had been a sailor and telegraphic technician, arriving in Korea with Mőllendorff.

The school opened with approximately forty students.[79] According to the government gazette, *Hansŏng Sunbo* (Seoul Ten-Day Report) of February 21, 1884, the government provided all students with textbooks and Western-style paper, and students with excellent records received lodging and board.[80] The trainees were divided into morning and afternoon classes and were taught English, Japanese, and arithmetic. In English classes, they studied sentences, phrases, and words, and the understanding and the use of paragraphs or stories one day and words and phrases only on the next.[81] In March 1884, within only a couple of

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[78] (Lee 1999a, 133). Shaoyi served as a consul-general in Inch'ŏn and later became the first secretary of state when the Republic of China was established and served as adviser to president (Yi 1969, 9).

[79] The exact number is unknown. Various records show the number of students ranging from twenty-nine to forty (Lee 1999a, 133; Yi 1978, 4).

[80] (Yi 1969, 9; Yu and Kim 1998, 7). *Hansŏng Sunbo*, considered as Korea's first newspaper, was published three times a month by the new Office of Culture and Information in 1883. The publication was led by Kim Ok-kyun and other members of the Progressive Party (Lee 1984, 329).

[81] (Chong and Yi 1994, 10).

months after its opening, the school produced over twenty of its first graduates but was closed when the government opened a formal school, the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn (Public Institute of Education) in 1886. The government's experience with the Tongmunhak helped to set up the new school, and Tongmunhak students initially served as assistants to American instructors. The Tongmunhak students and graduates took active parts in various areas of Chosŏn society, especially in diplomatic and customs affairs. Some of the students were sent to China for further studies. One of the well-known graduates, Namgung Ŏk, later served as vice president of the Independence Club and president of *Hwangsŏng Sinmun,* or *Capital Gazette*.[82]

It is remarkable that the first "modern" school the Korean government established was an English language school.[83] However, rather than being an active measure taken by the Korean government with an understanding and awareness of the need for such school, the Tongmunhak was established and maintained under the heavy influence of China. The appointment of the school's founder, Mőllendorff, was arranged by China, and its instructors were Chinese or a Westerner associated with him. Even the name of the school was closely related to that of a diplomat-training school the Chinese government established in China. The Tongmunhak was a school of expedience: it was set up as a one-year training school, producing graduates in an even shorter period. Namgung Ŏk, for example, graduated in January 1884, within a couple of months after having entered the school, and served as an interpreter under Mőllendorff. While the

[82] (Mun 1976, 5; Yi 1969, 10).
[83] A 'modern' school refers to a school that provides a Western curriculum.

instructors were native or fluent English speakers, they had little background in English language education.[84]

English Language School for the Ruling Class, Yugyŏng Kongwŏn [85]

The Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, the second English language school established by the Korean government, showed a decidedly different orientation and characteristics than the Tongmunhak. For its establishment, the government actively pursued the United States government's cooperation, coming out of China's shadow cast over the Tongmunhak.

In 1883, a year after the Korean-American Treaty, a special delegation headed by Min Yŏng-ik visited the United States.[86] The delegation was shown various American organizations and systems and came to the realization that their country was behind the times. Upon returning from the mission, they reported to

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[84] The teaching method mainly used was the Direct Method, a popular method at the time. In the Direct Method, foreign language learners learned the target foreign language through direct contact with native speakers of the language, for example. The language teaching methods popular in Europe and the United States at the time were Gouin Method and Berlitz Method, a type of Direct Method (Yi 1993, 19). François Gouin (1831-96), a Frenchman considered a founder of the Direct Method, believed that adult's language learning should follow the pattern of children's. He argued that adults' language learning should be through using language to accomplish events that consisted of a sequence of related actions as children learned language (Kitao and Kitao 2001). In the United States, the Berlitz method was developed by Maximilian Berlitz (1852-1921), who became a pioneer of the Direct Method by pointing to objects, naming them, and explaining verbs using only the target language in his French classes at the Warner Polytechnical College in Providence. The basic technique of the method was the question-and-answer format.

[85] Also called the Royal English School.

[86] The delegation consisted of eight Koreans and three interpreters. The interpreters were American, Japanese and Chinese, who provided dual interpretation, for no Koreans were available for interpretation. Among the group, Yu Kil-chun, Pyŏn su, and Ko Yŏng-ch'ŏl had studied in Ch'ing China and Japan and had been exposed to English. During the two-month stay in the United States, the group members were able to learn simple English expressions. Yu Kil-chun stayed behind and studied in the United States (Choe 1989, 11).

the king, and the government took a series of reform measures.[87] The Yugyŏng Kongwŏn was a result of these reforms. During his audience with the king, the vice-envoy of the mission, Hong Yŏng-sik reported:[88]

> After our arrival [in the United States], we weren't able to communicate or understand things very well because of the language barrier, but…there is nothing, including machinery system, ships, cars, and the postal system, that doesn't demand our most immediate attention…What we placed the most emphasis on was the nation's education. If we educate our men of capability in the pattern of the United States' education... we will have little trouble…we ought to follow their model.

During their visit, the special delegation had been promised support by the United States Department of State for the establishment of a new English language school.[89] George C. Foulk, who guided the delegation and later served as a military attaché to the legation in Korea, played an active role in the negotiations between the two governments. In September 1884, three months after the envoy's return, Kojong granted the establishment of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn and requested that Lucius H. Foote, an American minister, recruit three young instructors. On September 10, Foote sent this request to the United States Secretary of State, and the request was handed over to the Commissioner of Education John Eaton.[90] Eaton thought that deeply religious students would be suitable for the teaching positions abroad and personally selected three students, Homer B. Hulbert, H. E. Bourne, and George W. Gilmore, from the Union

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[87] The delegation visited industrial factories, the J.W. Wolcot Farm, the New York Hospital, the Western Union telegraphic office, the New York firehouse, the United States military academy and various other institutions. This exposure to US culture and systems prompted Korea's importation of a postal system and modern farms, invitations of American advisers, instructors, and technicians, and the introduction of the Protestant church (Yi 1996, 25).
[88] (Choe 1989, 12).
[89] (Yi 1969, 13).
[90] (Lee 1999a, 138).

Theological Seminary in New York. The Secretary of State sent an inquiry for further details of the contract to Foulk, who in turn submitted his inquiry to Kim Yun-sik of the Office of Foreign Affairs:[91]

> 1. Do you plan to build a school to teach students after the instructors' arrival? How many students will a building house?
>
> 2. Would you provide housing to the instructors?
>
> 3. One of the instructors has a wife. The three instructors would like to live together and to leave the responsibilities of housekeeping to her. Is it possible for your government to pay for her traveling expenses?
>
> 4. How many years will the instructors teach under the contract?
>
> 5. Specifically what should be taught?

Kim informed the king of the inquiry and after discussion within the Office provided Foulk a response:[92]

> 1. The school building (not a private house) to teach students will be built immediately.
>
> 2. Naturally, housing for the instructors will be provided.
>
> 3. The traveling expenses for the instructor's wife will be provided.
>
> 4. The term of contract will be two years.
>
> 5. The subjects to be taught will be decided after the instructors' arrival and discussion with them.

On July 4, 1886, Hulbert, Delzell A. Bunker, in place of Bourne, and Gilmore and his wife arrived in Korea.[93] The new instructors were highly educated and eager about their new job. Gilmore was a graduate of Princeton and

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[91] (Lee 1999a, 140).
[92] (Lee 1999a, 141).
[93] (Yu and Kim 1998, 8).

Bunker of Oberlin. They were students of the graduating class at the Seminary. Hulbert, a graduate of Dartmouth, was a second-year student at the Seminary.[94]

The Chosŏn government originally planned to open the school in early 1885, but the plan was interrupted by the *Kapsin* coup.[95] Soon after the coup, negotiations between the two governments resumed, and the school finally opened on September 23, 1886. It was located in today's Chŏngdong, Chunggu in Seoul.

On August 10, 1886, the king directed that sons, brothers, nephews, and relatives of the officials at the Offices of Internal Affairs and Foreign Affairs be recommended to and selected for the school.[96] Two classes, Left and Right, were established. The king instructed that the classes be filled with students within ten days according to his directions and warned that the students' parents would be greatly penalized if this order were not met satisfactorily. Strife among the factions had been deeply affecting Chosŏn's politics, thus the following consideration was given in the selection of the students:[97]

> [The students] were carefully selected from well-known families of the time, equally distributed among the Four Factions.[98] After the completion

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[94] It is said that Henry Hulbert, the older brother of the Hulberts, who was in the graduating class, had intended to apply for an instructor's position, but the younger Hulbert was so enthusiastic that his older brother conceded (Lee 1999a, 144-45).

[95] The *Kapsin* coup was carried out by young pro-Japanese reformers on December 4, 1884. Frustrated by the conservative force in the government, they attempted to overthrow the government, but the attempt was foiled by China. *Kapsin*, Year of the Ape, refers to the year 1884.

[96] (Lee 1999a, 131).

[97] (Hwang 1995, 127-28).

[98] Around the end of the fifteenth century, the *yangban* formed cliques over political disputes including the royal succession, and the cliques developed into four major factions called Old Doctrine, Young Doctrine, Southerners, and Northerners in the late seventeenth century (Macdonald 1996, 32).

> of the study, the students who had already been officials were to be promoted to more promising positions.

In school, those who had passed the state examinations, or *Kwagŏ*, and had already secured positions as young officials were assigned to the Left class; "young and smart" students with no positions to the Right class. The school opened with thirteen students in the Left class and twenty-two in the Right, all of whom were sons of high-ranking officials.

The government appeared interested in cultivating elite officials with command of English in the new school. Gilmore speculates on the purpose of the school:[99]

> Among other things recommended (by the special delegation headed by Prince Min Yŏng Ik) was the starting of a school under royal auspices… There are two parties in Korea, which may be called the Conservatives and the Progressists. The king is at heart at a Progressist…His majesty is surrounded by men steeped in Chinese dogmatism and conservation. China herself…is continually interfering to retard progress…There is thus a constant need for men who are prepared to support His Majesty in his measures of progress. Our school was expected to do this.

As stated in the previous Kim-Foulk exchange of letters, the curriculum of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn was to be determined after the instructors' arrival. On September 17, 1886, after over two months of discussion between the government and the instructors, the "School Regulations of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn (*Yugyŏng Kongwŏn Sŏrhak Chŏlmok*)" were formulated.[100] These regulations were reported to the king. They consisted of eighteen sections and stipulated that the government be in charge of the management of the school while the instructors be

[99] (Gilmore 1892, 229-230).
[100] (Lee 1999a, 146; Yi 1978, 9).

responsible for instruction. One requirement imposed on the instructors was prohibition from teaching religion. Stipulated in detail in the regulations were class division, subjects of instruction, evaluation, class hours, scholarships, and school maintenance expenses. Guidelines for students, such as dormitory students' wake-up hours, meals, and bedtime, were also specified. These sections are considered Korea's first modern school regulations and served as guidelines for other modern schools.

According to the regulations, for the Left class, ten young civil or military officials were to be selected and to attend school from home, and for the Right class, twenty young scholars between the age of fifteen and twenty with no official positions were to be selected and to live in a dormitory.[101]

The twelve subjects specified in the regulations were history, penmanship, arithmetic, geography, study skills, mathematics, foreign language, medicine, geography, astronomy, botany, machinery, and zoology, but only a limited number of these subjects were taught in practice.[102] The classes were conducted in English using English textbooks. Initial focus was on the instruction of the English language itself, for none of the students had any knowledge of English. As the students' ability to understand English improved, they were taught mathematics, natural science, world geography and economy. In 1892, Gilmore makes this observation:[103]

> Thirty-five were named as our first class, of whom thirty began attendance on the exercises. We found that not one of them knew a word of English,

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[101] (Yi 1978, 9).
[102] (Yi 1978, 10; Yu and Kim 1998, 12).
[103] (Gilmore 1892, 229).

> so that we had to begin with the alphabet. Three interpreters were attached to the school, one for each of the teachers. These we found helpful at the start, though we could soon have dispensed with their services…

Students' performance was evaluated by monthly, yearly, and graduation exams (*Taego*) after three years of study, suggesting that it was a three-year course, and it was stipulated that government positions be given to those who did well on the graduation exams. Four grades were to be given: *t'ong* (pass), *yak* (fair), *cho* (poor), and *pul* (fail).[104]

Kojong's keen interest and active involvement in the school was also visible in his concern for students' progress in performance. After one year of study, while the students were taking the first summer break, the king directed them to come to school and take tests every fifth day to prevent them from forgetting what they had learned. When the students' performance did not improve, he instructed the students in the Left class to attend school every other day and warned those in the Right class that their parents would be held accountable as well if they violated the school regulations. He even called in students and twice had them take tests at the palace.

The instructors' opinions were given priority in instructional matters. Despite the fact that initially the regulations required three years of study, in May 1889, the requirement was increased to seven years, following the instructors' proposal for the first three years as a prep course and an additional four years as a regular college-level curriculum.

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[104] (Kim 1996, 6; Yi 1978, 9).

In spite of the king's active interest and able instructors, however, the students did not make progress as anticipated, and many of them began missing classes. Especially the students in the Left class had frequent absences under the pretext of their job demands, and eventually none of them attended classes. Since at one point students with good academic performance were promised government positions, the students in the Right class made diligent efforts, but their enthusiasm died down as well, and they soon repeated the pattern of those in the Left class. The school continued to be on the wane. After the instructors' first two-year contracts expired in April 1888, the government prolonged its decision to extend their contracts. Eventually, two of the instructors' contracts were extended three more years. Gilmore returned to the United States when his request for a raise for the reason of supporting his family was rejected. His successor, the reverend Daniel L. Gifford resigned within a few months. The government decided not to enroll the problematic Left class; thus, in March 1889, the school resumed with fifty-seven students in the Right class only. Nevertheless, by the time the new three-year contracts expired in 1891, the government had lost much of its interest in the school and decided to hire only one instructor: Bunker was renewed for another three-year contract, and Hulbert returned to the United States.[105] In November 1892, the school underwent personnel changes, and one year later there was another shake-up. When Bunker was offered an instructor's position at the Paejae Haktang (Paejae School), a private institution run by American Presbyterian missionaries, and resigned five

[105] Later Hulbert and Bunker continued to make contributions to Korea's modern education by teaching at the Hansŏng Normal School and the Paejae School, respectively (Chong and Yi 1994, 12).

months before the expiration of his term in February 1894, the school was closed for all practical purposes.[106] For the eight years of its existence, the school admitted three groups, thirty-five students in 1886, twenty in 1887, and fifty-seven in 1889, totaling 112.[107]

Disappointed by the failure of the school, the king granted other alternatives: a new government-sponsored English language school opened with British instructors in 1894, and the Office of Education started a joint English language program with the Paejae Haktang in 1895. Although the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn was one of the ambitious modernization endeavors the Korean government undertook and it received the king's unfailing support, its existence is not generally known among contemporary Koreans.

The Yugyŏng Kongwŏn was a largely improved and upgraded English language school in comparison with the previous Tongmunhak. The government made a vast investment recruiting quality instructors from the United States. A highly exclusive selection of students was applied, with admissions limited to a handful of sons of high-ranking *yangban*. The Korean government took the initiative in its establishment, stepping out of the shadow of China that had loomed over the Tongmunhak. Kojong's active interest in the school was evident in each phase of the school's development. Compared to the expeditious, limited curriculum of the Tongmunhak, a much broader Western curriculum was provided by highly educated instructors in the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn.

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[106] (Lee 1999a, 154-58). Kojong requested Horace N. Allen, Minister-Resident (1897-1905), to find an American instructor. Allen sent this request to the missionary headquarters, but it is said that no missionaries volunteered, for it was known that foreigners working for the Korean government had difficulties in getting payment.
[107] (Chong and Yi 1994, 12; Kim 1996, 6).

Despite these strengths and advantages, the school did not make the desired progress and was eventually closed after only eight years of existence. Various factors may have contributed to the failure of the school. One was the fact that English language education was in its introductory stage in Korea: the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn was only the second English-language school established by the Korean government. The government did not have a clear idea of what constituted an English language program: for example, while negotiating the employment of American instructors, Kim Yun-sik of Foreign Affairs responded to Foulk's inquiry concerning the school's curriculum that the subjects to be taught would be decided after the instructors' arrival and the school regulations were formulated after discussion with them. Moreover, the government and the instructors did not share the same educational goals. While it appears that the government intended to equip elite officials with English skills, the instructors strove to offer formal education, as manifest in their efforts to extend the school years to seven years that included college education. An editorial of *The Independent* pointed out these differences and criticized the government's lack of commitment to general education:[108]

> In 1884 His Majesty projected a school for the teaching of English…In 1886…the work began under the direction of three foreigners….almost immediately it appears that the government desired to have men educated in two years. In other words, it wanted simply interpreters…This being the case,…the wrong idea was inculcated that education was a matter of turning out a certain number of English-speaking men a year, rather than of giving men a thorough rounded primary education.

[108] (Staff 1896). *The Independent*, or *Tongnip Sinmun*, was founded by Sŏ Chae-p'il, who had studied in the United States, on April 7, 1896. The members of the Independence Club, especially those who had been exposed to Western culture, used it as a vehicle to express their opinions (Lee 1984, 329; Yi 1969, 41).

Moreover, the privileged background of students hampered the school's development. Students might have been "bright" young officials or scholars selected from reputable families, but as sons of high-ranking *yangban*, they were accustomed to the privileged life. Scarcely shown was their effective adjustment to a new life style that required hard work and diligence. For example, the students had their servants carry their books even from the dormitory to the school, and older students who commuted from home to school were carried by their servants. Gilmore made these observations about the quality of students:

> Soon application was made to shorten the school hours from six to four hours a day during the winter. We protested against this, but to no avail. The work was too hard, they thought,…for three months not a day's absence had marred the record of any scholar…Finally…few of…scholars with official position attended. They had a smattering of English, could talk a little, and were too indolent to work since they could get along without it.[109]

> Among the scholars in the school we had one who, being the son of a deceased prime minister, had, before reaching the age of twenty-six, gained the rank of *Cham-way*, an exceedingly elevated rank for so young a man…another student, the son of one of the prime ministers, who, though under eighteen, had already reached one of the highest grades of *Chu-sŏ*…He was very bright,…But he was lazy, and as soon as the novelty of his study of English wore off he became remiss and paid almost no attention to his work…[110]

The students had been led to attend the school under the king's order or the parents' exhortations, with their own desire to secure high-ranking positions. Favoritism and nepotism, however, were common in the government appointments, and therefore, the benefits of attending the school would not have been essential for them to obtain desired positions. In particular, the students in

[109] (Gilmore 1892, 231-32).
[110] (Gilmore 1892, 33-5).

the Left program, who had already secured positions, were not in particular need of English skills. Consequently, they soon stopped attending school.

While students' heritage and the propensities of the conservative group they belonged to interfered with the school's advancement, the instructors' adherence to Western beliefs and customs and righteous, perhaps condescending, attitudes may have also played a detrimental role. As it may be seen in Gilmore's observations, the instructors were judgmental toward the students and about the learning environment. They had been recipients of high-quality education in the United States, and it can be easily assumed that they had high expectations for the students and how a school should run accordingly. The instructors' strict teaching approach and extension of the course year may have been regarded unnecessary by the students, who had enrolled in the school with the intention to secure better positions. The two groups' misunderstandings and differences in their approaches to learning were foreseeable results of the different educational goals set by the government and the instructors. In addition, mistrust, which can reasonably be expected between two groups with widely different cultural backgrounds, may have worsened the conflicts. There are other crucial mishaps such as officials' misappropriation of school maintenance funds and the administration's inadequate handling of academic negligence such as students' absences.

Ultimately, the failure of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn is seen as the obstinate old's prevalence over the frail new. Those involved in the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, i.e., the government, the king, and the heirs of *yangban*, were the very elements that constituted the core of the old order. It would have been improbable to plant

new ideas such as English language education in the very core of the old system and then expect them to blossom within a short period of time. Another source of strength that sustained the old order was China, whose influence was still prevalent in the Chosŏn court. China sought to suppress Korea's independent, progressive endeavors and did not favor the existence of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn. Although the closure of the Chinese-controlled Tongmunhak and the establishment of the U.S.-influenced Yugyŏng Kongwŏn may exemplify the court's intention to break off from historical attitudes toward China, the untimely, progressive endeavors ended in failure. Thus, Korea's pioneering English language school ran on the same stubborn old mechanisms and became wrecked without making the substantial contributions capable of it: advancing English language education.

Missionary-Initiated English Language Education

The Korean-American Treaty of 1882 served as an important instrument for American Protestants' arrivals in Korea, in spite of the Korean government's refusal to accept the provision of freedom of religion argued for by the United States.[111] The initial accidental, but significant contact with American Protestants took place on the Korean special delegation's trip to the United States in 1883. The delegation was traveling from Chicago to Washington on a train when they met and engaged in conversation with J. F. Goucher, a Methodist minister and Dean of Goucher Woman's College in Baltimore. He invited the group to his home and donated $2,000 to the Methodist Foreign Mission Headquarters in New

[111] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 45; Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 54).

York, urging them to begin mission work in Korea.[112] The General Missionary Society decided to establish a mission in Korea and ordered Robert S. Maclay, a Methodist missionary in Japan, to go to Korea for pre-investigation. Maclay arrived in Korea in June 1884 and contacted Kim Ok-kyun, a high-ranking official of the Office of Foreign Affairs, with whom Maclay had established early contact in Japan, and asked for his assistance. Kim delivered his messages to the king, and the king approved of the mission's rendering of medical and educational services, rather than direct mission work, in June 1884.

When news of the Korean-American Treaty was received in the United States, the U.S. Northern Presbyterians showed immediate interest in mission work in Korea as well. A medical missionary who had been serving in China, Dr. Horace Newton Allen, arrived in Korea in the mien of United States legation's physician in September 1884.[113] He served as a community doctor to the legations in Seoul and did not claim to be a missionary at first because of the Korean government's prohibition of proselytism and the Chosŏn society's intolerance of Christianity. However, after his successful treatment of Min Yŏng-ik, Queen Min's nephew who had been seriously wounded during the *Kapsin* coup, he earned the confidence of the court, and his name was known to the general public in Seoul. Soon he came to concurrently serve as doctor for the royal court. This made a considerable contribution to the gradual reduction in the government's apprehension about missionaries and in its prohibition of mission work.

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[112] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 14-5).
[113] (Macdonald 1996, 41; Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 19).

On April 5, 1885, Horace G. Underwood, a missionary of the U.S. Northern Presbyterians, and Henry G. Appenzeller and his wife, of the U.S. Northern Methodists, arrived in Korea as educators.[114] Soon they were joined by representatives of other denominations from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, and Australia in various types of mission work, most notably in medical and educational fields.

Table 1. Chronological Order of Christians' Arrivals in Korea by Denomination[115]

1831	Catholic	France (Seoul, Taegu)
1884	Northern Presbyterian	U.S. (Seoul)
1885	Northern Methodist	U.S. (Seoul)
	Northern Presbyterian	U.S. (Seoul)
1889	Australian Presbyterian	Australian (Seoul)
1890	Anglican	Britain (Seoul)
	Gospel Preaching	U.S. (Seoul)
1892	Southern Presbyterian[116]	U.S. (Seoul)
1893	Canadian Presbyterian	Canada (Seoul)
1894	Southern Methodist	U.S. (Seoul)
1900	Greek Orthodox	Russia (Seoul)
1905	Seventh-Day Adventist	U.S. (Seoul)
1908	Salvation Army	Britain (Seoul)
1920	Catholic	Germany (Wŏnsan)
1923	Catholic	U.S. (P'yŏngyang)

In order to prevent the duplication of projects and unnecessary competition and to foster cooperation between different mission groups, a community arrangement was made: the Southern Presbyterians were to focus on Chŏlla and Ch'ungch'ŏng Provinces, the Australian Presbyterians on South Kyŏngsang, the Canadian mission on Hamgyŏng, and the Northern Presbyterians

[114] (Lee 1984, 334; Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 54-5).
[115] (Hosudon Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1999, 9).
[116] Officially called the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

on P'yŏngan, Hwanghae, and North Kyŏngsang.[117] In 1892, U.S. Northern Methodists and Northern Presbyterians made a further agreement, a nationwide arrangement. The principles were to share large cities with a population of more than 5,000 and to acknowledge the vested interests of the established denomination in smaller cities, and to prevent the introduction of a new one.[118]

English Language Education for the Alienated in Mission Schools

The first mission schools established in Korea by the Methodists were the Paejae Haktang (1885) and the Ewha Haktang (1886) and by the Presbyterians the Kyŏngsin School (1886) and the Chŏngsin School (1890).[119] In the early days, education at all mission schools was at the elementary level and consisted of an unstructured curriculum of English language education, mainly teaching English, Korean, and the Bible.

On August 3, 1885, Appenzeller of the U.S. Northern Methodists began teaching English to two male students. The school's initial curriculum consisted of English language instruction only. Within a year of its opening, the school received the government's approval and support. Kojong was aware of the school's focus on English language instruction and granted the name of the "Paejae Haktang," which means "the hall for the rearing of useful men" or "the

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[117] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 48). Korea consisted of fourteen provinces: the Kyŏnggi Province is the central region of the peninsula where the capital city, Seoul, is located, North and South Ch'ungch'ŏng located south of Kyŏnggi, North and South Chŏlla the southwest region, North and South Kyŏngsang the southeast region, Hwanghae north of Kyŏnggi, Kwangwŏn northeast of Kyŏnggi, North and South P'yŏngan the northwest region, North and South Hamgyŏng the northeast region, and Cheju Island. See Appendix 3-A for a Korean map.

[118] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 49).

[119] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 55). *Haktang* means learning hall or institute.

institute for making useful men," in 1886. The majority of students in the early period of the school were male adults, some of whom were married, and attended the Paejae for career opportunities in the government. Since the government was in urgent need of individuals with English skills, the school did not experience much difficulty in recruiting students, compared to other mission schools, especially girls' schools. Although Appenzeller chose English instruction to facilitate the growth of the school, he was not pleased that the school education was used solely for career advancement, and he aimed to provide college education. From the 1890s, in addition to English, the following subjects were added to the curriculum: Chinese classics, astronomy, geography, biology, mathematics, manual work, and Bible studies.[120]

Table 2. Curricula of Paejae, 1889[121]

Preparatory Department
1st semester: English reading 1, Chinese classics, Korean (or *Ŏnmun*)[122]
2nd semester: English reading 2, spelling, Chinese classics, Korean

Academic Department
1st year: English basic grammar, elementary arithmetic, reading 3 & 4, spelling, writing and singing, Chinese classics, Korean
2nd year: English grammar, arithmetic, general science, reading 5, spelling, translation, writing and singing, Chinese classics, Korean
3rd year: English grammar, English composition, arithmetic, Chinese classics, Korean, general science, system of knowledge, origin of language, fine art, singing

In general, missionaries had enormous difficulty in recruiting students. Korean society was still under the influence of the Taewŏn'gun's isolationist

[120] (Mun 1976, 9).
[121] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 53-4).
[122] *Ŏnmun* is a pejoratized term for the Korean alphabet, *han'gul*.

policy, and anti-foreign sentiment was high among the public. Baseless rumors against missionaries circulated.[123] Extra care was taken in student recruitment lest the missionaries be accused of kidnapping children. The opening of women's schools was particularly arduous. While a number of ambitious males flocked to the Paejae Haktang, a Methodist missionary, Mary Finch Scranton's efforts to recruit female students went unanswered. Women of middle or high class remained homebound and rarely had contact with outsiders. Recruitment of girls of poor families did not go easily either. In May 1886, after a long wait and many disappointments, Scranton finally received her first prospective student, a concubine of a high-ranking official who wanted to learn English to become an interpreter for Queen Min.[124] The second student was brought by her poor mother who could not support her. The school was named the Ewha Haktang *(Pearl Blossom Institute)* and became Korea's first modern women's school. Initially there was no specific curriculum, and all the subjects were taught in English through play or singing. Without the assistance of interpreters, the students lived with the missionaries in a dormitory and learned English in a natural setting. By 1890, they were already able to serve as interpreters for American doctors with Korean patients at Pogu Yŏgwan, the first hospital for women.[125] An early graduate, Kim Rot-sae recalled:[126]

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[123] Some of the rumors were that foreigners caught Korean children and ate their livers, made drugs out of their livers, took out children's eyes and replaced them with blue eyes, or pulled out children's hair and replaced it with red hair. Koreans especially were afraid of rumors that foreigners cut children's hair and made them look like female foreigners with short hair (Kim 1962, 61).
[124] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 50).
[125] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 67-8).
[126] (Ewha Women's University 1967, 65).

> When we first entered the school, they [missionaries] let us play house and taught the Lord's Prayer and hymns in English. In time, the number of missionaries increased and so did the number of subjects. They did not use interpreters but at once taught everything in English.

The curriculum of Ewha from 1886 to 1903 was as follows:

Table 3. Curriculum of Ewha Haktang, 1886-1903[127]

1886 Bible, English (speaking)
1890 English (reading, writing, composition), Chinese classics, Korean (reading, writing), geography, arithmetic & gymnastics
1891 Vocal music, organ, physiology & pharmacology
1896 general history, homemaking (sewing, embroidery) & Chinese classics

The school Underwood established had characteristics of an orphanage and of daycare. The "Underwood Haktang" or the Kyŏngsin School recruited poor students. Unlike the Paejae, instruction of Korean and Chinese classics was given priority, and English language education was provided gradually.[128] The founder of the Chŏngsin School, Annie J. Ellers, arrived in Korea in July 1886, officially invited by the Korean government as a female doctor for the royal court and high-ranking officials.[129] In the following year, Ellers began teaching orphaned girls. Thus, the school was called an orphanage or the Chŏngdong Haktang at the time.[130] Until the end of 1887, only two subjects, Bible studies and arithmetic, were taught. Because of the missionary's lack of Koreans skills, instruction was provided with the use of gestures and pictures, and more than two thirds of the instruction was given in English.

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[127] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 340).
[128] (Choe 1989, 30).
[129] (Kim 1962, 45).
[130] Chŏngdong was the name of the area where the school was located.

The Korean government played an indirect, but important role in the expansion of English language education by mission schools: the king's decision to allow missionary work in the field of education made possible the opening of mission schools, where immersion-style English language education was provided. Further, the king's interest in English language education extended to Appenzeller's Paejae Haktang, which focused on English language instruction and catered its curriculum to the governmental need for individuals with English skills. The king's special interest in the school prompted him to grant the school its name, and within a short period of time, the Paejae became a recognized institution where many ambitious, able Korean men passed through, while other mission schools were having enormous difficulties in recruiting students against the highly-biased, anti-foreign public. Appenzeller's strategies were, therefore, exceedingly clever ones.

One of the important differences in English language instruction offered at mission schools from the government-sponsored English language education was that the instruction was offered to students regardless of their heritage and, what's more, alienated, underprivileged members of the society, such as women, children of the poor, and orphans, were targeted. Despite their difficult, discouraging beginning, a majority of mission schools continued to grow and became the premier secondary or higher educational institutions in contemporary Korea, while government-sponsored institutions with their auspicious starts met an early demise.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

During the formation period of English language education in Korea (1883-1894), the government functioned as the initiator and driving force. It introduced the English language to Koreans by opening the first English language school and the subsequent English language school for the ruling class. The establishment of the schools was a part of the government's progressive endeavors, that is, the political leaders' efforts to strengthen their vulnerable, declining country that had just been forced onto the international stage by foreign imperialistic powers. The king's and his associates' keen interest in English language education was due to their perception of the United States as the supreme world power.

Because English language education in Korea was in its incipient stage, it was perhaps inevitable that the government's contributions to the education had several shortcomings. The government set limited educational goals for the English language schools: it intended to provide short-term technical training to produce English language specialists that would satisfy the government's immediate needs. The Tongmunhak was set up as a one-year training program of interpreters and produced graduates in an even shorter period of time. In the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, the government attempted to train sons of the *yangban* to be high-ranking officials with an English capability within a minimum length of time required. This policy clashed with the goals of the American instructors, whose aim was to provide a more comprehensive curriculum that included college

education. The conflicts between the two groups in all likelihood hastened the closure of the school.

As the designer of an unexplored course, the government lacked the knowledge of how an English language program should be run and what qualifications should be applied in the employment of instructors. It hired instructors with little background in language education. It is not clear if the instructors were aware of any language teaching methods, such as the Berlitz Method, which was popular in Europe at the time, and/or if they applied the methods in class in a systematic manner if in fact they were familiar with them. The government's employment policy of foreign instructors seemed to be that as long as one was a native speaker of the English language, he was acceptable. For the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, the government made a large investment to bring in high-quality instructors, but while they might have been recipients of extensive education in the United States, they had few experiences as language educators.

Although the introduction of English language education was a part of the government's progressive endeavors, its initiator and sustainer was the royal court, which had been the core defender of Chosŏn's Confucian values for centuries. No sooner had it introduced English language education than its elitism prevailed: the less class-conscious Tongmunhak was immediately abolished and replaced by a school for the aristocrats, Yugyŏng Kongwŏn. Such an approach to English language education affirmed that the court was a stronghold of traditional values and thus revealed inherent limitations in its progressive efforts. Moreover, the government's support for English language education benefited only limited

members of Chosŏn society, men and the ruling class, while women were completely ignored and deprived of the education. Instead, mission schools entered as the main provider of English language instruction for the most alienated members of the society, including women.

Also manifest in the nascent development of English language education was the existence of strong foreign influence. The Tongmunhak was established and maintained by Chinese associates. In the case of the opening of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, it appeared that the Korean government made an attempt to break from the Chinese influence, but the school met an early end. It can be easily assumed that the hindrance of China, which suppressed the Korean government's progressive undertakings, was among the various factors that brought about the school's demise.

Chapter 4: The First National Regulations for English Language Education, 1895-1905

OVERVIEW OF THE PERIOD

By mid nineteenth century, Chosŏn's strength was weakening, marred by internal ills and threats of outside aggression. Corruption was prevalent among the government and local officials and brought enormous misery to the peasantry. *Tonghak* (*Eastern Learning*), a mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism with some elements of shamanistic beliefs and Catholicism, began to spread among the peasants in the 1850s and became an important anti-foreign social movement by the 1860s. In the 1890s, the *Tonghak* movement developed into extensive peasant rebellions against the corrupt political system and increasing foreign aggression.[131] In 1894, it exploded into a radical rebellion with a military capability. The central government could not suppress the uprising; thus, the panicked government sought China's military assistance. Seeing this as a chance to secure its weakening position in Chosŏn, China quickly sent troops. As this information was conveyed to the Japanese government, it too dispatched soldiers. By June 10, 1894 the rebellion had been suppressed, but troops from both countries continued to arrive. The presence of the two rival nations' forces began to create enormous tension within the peninsula. Kojong asked the two powers to remove their troops from his country. China suggested a mutual withdrawal, but

[131] The doctrine was introduced by Ch'oe Che-u (1824-1864). After Ch'oe's execution, the movement went underground before it revived thirty years later in the 1890s (Lee 1984, 258 & 283).

Japan refused. On July 23, 1894, the Japanese forces took over the palace and had the king taken into custody.[132]

Under the influence of Japan, comprehensive modernization reforms called the *Kabo Reforms* were carried out, and the Korean government introduced the first modern school regulations. Two days after the invasion of the court, Japanese warships attacked Chinese ships, and so began the first Sino-Japanese War. Japanese forces defeated the Chinese in battle after battle.[133] In early 1895, the war ended in Japan's victory. In the resulting Treaty of Shimonoseki, China was forced to acknowledge Chosŏn's sovereignty. Chosŏn's long traditional relationship with China was finally broken; Japan cleared the way for its dominance over Chosŏn.[134]

Japan's dominance was challenged, however, when it was compelled to withdraw from the newly acquired Liaotung Peninsula by Russia, France, and Germany. Taking advantage of the situation, the Chosŏn government attempted to free itself from Japan's control. Queen Min, the powerful wife of Kojong, and her followers turned to Russia and succeeded in removing pro-Japanese officials from the government. In a desperate attempt to recapture its dominance, Japan carried out an assassination of Queen Min in October 1895. Koreans were outraged by this Japanese act of bold savagery, and pro-Japanese reforms were met with intense opposition. Korean men in particular stubbornly rebelled against

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[132] (Cumings 1997, 119).

[133] In October 1894 while Japan and China engaged in the war, a large-scale peasant uprising, where over one hundred thousand people participated, erupted in Chŏlla and Ch'ungch'ŏng. The Japanese forces battled against the insurgents as well and put down the rebels within a week or so.

[134] (Lee 1984, 289). The Treaty of Shimonoseki also allowed Japan to claim the Liaotung Peninsula and Taiwan from China. Chinese and Korean relations were renewed fifty years later.

the ordinance prohibiting top-knots, which forced them to wear short, Western-style hair, and there were uprisings across the country. During this commotion, Russia dispatched one hundred marines to Seoul, and, in February 1896, Russians went into the palace and brought Kojong into their legation. Kojong, fearing for his own life after Queen Min's assassination, assisted the escape and remained in the Russian legation for one year.

The public was critical of the king's refuge in a foreign legation and the government allowing foreigners to constantly exploit the country. In response to this popular sentiment, in February 1897, Kojong returned to his palace and declared himself emperor, forgoing the traditional title, "king," to make manifest the independence of the country. In August, he changed his reign's name to *Kwangmu* (*"Martial Brilliance"*); on October 12, 1897, Chosŏn became the "Great Han Empire" or "Imperial Korea" (*Taehan Cheguk*) and Kojong the Emperor of Great Han.[135] Nationalistic sentiments were on the rise: there was an independence movement led by progressive intellectuals influenced by Western liberalism.[136] The government was under the sway of the conservative segment of politics at the time and favored gradual reforms, called the *Kwangmu Reforms,* a departure from the earlier more radical, hastily implemented *Kabo Reforms*.

The rivalry between Russia and Japan over the peninsula was fierce, but the two agreed to temporary concessions in April 1898 that neither would interfere with Korea's internal affairs. Although troubled by Russia's expansion

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[135] (Lee 1984, 301).

[136] The first established and the most active political organization of this inclination was the Independence Club, founded in 1896.

in Korea and in the Far East, Japan was not yet willing to counteract it. Instead, it focused on the economic exploitation of Korea. Simultaneously, Russia was occupied with its advances into Manchuria. These mutual concessions were, nonetheless, short-lived, and Russian and Japanese aggressions toward Korea intensified. With no diplomatic solutions attained, Japan took military action and attacked Russia in February 1904. In January 1904, one month before the attack, Japan sent troops to Korea and forced the government to sign a protocol agreement that required its acceptance of Japanese counsels on matters of governmental administration. In accordance with a new agreement of August 1904, Japanese or Japanese-associate advisers were installed in the Korean ministries, resulting in the Korean government's relinquishing administrative authority to Japan.

Japan defeated Russia, and the Treaty of Portsmouth ending the Russo-Japanese War was concluded in September 1905, under the mediation of the American president, Theodore Roosevelt, who favored Japanese control of Korea over Russia's expansion. With the international seal of approval, Japan finally succeeded in removing all hurdles against its domination of Korea and was given a free hand to colonize the country. The Protectorate Treaty was concluded in November 1905, allowing Japan full authority over Korea's foreign affairs: Korea was now prohibited from establishing any treaties or international agreements without the intervention of the Japanese government.

FOUNDATION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION FOR THE PUBLIC DURING KABO REFORMS

After the Japanese invasion of the court in July 1894, a pro-Japanese government was formed, and the cabinet created the Deliberative Council (*Kun'guk Kimuchŏ*), a special reform organ with legislative powers. The Council introduced 208 reform laws during the five months of its existence.[137] The reforms taken from the establishment of the Deliberative Council to February 1896, when Kojong escaped to the Russian legation, are referred to as the *Kabo Reforms*.[138] The reforms were far-reaching, covering Korea's politics, economy, and education. Along with a reorganization of government structure, drastic social reforms, such as the abolition of the class status system, were introduced.[139] The most extensive effects of the Reforms were observed in the area of education.[140]

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[137] (Yi 1982, 19). The Council existed from July 27, 1894 to December 16 of the same year.
[138] (Yu 1992, 52). *Kabo*, the year of horse, refers to the year 1894.
[139] The government system was restructured into two bodies, Department of the Royal Household (*Kungnaebu*) and State Council (*Uijŏngbu*). Eight offices of internal affairs, foreign affairs, finance, defense, justice, education, industry, and agriculture and commerce were under the authority of a prime minister. The traditional state exam system, *Kwagŏ Chedo*, was abolished, and a new government employment system was adopted. Class distinction was dissolved, and the possession and trading of slaves were banned. Socially alienated or stigmatized groups such as actors and the *paekchŏng,* those who engaged in execution, butchery, leatherwork, and wickerwork, were liberated.
[140] The Office of Education was separated from the previous Office of Protocol (*Yejo*) and now dealt exclusively with educational matters. The Office of Education consisted of six bureaus under the Minister and the Vice-Minister. The bureaus and their functions were: Bureau of General Affairs in charge of general affairs of all bureaus; Bureau of *Sŏnggyun'gwan* and *Sowŏn* Affairs; Bureau of Special Affairs responsible for middle schools, colleges, art schools, the Foreign Language Schools and professional schools; Bureau of Regular Affairs responsible for primary and normal schools; Editing Bureau responsible for translation and editing of textbooks; and Accounting Bureau (Yu and Kim 1998, 26).

Introduction of Modern Education[141]

As Chosŏn adopted Confucian philosophy as the national ideology, Chosŏn's education concentrated on the teaching of Chinese classics. Chinese classics written in Chinese were used as textbooks.[142] The educational institutions were divided into state-run institutions of higher learning and middle-level education and private institutions mainly of primary education. *Sŏnggyun'gwan* (House of Higher Education or National Confucian Academy), established in 1398, was Chosŏn's premier educational institution and produced the country's social-political leaders; specifically, it prepared students for the higher civil service examination called *Taegwa* (Great State Examination).[143] Concerning secondary educational institutions, the government established four government schools, *sahak* (Four Schools), in Seoul and in each county sponsored a *hyanggyo* (County School), run by the local administration. *Sŏdang* (village study halls) were the primary-level private institutions of education, found in villages throughout the country.[144] Beginning with *sŏdang*, which sons of the *yangban* (the aristocracy) attended from an early age, Chosŏn's educational system was tailored to the *yangban*. The *chungin* class (middle class) applied themselves to specialized technical studies, e.g., foreign languages and medicine, which were

[141] As noted, a 'modern' school indicates a school with a Western curriculum, as opposed to the traditional curriculum of Chinese classics.
[142] Some of the Confucian classics were *Analects of Confucius, The Doctrine of the Mean, The Great Learning, The Book of Rites, and The Book of Piety* (Rhee 1989, 52).
[143] (Kim 2000, 17). The school limited its enrollment to 200 students who had passed the lower civil service examinations (Library of Congress 1990a).
[144] In general, state schools retained prominence and prestige but when their quality suffered, *sowŏn*, private academies established by individual scholars and former officials, became prevalent (Lee 1989). By the nineteenth century, the number reached 300, but many of them were abolished decades before the introduction of modern schools, branded as the hotbed of fervent factional activities (Macdonald 1996, 84).

slighted by the literati, as provided by the corresponding government offices, such as the Office of Translators and the Palace Medical Office.[145] Formal educational opportunities for women were non-existent.

In 1894, the Deliberative Council announced the introduction of a modern educational system and agreed upon the establishment of primary schools, middle schools, professional schools, universities, technical schools, foreign language schools, and normal schools.[146] In August, immediately after its establishment, the Office of Education explained the introduction of education for the public in the following proclamation:[147]

> Looking back, the times have changed drastically. All our systems have to change, but the matter that calls our immediate attention is the education of the gifted. To achieve this, the government is trying to establish primary schools and normal schools in Seoul first. Thus, everyone from the sons of *yangban* to those of the commoners, enters these schools and learns by day and practices by night…it is our wish to cultivate strength to save the nation…and to utilize it in the internal and foreign affairs.

The government enacted and promulgated several modern school regulations, such as the government regulations for the Hansŏng Normal School on April 16, 1895 and the ordinance for primary schools on July 19, 1895.[148] The *Kabo Reforms* were carried out under Japanese control; therefore, it was inevitable that the reform measures were intended as vehicles facilitating Japan's economic and political aggression against Korea. Despite this shortcoming, the reforms are still considered one of the most significant events in the history of Korea's education. The government had earlier opened two modern schools, the

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[145] (Lee 1984, 181).
[146] (Lee 1999a, 161).
[147] (Chong and Yi 1994, 43).
[148] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 64).

Tongmunhak and the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, and there had been private modern education by foreign missionaries and Korean civilians, e.g., Paejae Haktang and Wŏnsan Haksa (Wŏnsan Academy).[149] The reforms, however, introduced national laws that permitted the establishment of modern schools for the public.

With the establishment of new schools, the existence of Confucianism-focused schools was threatened, and in 1896 the old system finally yielded to the new Western one.[150] The transition was hastened by the abolition of the state examination, or *Kwagŏ*, system in 1895. The school system during Chosŏn dynasty was intrinsically connected to the *Kwagŏ* system, for formal study of Confucianism was the vehicle of Korean elite to official posts or appointments. With the abolishment of this system, traditional educational institutions lost their reason for existence. *Sahak* in Seoul were immediately abolished and *hyanggyo* in other regions took up only the functions of Confucian shrines performing sacrificial rites.[151] The *Sŏnggyun'gwan* was maintained, but a Western curriculum that included the subjects of Korean geography, world history and geography, and arithmetic were added to the traditional curriculum.[152] *Sŏdang* also survived but later adopted features of new schools as well: *han'gŭl*, Japanese, and arithmetic were included in the curriculum.[153] The Confucian classics gradually became the subject of specialized scholarly study.

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[149] The Wŏnsan Academy, founded in 1883, is considered the first modern private school in Korea.
[150] (Underwood 1926, 11).
[151] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 53).
[152] (Yu 1992, 59).
[153] (Underwood 1926, 179).

The government's support of new schools was not inclusive of women's education: government-sponsored or public education remained beyond their reach, as it had in the traditional educational system. Mission schools were the only institutions that offered educational opportunities for women.

Use of the Korean Alphabet

While Korean has been the sole language spoken in the peninsula, Korea did not have a native writing system until the fifteenth century, when the Korean script later called "*han'gŭl*" was invented by King Sejong (1418-1450) and his court scholars. *Han'gŭl* faithfully represents the phonemes of the spoken Korean language, and linguists regard it as one of the most scientific writing systems ever invented.[154] Its facility is notable as a Korean saying goes, "an intelligent man could learn *han'gŭl* in a morning's time, while even a fool could master it in ten days."[155] However, *han'gŭl*'s accessibility earned the literati's contempt, and the alphabet was not accepted by the *yangban,* who considered knowledge of the more difficult Chinese writing system more prestigious. Consequently, official records and a majority of literary works continued to be written in Chinese, and the use of *han'gŭl* was limited mainly to women and commoners.

To examine the name changes of the alphabet is to understand the values given to the writing system by Koreans. King Sejong, the creator of the alphabet, called it *Hunmin chŏngŭm* ("the Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the

[154] (Library of Congress 1990b; Ramsey 1998, 198).
[155] (Macdonald 1996, 302).

People"), reflecting his concerns with the education of the common people, as expressed in the preface he wrote for the alphabet system:[156]

> The sounds of our language differ from those of China and are not easily conveyed in Chinese writing. Therefore, among the ignorant people, there have been many who, having something they want to put into words, have in the end been unable to express their feelings. I have been distressed because of this, and have newly designed twenty-eight letters, which I wish to have everyone practice at their ease and make convenient for their daily use.

However, seen as a written medium for women and merchants, members of society that were not given much respect by Chosŏn society, the alphabet was pejoratized as *Ŏnmun* ("vernacular"/"vulgar script"). The more deferential term, *han'gŭl*, ("great writing" or "Korean writing") was introduced by the Korean linguist Chu Si-gyŏng in the second decade of the twentieth century.

In 1894, during the *Kabo Reforms*, Kojong announced the use of Korean script as well as Chinese writing in official documents and made several official pronouncements, such as the fourteen articles entitled "Guiding Principles for the Nation" (*Hongbŏm*), in Korean, Chinese, and a mixture of Korean and Chinese, rather than maintaining the traditional way of announcing them in Chinese only.[157] The Ministry of Education published *People's Elementary Readers* (1894) in order to aid in teaching Korean as a written language.[158] In 1897, Kojong announced a policy of using a mixture of Korean script with Chinese characters in official announcements.[159]

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[156] (Lee 1984, 192; Ramsey 1998, 203).
[157] (Kim 1994, 23). *Hongbŏm 14 Articles* are considered Korea's first constitution (Yu 1992, 52).
[158] (Rhee 1989, 51).
[159] (Rhee 1997, 54). The Korean vocabulary includes many borrowed words from Classical Chinese. These words include approximately 10 percent of the basic nouns and a number of technical terms. In a typical mixture of *han'gul* and Chinese characters, the borrowed words are

Progressive intellectuals displayed favorable attitudes toward the Korean script. In 1885, the first Korean-Chinese language newspaper, *Hansŏng Chubo*, was published. A popular newspaper first issued on April 7, 1896, *The Independent*, or *Tongnip Sinmun*, carried articles on a variety of issues in Korean and English, helping to elevate the public's regard for the script.[160] Further, new private schools founded by Koreans employed *han'gŭl* in classes.[161] Korean Christians and missionaries made important contributions to the distribution of the alphabet by introducing school subjects and texts in Korean and the Korean-translated Bible.

Beginning of Primary Schools and Foreign Language Education

The ordinance for primary schools of July 19, 1895 was the first educational ordinance that aimed to provide public education. According to Article 2, there were three types of primary schools: government, public, and private.[162] Government schools were those established by the central government, and public schools under the provincial or the country authorities. The difference between government schools and public schools lay in who maintained administration and authority over the school. Public schools were managed and supported by local administration, whereas the central government controlled government schools. "Public" did not necessarily mean free education.

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written in Chinese, generally for the purpose of explaining technical terms or clarifying meanings. However, this practice is not as common as in the past, and the usage of *han'gul* only is generally preferred among contemporary Koreans (Encyclopædia Britannica 2001).

[160] (Kim 1994, 23-4).

[161] (Tsurumi 1984, 295).

[162] (Chong and Yi 1994, 248).

The first government primary school opened in August 1895, and by 1900 the number of government primary schools increased to ten, eight of which were located in Hansŏng (Seoul).[163] Before the establishment of the Japanese regency-general in 1906, government primary schools produced 950 graduates of the common course and 139 graduates of the advanced course on eleven occasions. The number of public primary schools established between 1896 and 1906 was 110, with thirty-eight in 1896 and thirty-nine in 1897.[164] The exact number of the graduates of public primary schools during this period is not known, but it is estimated to be close to ten thousand because large schools averaged three to four classes, with each class containing thirty students.[165]

Although the ordinance stipulated that a foreign language be taught as an elective in the three-year common course and the two- or three-year advanced course, the languages were not specified (Article 7).[166] The outline of primary school regulations of August 12, 1895 provided guidelines for the instruction of foreign language as follows:

> Foreign language has been added as a subject because of the realization of a need for its provided knowledge in our future lives. Teach the students easy words, phrases, sentences, grammar, and writing and simple conversation and correspondence in the foreign language. While in instruction, always pay attention to pronunciation and grammar and use accurate national language to help understand meanings (Article 12).

The guidelines suggested that foreign language instruction encompass the structural aspect of language learning, i.e., grammar, as well as the practical

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[163] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 53).
[164] (Chong and Yi 1994, 107, 20).
[165] The number of primary school students in 1910 was 20,562 (Zeng 1996, 58), while the general population was 13,128,780 (Underwood 1926, 231).
[166] (Yu 1992, 53-4).

aspect, e.g., conversation and correspondence, while providing simple knowledge of the foreign language.

Table 4. Subjects for Common Course (Article 8), Ordinance for Primary Schools[167]

Ethics
Reading (Korean, easy Chinese)
Writing (")
Penmanship (Korean, mixture of Korean and Chinese)
Arithmetic
ELECTIVES:
Gymnastics
National (Korean) geography
National history
Drawing
Foreign language
Sewing for girls

Subjects for Advanced Course (Article 9)

Ethics
Reading (mixture of Korean and Chinese)
Writing (")
Penmanship (Korean and mixture of Korean and Chinese)
Arithmetic
National geography
National history
Science
Gymnastics
ELECTIVES:
Foreign language
Foreign geography
Foreign history
Drawing
Sewing for girls

Despite the stipulation of the ordinance, foreign language did not become a part of the primary school curriculum. The subjects actually taught in

[167] (Chong and Yi 1994, 248).

classrooms were limited to reading, writing, penmanship, arithmetic, topography, science, and chemistry according to a *Hwangsŏng Sinmun* article of December 23, 1897.[168] The same newspaper reported on July 5, 1899 that the subjects on the semester's final examinations were reading, penmanship, writing, arithmetic, history and topography, and there was no reference to foreign languages.

One noteworthy feature of the ordinance was that Korean reading and writing were stipulated as regular subjects. As the first national ordinance of education, its inclusion of the instruction of *han'gŭl* reveals that the government was serious about its intention to promote the distribution of the Korean alphabet.

Notwithstanding the fact that no foreign language was taught in practice, the ordinance carries considerable significance as the first government policy of foreign language education intended for the public. It is only a recent phenomenon, over one hundred years after the promulgation of the ordinance, that English or foreign language education has been reintroduced into Korea's primary schools. Unfortunately, the inclusion of foreign language is believed to have resulted from Japanese influence: the ordinance was enacted during the *Kabo Reforms*, when strong Japanese dominance was present. Valid arguments have been made that the intent of the ordinance's stipulation concerning foreign language was to lay the groundwork needed to later impose the Japanese language on Koreans. In 1906, one year after the conclusion of the Protectorate Treaty, the Japanese-controlled government promulgated new ordinances where the subject

[168] (Chong and Yi 1994, 107). *Hwangsong Sinmun*, published in a mixture of Chinese and Korean, was founded by Namgung Ŏk in 1898. It represented views of the Confucianist reformists and appealed to middle- and upper-class readers who were knowledgeable of classical Chinese (Lee 1984, 329).

of foreign language was removed from the primary-school curriculum; instead, the Japanese language was introduced as a required subject. Moreover, foreign language was not stipulated as a subject in the Hansŏng Normal School regulations of July 23, 1895. The subjects for the regular course (two years) specified by the regulations were ethics, education, Korean writing, Chinese classics, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, study of nature, penmanship, composition, and gymnastics and for the intensive course (six months) ethics, education, Korean writing, Chinese classics, history, geography, penmanship, composition, and gymnastics.[169] Thus, normal school students, who were trained to become primary school teachers, were neither required nor given the choice to take a foreign language.[170] This shows that the inclusion of foreign language was ascribed for reasons other than educational considerations, i.e., Japan's political motivation.

At the normal school, even though no foreign language was taught as a subject, there is some evidence that English was used as the instructional language in some classes. Homer B. Hulbert, a former instructor of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, was recruited as an adjunct instructor due to a shortage of qualified teachers and taught from 1897 to 1902.[171]

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[169] (Chong and Yi 1994, 242).
[170] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 53).
[171] (Chong and Yi 1994, 18 & 109). However, the use of foreign instructors was less than effective due to the students' lack of understanding in their languages.

English Language School as a Part of Foreign Language School

The English Language School opened in February of 1894 in the location where the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn had been.[172] The royal court placed an English man, W. du F. Hutchison, who had been teaching English at the Naval Academy in Kanghwa, in charge of the new school. The school opened with sixty-four students, including four from the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, some of Hutchison's previous students, and students whom the government dispatched. T. E. Halifax, an instructor from the Tongmunhak, also joined the school.

It appeared the school curriculum was not restricted to English language education: students wore uniforms and received regular military drills from a master sergeant trained at a British Naval Academy. It is reported that in May 1894, after watching a military drill contest held at the Russian legation, Kojong praised Hutchison and Halifax for the students' uniform and performance.[173]

In accordance with the government regulations for the Foreign Language School promulgated on May 10, 1895, the English Language School was merged with the Japanese Language School, which had been open since June 1891, and the two schools became the Foreign Language School. However, the integration was a matter of formality: the two schools remained in different locations and maintained separate financial accounts.[174]

From the early period of the dynasty, the Chosŏn government trained interpreters and translators of Chinese, Japanese, and the languages of other

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[172] (Lee 1999a, 166).
[173] (O 1980, 36-7).
[174] (Yi 1978, 16; Yu and Kim 1998, 34). Branches of the Japanese Language School opened in Inch'ŏn and P'yŏngyang in 1895 (Yu 1992, 48).

neighboring countries, and the training institute was called the Sayŏgwŏn (Interpretation Institute). Interpretation was a patrimonial profession of the *chungin* class.[175] During the *Kabo Reforms*, however, the Sayŏgwŏn and the traditional status system were abolished. The government decided to open foreign language schools to meet the demands of translators and interpreters of new languages. After the merger of the English and Japanese language schools, the government opened a French and a Chinese language school, respectively in 1895 and in 1896, and merged these two into the Foreign Language School.[176]

The Foreign Language School was managed by the central government. According to the government regulations for the Foreign Language School, the Minister of Education had full authority of the school's management, deciding everything from language types taught to the establishment of institution branches to the number of foreign instructors needed.[177] It was also stipulated that government or local officials could be appointed as the principal or the clerks, and foreign instructors be given the same treatment as government officials.

The failure of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn did not seem to dampen the government's keen interest in English language education. The government did not skip a beat, recruiting British instructors and reorganizing the failed school into a new English language school as soon as it became inoperable. The Chosŏn

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[175] Sayŏgwŏn, reorganized from Tongmun'gwan (Circular Office) in 1275, had been an institution responsible for foreign language translation, interpretation, research and education in the Koryŏ dynasty. Koryŏ (918-1392) had frequent contact with the neighboring countries and trained interpreters for the Chinese, Kitan, Mongolian, Ch'ing and Japanese languages. When the Chosŏn government established the same named Sayŏgwŏn in 1393, only Chinese was taught, but later study of Mongolia, Japan, and Ch'ing was added (Yu 1992, 18).
[176] (Yu 1992, 58).
[177] See Appendix 4-A for the regulations.

government further strengthened foreign language education by opening new language schools and gave them structure by integrating them under the name of the Foreign Language School. As had been the case with the Tongmunhak and the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, the English Language School and the Foreign Language School were products of the government's modernization efforts, and it was the driving force for the schools' establishment and the *sine qua non* of their sustenance.

Government-sponsored English Program at Paejae Haktang

Upon the failure of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, the court decided to open a joint English training program with the Paejae Haktang as another alternative to train English language specialists. In February 1895, the government entered into a contract with the Paejae. The contract stipulated that it send the Paejae as many as two hundred students and pay some of the instructors' salaries as well as the students' tuition. The trainees were guaranteed positions in the government. The "Paejae Haktang Agreement" was signed by the Office of Foreign Affairs and Appenzeller and specified the purpose of the program and management guidelines:[178]

> This school will educate two hundred students that the Chosŏn government dispatches. The students must observe all the regulations required for language learning.
>
> The students learn English, and at times required subjects (geography, mathematics, chemistry, medicine, etc.) may be added. The students must follow the instructor's instructions.

[178] (Yu and Kim 1998, 18-9).

> The instructor has the sole authority of admission and removal of students…
>
> …the Office of Education pays the Haktang for the students' expenses for paper, pens, and ink…
>
> At the end of each month, the number and the names of the students should be reported to the Office of Foreign Affairs…
>
> Except for faults or lack of ability, the students cannot be admitted or withdraw without reasons during the course of three years.
>
> When the number of the students reaches two hundred, three or four instructors (foreign instructors) are required and they will not be paid. The positions of assistant instructor will be filled with Koreans, and for every fifty students one assistant instructor should be requested. These instructors get paid… monthly…if they do not fulfill their educational duties, the government dismisses them.
>
> Five copies of this contract are prepared, with three kept at the Offices of Education, Foreign Affairs, and Finance, and the remaining two copies at the American legation and the Haktang.
>
> On January 22 of the Year 504 since the opening of Chosŏn (February 16, 1895), Hyŏn Chae, *Chusa* of the Office of Foreign Affairs, prepared this agreement following the Minister's order.[179]
>
> H.G. Appenzeller, Instructor of the Paejae Haktang

The contract stipulated that the program was a three-year course. While the management of the school was the responsibility of the government, e.g., the school was required to report the number of students every month, and the government was to provide instructors' salaries, except for those of the missionaries, the school appeared to be solely responsible for the quality of the

[179] *Chusa* is a position of junior official.

program. The contract stipulated that the Paejae train up to 200 government-sponsored students, but the actual number of students was lower.

Table 5. Number of Registered Students in the English Department at Paejae[180]

1894	9/1895	10	11	12	1/1896	2	3	4	5	6
34	50	66	74	75	82	91	92	95	97	110

Some of the students from the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn were transferred to the Paejae program. *A 100-year history of Paejae, 1885-1985* reveals that the transfer students first reacted against Paejae's strict regulations and academic atmosphere but grew to accept them over time.[181] The government-sponsored program allowed the Paejae Haktang a higher recognition among the public. The program lasted for five years from 1897 to Appenzeller's death from drowning in 1902.

In the wake of Appenzeller's death, the Paejae came under the joint management of the U.S. Southern and Northern Methodists. As government support was terminated, the school suffered a financial crisis. Nonetheless, today, the Paejae Haktang, or presently the Paejae Middle and High School, has grown to be one of the most well-known institutions of secondary education in Korea. This is a noteworthy development in comparison to the fate of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn. At its outset, the future of Paejae appeared far less auspicious than that of Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, which set out with the government's enormous investment and the king's direct involvement. While the Paejae continued to progress, the

[180] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 65-6).
[181] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 67).

Yugyŏng Kongwŏn met its demise too soon. Some of the marked differences between the two schools are that the Paejae, as a private school, was less vulnerable to political currents whirling through the government and that the school was open to students from all classes, regardless of their lineage or social standing. The government-administered Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, on the other hand, was at the whims of various political machinations and was established on the foundation of the existing class system, limiting its admissions to a highly exclusive group of the ruling class. Paejae students' motivation and eagerness to acquire English skills far exceeded those of the students of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, for such skills opened doors or chances to advance in the highly class-bound society that would otherwise have been denied for them. Paejae students and graduates actively participated in Korea's progressive, independence movement. Yi Sŭng-man (Syngman Rhee), who led the Korean Provisional Government, a Korean government in exile established in 1919, and Chu Si-gyŏng, a leading scholar in the standardization of *han'gŭl* spelling and usage, were students at the Paejae in the 1890s.[182] It is also telling that among those who passed through the doors of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn was Yi Wan-yong, who as prime minister "sold" the country to the Japanese by signing the 1910 annexation treaty and is considered the country's arch traitor.

The government had a limited, myopic vision for both the English program at the Paejae and the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn: its aim was to produce those with sufficient English skills in a short period of time to meet immediate societal,

[182] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 126).

governmental needs. Accordingly the students took advantage of these opportunities for their career advancement mainly. Thus, there were few graduates who made notable contributions to the field of English language education in Korea.

EXPANSION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION DURING KWANGMU REFORMS

Growth of English Language School

During the *Kwangmu* Era, government-sponsored foreign language schools that were unlike other government schools came into being. The Russian Language School opened in February 1896, when Russia exercised large influence over the royal court, and the Chinese Language School, which had been temporarily closed during the Sino-Japanese War, reopened in May 1897.[183] By September 1898, with the opening of the German Language School, there existed six branches of the Foreign Language School, including the previously established English, Japanese, and French language schools.[184]

In addition to the direct regulations and management of the schools, the government's keen interest in foreign language education was exhibited in its further supportive efforts, such as high-ranking officials' attendance at the schools' graduations and the government's recognition of honor students. Kojong himself invited foreign language instructors to the court.

The government announced the Foreign Language School regulations, composed of five sections and twenty-eight articles, on June 27, 1900, following

[183] (Yu and Kim 1998, 35).
[184] (Yi 1978, 17).

the promulgation of the government regulations for the Foreign Language School in 1895.[185] It was stipulated that the goal of the school was "to teach foreign languages"; the common subjects for all programs were reading and writing in Chinese classics, national history, and topography (Section 1. Article 1). By including subjects other than languages, the government appeared to attempt to offer broader education than simple language training programs. The programs of Oriental languages, i.e. Japanese and Chinese, required three-year studies while those of Western languages five years (1.3).[186]

The school was based on a semester system, with the spring semester from January 4th to the summer vacation and the fall semester from the opening day of school in the fall to December 30th (2.2). Instruction was to be given five hours a day, although this may have varied according to season. (3.1).

Students were admitted twice a year, in the beginning of the spring and fall semesters (4.1). An age limit was applied: those between fifteen and twenty-three were admitted (4.2) and their admissions were decided by consent among the principal, the instructor, and the assistant instructor and by their performance on the entrance exams, which tested reading and writing in Korean and Chinese classics (4.3). Students were provided with stationery, and textbooks were loaned to them (1.4).

Transfers were discouraged: even if a transfer student passed the entrance exams, his admission was prohibited (4.4), and transfer to another school while in

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[185] (Yu and Kim 1998, 36). See also Appendices 4-B and 4-C.

[186] Section 1 Article 3 was revised on March 4, 1902; the number of years required for the completion of Japanese and Chinese programs increased from three to four.

the program was cause for expulsion. To deter dropouts and to promote students' responsible work, strict rules of withdrawal and expulsion were applied. Students were not allowed to withdraw except in the case of illness or accident:[187]

> Once a student is admitted, withdrawals are not permitted, unless there is an illness or unavoidable accident and the student and the sponsor co-sign and petition a request to the school. The illness or the accident then will be investigated and precise reasons will be examined. The instructor and the assistant instructor will discuss the matter and submit a report with a request to the principal, and then permission will be given (4.7).

One was to be expelled for his poor behavior, violation of the school rules, poor grades, irresponsible schoolwork or participation in improper activities, or one-week absence (4.8). Further, expelled students were to be reported in the government gazette and government offices were notified to prevent their employment, and they were also prohibited from transferring to another school (4.9). This provision seems particularly harsh, but the government seemed to be taking all possible measures to discourage students' laxity toward schoolwork. Nevertheless, it is not certain how faithfully or to what extent the government enforced these rules. Student performance was to be evaluated by monthly exams, summer and winter recitations, and graduation exams (5.1 & 5.7).

When the school first opened, most students were of the *chungin* class, even though the class system had been abolished. As time progressed, students of *yangban* and the commoner backgrounds began entering the school. Equal opportunities of admissions may have been guaranteed by the law, but practices of gender discrimination were patent: throughout the life of the school, no female students were admitted. Women were by and large excluded from the benefits of

[187] (Yi 1969, 40).

the government-sponsored English education. Mission schools such as the Ewha Haktang led women's education and, particularly, English language education.

The number of students at the Foreign Language School mirrored Korea's political climate, fluctuating according to the degree of importance foreign nations held in Korea. For instance, as discussed earlier, in 1894, while Japan and China were engaging in a war, the Chinese Language School was temporarily closed. In 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese seized the building of the Russian Language School, the Russian instructor returned to his country, and the school was closed. Nevertheless, throughout the existence of the school, the English Language School maintained the highest number of students.

Table 6. Number of Students at Foreign Language Schools, 1891-1906 [188]

	Chinese	Russian	French	**English**	Japanese	German
1891	35				100	
1896		56	17		30	
1897	40	79	35	**110**	86; Inch'ŏn 44[189]	
1898	35	88	100	**110**	100	
1901	32	37	37	**70**	57	25
1906	54		44	**127**	88	20

In addition to the United States' sway over the court, e.g., Kojong' maintenance of close contact with American diplomats in Seoul, most of the Western utilites available in Korea at the time, such as electricity, trolley cars, water system, and telephones, had been built and managed by American

[188] (No 1989, 153).
[189] The number of students at the Japanese Language School branch in Inch'ŏn.

companies. Over a hundred Americans lived in Korea, and a variety of goods were traded with the United States.[190] Therefore, English-language students were among the most frequently hired: even with a little English skills, students were able to find jobs with government offices and American companies. This, combined with the difficulty of learning a new language, created many dropouts. As a further measure to prevent withdrawals, the government announced preferential treatment of graduates in the employment of instructors. Article 1 of Royal Decree No. 40, October 25, 1900, reads, "graduates of the Foreign Language School, Medical School, or Middle School are appointed as assistant instructor of the corresponding school, and when an instructor's position is vacant, a graduate will be appointed through a special exam."[191] However, this measure did not seem to have much impact on students' withdrawals: the number of graduates and the frequency of graduations remained low.[192] The English Language School produced the first graduates in 1903, approximately ten years after its opening.

Due to the large number of students, the English language program employed two native-speaker instructors while the other programs had one. After Hutchison's death in December 1900, British G. Russell Frampton, who had been teaching in Hong Kong, was hired in Hutchison's place, and he and Halifax remained the foreign instructors for the English program until its closure in

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[190] (Cumings 1997, 132).
[191] (Yi 1969, 40-1).
[192] This phenomenon was common among all the language schools. The Japanese school was reduced to a three-year program later, but still few students completed the program.

1911.[193] There were additional Korean instructors. Even though the six language programs came under the name of the Foreign Language School, the schools remained in different locations and were managed by separate staffs. This condition continued until 1907, when the schools were brought into one building.[194]

Beginning of English Language Education in Secondary Schools

The government laid the legal foundation for secondary education by promulgating regulations for middle schools on April 4, 1899. The regulations stipulated that seven years were required to complete middle-school education, and the curriculum was divided into four years of common course and three years of advanced course (Article 3).[195] The subjects to be taught were decided by the Minister of Education (4). Foreign instructors could be hired, and the number was to be determined by the Minister (10).

The middle school regulations of September 3, 1900 specified the curriculum: in the common course ethics, reading, composition, history, topography, arithmetic, economy, study of nature, physics, chemistry, drawing-painting, foreign language, and gymnastics were taught (2.1) and the advanced course consisted of reading, arithmetic, economy, study of nature, physics, legislation, politics, industry, agriculture, commerce, medicine, surveying, and gymnastics.[196] Foreign language was included in the common course as a regular subject, but not in the advanced course.

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[193] (Yi 1978, 20). Frampton was born in Hong Kong.
[194] (O 1980, 35).
[195] (Yu and Kim 1998, 27).
[196] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 57).

Interestingly, the school regulations had discriminatory provisions for different types of schools: only the common course was permitted in public and private middle schools, while both the courses could be offered in government schools (2.9).[197] However, this provision made little difference in reality, for there was only one (government) middle school and an advanced course was not instituted during its existence.[198]

After the promulgation of the government regulations, it took a year and six months before the opening of the first middle school, Government Middle School (currently Kyŏnggi Middle and High School), in October 1900 due to the construction of the school building and difficulties in the recruitment of quality instructors.[199] It was the highest-level modern educational institution in Imperial Korea.

Initially, the middle school was not as popular as normal schools or foreign language schools, where students or graduates had an advantage in employment. There was only one class per grade with approximately fifty students in a class until the restructuring of the school in 1906.[200] In the beginning, the school assigned graduates of the Government Primary School to one class and others to another. For foreign language instruction, the primary-school graduates were taught Japanese and the others English. In September 1904, the government decided to admit graduates of government primary schools

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[197] The government appeared to focus on government schools first.
[198] In 1906, the school was restructured to the Government Hansŏng High School under Japanese control (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 60).
[199] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 61).
[200] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 66).

only. Accordingly, the subject of English was cancelled along with the class for non-graduates of primary school.

Regardless, students continued to be exposed to English. At the time of school opening, there were seven instructors, most of whom were scholars of Chinese classics and graduates of the Foreign Language School or the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn. Homer B. Hulbert, a former instructor of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, taught as a part-time instructor from 1900 until 1906, when he was fired by the Japanese-controlled government.[201] His classes were conducted with the help of interpreters.

Popularity of English Language Education in Private Schools

During the *Kwangmu* Era, there were only a few government and public schools, and those opened were ill-equipped and barely survived by local civilians' or officials' support. While these schools were doing poorly, a large number of private schools were established by Korean civilians. This trend heightened around 1898, when the Enlightenment Movement, initiated by

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[201] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 57). Hulbert went back to the United States in 1891 but returned to Korea in 1893 and became Kojong's trusted adviser. When the Protectorate Treaty was concluded in 1905, he carried Kojong's secret document pleading for Korea's independence to the United States president and the state secretary but did not succeed in his mission. When he returned to Korea in 1906, he had already been fired as an instructor at the government middle school. In 1907 he went to The Hague to assist Koreans' effort to reveal the Japanese conspiracy of aggression and became a target of the Japanese regency-general's dislike. His return to Korea was obstructed, and he returned to the United States. When the March First Movement against Japanese oppression occurred, he wrote supportive articles in American magazines. In 1948, when the Korean government was established, he was invited as a national guest and visited Korea on July 29, 1949 (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 71). However, at eighty-six, due to the fatigue of travel, he was hospitalized and one week later passed away. Koreans nationwide mourned his death and he was buried in a foreigner's cemetery in Korea. Two of his notable books on Korea were *The History of Korea* (1905) and *The Passing of Korea* (1906).

progressive intellectuals such as Independence Club, spread among the public, and continued until the Japanese regency-general was instituted in 1905.

Private foreign language schools, most of which taught English and/or Japanese, were in demand. Immediately after the *Kabo Reforms*, there were mainly two types of private schools: primary schools and schools specializing in foreign languages. The Hŭnghwa School, a foreign language school established in 1895 by Min Yŏng-hwan, who as special envoy visited various countries including the United States and Great Britain, taught English and Japanese and was one of the earliest language schools established by Koreans.[202] In the same year, the Hansŏng School (later Nagyŏng School) opened and taught English and Japanese. In the 1896, the Simu School (later the Chunggyo School) was established and taught Japanese, English, and Chinese. These were renowned private language schools at the time. Moreover, most of the other private schools taught English. As the enlightenment movement gained momentum, the number of private schools sharply increased, and many of them provided English language education.[203] Private English language schools were established in different parts of Seoul.

Mission schools expanded as well: by 1910, the year of Japanese annexation of Korea, their number reached 796.[204] In the mission schools,

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[202] (Son 1992, 29; Tongsong Chunggodung Hakkyo 1987, 97).
[203] Some of the examples are Osan School, opened in 1902, Ch'ŏngsan Institute in 1904, and Hanyŏng Institute in 1906 (O 1980, 49).
[204] The numbers by denomination were 501 Protestant schools, 158 Methodist, 4 Anglican, 2 Seventh-Day Adventist, 1 united-denomination, 46 Catholic, and 84 unknown (Chong and Yi 1994, 49).

English was often used as the language of instruction, and English language education was given emphasis.

For girls' schools, such as Paehwa Haktang, established by the Southern Methodists in October 1898, and Kaesŏng Girls' Haktang, opened in December 1904, missionaries turned their attention to unfortunate children due to the difficulty in recruiting female students. The founder of the Paehwa, Josephine P. Campbelle, for instance, opened the school with five boy and girl orphans, and these children lived in the school dormitory.[205] The early curriculum of the Kaesŏng Girls' Haktang consisted of Korean, Bible, Chinese classics, English, mathematics, physiology, history, singing, and needlework, and that of the Paehwa Haktang, Chinese classics, Korean, English, arithmetic, topography, history, physiology, singing, drawing-painting, and embroidery while knitting was offered as an extracurricular activity.[206] Because of the missionaries' insufficient Korean skills, English was used as the language of instruction, and the students learned English in the immersion style. At the Paejae Haktang, from 1903, after the joint program with the government was terminated, to 1907, the language of instruction changed from English to Korean, and many students transferred to other English language schools, resulting in a decrease in the number of students. In 1907, the Paejae reorganized its curriculum and adopted English as a regular subject.[207] With the passing of time, the mission schools provided structured, better-articulated curricula, as shown in the 1904 curriculum of Ewha:

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[205] (Kim 1958, 77-8). Later Paehwa recruited female students only.
[206] (Hosudon Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1999, 18; Kim 1958, 82).
[207] (Choe 1989, 44-5).

Table 7. Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Middle-Level Education at Ewha, 1904[208]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National (Korean) language	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
Chinese classics	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
Arithmetic	4	4	4	5
(Korean & American) History	1	1	1	1
(Korean, world & American) Geography	1	1	2	2
Bible	1	1	1	1
English	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
Science		1	2	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	
Physiology	1	1	2	2
Music	1	1	1	1
Composition-penmanship	2	1	1	1
Sewing	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1	1	
Total	29	30	32	32

As shown, language courses took up a half of the curriculum, and the subject of English was given as much emphasis as Korean and the Chinese classics. Both Korean and English were used as the languages of instruction; Western subjects were taught in English and other subjects in Korean. Beginning in the first decade of the twentieth century, the number of Ewha graduate-instructors increased.

It is reported that in the early part of the first decade of the twentieth century, English language education at Ewha was discouraged in view of the malicious criticism that modern women were showing lax public morals, associated with Westerners.[209] This fabricated criticism was believed to be the

[208] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 341).
[209] (Ewha Women's University 1967, 66).

work of the Japanese, who attempted to interfere with Koreans' English language learning, and the Korean conservatives, who went along with it, and the Japanese or the Korean conservatives' attempt to interfere with the missionaries' work.

KOJONG-U.S. RELATIONS AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

In understanding the Korean government's role in the early development of English language education, it is critical to examine Kojong's relations with the United States or rather his perception of its position in the world. Kojong remained pro-American throughout his reign.

The king's and his followers' enduring, favorable impression of the United States was initially due to Chinese influence. To curb Japanese and Russian aggression in northeast Asia, Viceroy Li Hung-chang persuaded the Chosŏn government to establish diplomatic and trade relations with the United States. A booklet entitled *Chao-hsien ts'e-lüeh* (*A policy for Korea*) was brought in from Japan in 1880 and functioned as an important source for the king's impression of the United States.[210] Written by Huang Tsun-hsien, counselor to the Chinese legation in Tokyo, the treatise suggested that Chosŏn sustain close relations with China and Japan against Russian aggression and have diplomatic relations with the United States.[211] Huang argued that, although a powerful nation, the United States was anti-imperialistic and was a virtuous Christian state

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[210] Two booklets are believed to have had considerable influence on the king and his associates. The other booklet was *Presumptuous Views* (*I-yen*), written by a Chinese thinker, Cheng Kuan-ying. It emphasized adoption of the systems that provided the foundation for the development of Western technology as well as adoption of the technology itself. The two booklets were brought in by Kim Hong-jip, who was impressed by Japan's development and had obtained copies from Huang Tsun-hsien, while on a diplomatic mission trip to Japan (Lee 1984, 270-72).
[211] (Lee 1999b, 12).

that helped weak nations suffering under the shadow of foreign aggressors. Kojong took this benevolent view of the United States to heart and consistently depended on the nation in times of his kingdom's crises.

This initial impression was strengthened by the first Korean-American Treaty of 1882, which included provisions like the "good offices" clause (Article 1), in which the United States expressed its "good will" to provide assistance whenever Korea was in need in the face of political difficulties.[212] Thereupon, an assumption was made on the part of the court that by virtue of the treaty, the United States would come to aid for Korea in trouble.

Further, the presence of generally sympathetic American diplomats, missionaries, and other private citizens in Seoul reinforced the king's impression of "benevolent America," although the diplomatic agents' attitudes did not rightly reflect the United States government's Korean policy.[213] There were approximately eighty Americans in Korea in 1894 and two hundred in 1900, and this modest number of Americans had a significant effect upon Korean politics and economy under the pro-American atmosphere created by the royal court.[214]

The Chosŏn court's trust in the United States government also stemmed from the fact that unlike other Western powers, e.g., Britain and France, which

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[212] (Lew 1982, 10).

[213] All of the American diplomats that served in Seoul, Lucius H. Foote, George C. Foulk, Hugh A. Dinsmore, John M.B. Sill, and Horace N. Allen, helped foster the king's favorable impression of the United States despite the United States government's consistent policy of neutrality. For instance, in spite of Washington's admonitions, Foulk actively supported Chosŏn's independence against China's forceful influence. This angered China, and he was forced to leave Korea. Amid strong resentment against Japan after the Sino-Japanese War and Japanese involvement in the slaying of Queen Min, the United States legation in Seoul took in eight Chosŏn exiles. This act received intense criticism from the Secretary of State Richard R. Olney (Yi 1996, 26).

[214] (Lew 1982, 19).

had colonies in Asia, the United States did not have any and appeared interested in trade relations only. Moreover, geographically the United States was located a long way from Korea; thus, the United States was target of little of the apprehension that Koreans had about the neighboring powers.[215]

It is said, therefore, that Kojong "danced for joy" when Lucius H. Foote, the first American envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, arrived in Seoul in 1883.[216] Shortly after the ratification of the Korean-American treaty in 1883, Kojong dispatched a special delegation to the United States headed by Queen Min's nephew Min Yŏng-ik, whom he handpicked, to show his appreciation for the United States' ratification. Moreover, the king sought in earnest and employed American advisers on diplomatic and military affairs and kept Lt. Foulk, Dr. Horace Newton Allen, and Homer B. Hulbert as personal confidants and allowed these and other Americans to enjoy special financial benefits and lucrative business opportunities.[217]

However, the king's pursuit of close relations with the United States was not returned with equal enthusiasm from the United States government. Washington showed little interest in Korean matters, maintained neutrality towards Korea's internal affairs and relations with neighboring nations, and urged its representatives in Seoul to remain uninvolved. Earlier, the United States government and business-minded Americans were in active pursuit of

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[215] (Lee 1999b, 12).
[216] (Yi 1996, 25).
[217] The advisers in foreign affairs employed by the Korean government, along with their years of service, were Judge Owen N. Denny (1886-1890), Charles W. LeGendre (1890-1894), Clarence R. Greathouse (1890-1840?), and William F. Sands (1900-1904) (Lew 1982, 13). They received high salaries ranging from $12,000 to $15,000. At the time, the annual salary of American minister in Seoul was only $5,000.

establishing diplomatic and commercial relations with Korea, and the United States may have approached the 1883 Korean-American Treaty with the same level of expectation for Korea's potential economic strength and enthusiasm it had for Japan and China. However, soon they were disappointed: in 1883, Foote reported to the government that Chosŏn was a weak, poverty-stricken country with little trade resources.[218] Washington's de-emphasis on Korea could be witnessed as early as in July 1885, when it reduced Foote's rank from an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to a minister resident and consul general. When the United States government realized that China was adamant about maintaining its suzerainty over Korea, it even expressed an intention to forgo its acknowledgement of Korea as an independent country, although actual measures were not taken to put this view into practice. Thereafter, the United States government stayed clear of Korea's affairs and repeatedly urged the diplomatic agents in Seoul to adhere to such policy. The Seoul post was frequently left vacant or filled with negligible figures with little influence in Washington. Dispatches from Korea were often ignored. When the Chosŏn court looked for the United States' assistance in times of national crises, e.g., the Sino-Japanese conflicts and the Russo-Japanese War, it was not in general met with satisfactory responses from Washington.

More significantly, the United States government played a critical role in the final demise of Chosŏn. President Roosevelt signed the Taft-Katsura Memorandum of 1905, which acknowledged Japanese control of Korea in return

[218] (Lew 1982, 16).

for Japan's recognition of US interests in the Philippines.[219] It is a well-known fact that this sealed the fate of Chosŏn as an independent country. In 1904 and 1905 before the Protectorate Treaty, the Korean government made numerous appeals to the United States government for assistance, but not surprisingly it showed little response. Ten days after the Protectorate Treaty in 1905, the American government closed its legation in Seoul, abruptly terminating diplomatic relations with Korea. Thus, the United States became the first Western nation to open a legation in Korea and the first one to close one, leading the departures of diplomats of other foreign countries.

Kojong's favorable notion of the United States functioned as the catalyst in the introduction and the development of English language education in Korea. The first Western language school the government opened was an English language school called Tongmunhak. Following was the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, an English language school for higher-level government officials that began with the government's extensive investment. Kojong invited three American seminary students as the instructors for the new school. In addition, by permitting American Protestant missionaries' philanthropic activities despite the dynasty's policy against the propagation of Christianity, he provided the foundation for English language education by missionaries and further nurtured it by actively supporting schools with an emphasis on English language education. The king's interest in English language education was unwavering despite disappointing results: the government continued to open and support English language schools.

[219] (Harrington 1999, 44).

While Kojong's perception of the United States as a world power played a pivotal role in the introduction and development of early English language education in Korea, his naïveté and blind trust in another government led his kingdom to a fateful journey.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Between 1895 and 1905, Korea underwent one of the most tumultuous, unfortunate times in its history. It fell a victim to the neighboring powers' imperialistic aggressions and was ultimately reduced to another country's protectorate. In this trying time, the government made consistent efforts to modernize and to fortify the country. Although the attempts made little difference in terms of maintaining the country's independent status, they strengthened the government's commitment to English language education and accelerated its development.

First of all, the government laid the legal foundation for primary- and secondary-level English language education for the public by promulgating the ordinance for primary schools in 1895 and the regulations for middle schools in 1899, whereby the subject of foreign language became a part of the pertinent curricula. Following the regulations, English was actually taught, although briefly, in the Government Middle School.

The government maintained its consistent support for English language education by opening new English language schools and programs despite the failure of the Yugyŏng Kongwŏn. No sooner had the largely invested school been closed than the government opened the English Language School. In addition, it

sponsored an English language program at a missionary-run private institution. Among the government-sponsored foreign language programs, the English Language School enjoyed the highest popularity.

Under the circumstances where the strength of Korea was declining under escalating imperialistic aggressions, foreign influence continued to be strongly present in foreign and English language education provided by the government. Korea's modern school system was introduced during the *Kabo Reforms*, carried out by pro-Japanese Koreans after the Japanese invasion and subsequent taking control of the royal court. One of the measures taken in the reforms was the promulgation of the first national regulations of education, the ordinance for primary schools, and that ordinance stipulated foreign language as a subject. Nonetheless, the inclusion of foreign language was an outcome of Japanese interference and can be seen as a Japanese scheme of convenience to impose the Japanese language as a school subject in the future. Moreover, the temporary closure of the Chinese Language School during the Sino-Japanese War of 1895 and the shutdown of the Russian Language School at the time of the Russo-Japanese War indicated the forceful influence exerted by the Japanese.

The government's main educational goal for the English language schools remained consistent, that is, to train and produce English language specialists in a timely manner. There was little concern about the English language as a cultural subject, a part of general education with a broader goal of language education such as the introduction of knowledge about another culture and people of different backgrounds. At the English language school, the government appeared

to make an attempt to offer broader education than a simple language-training program by including subjects other than languages, such as Chinese classics, Korean history, and topography, but the primary educational goal was still to train English language specialists.

This practical goal the government set for the English language schools affected the students' approach to English language education. Their purpose of learning the English language was for their career advancement, and thus when a career opportunity came along, they took the opportunity and dropped out of the program. The number of graduates of the English Language School remained low despite the government's effort to curb the rate of withdrawals by applying strict regulations and offering employment benefits.

Despite the promulgation of modern school regulations that propounded equality in educational opportunity, women were still largely excluded from government-sponsored English language education. Mission schools remained the main provider of English language education and education in general for the females.

One interesting aspect in the government's utilization of instructors is that its practice contrasts with the present-day practice. The use of native English speakers has been a rare approach the Korean government has employed toward English language education. Only since the 1990s, has the government attempted to utilize native English speakers in public-school classrooms. While the benefits of using native English speakers are debatable, it is interesting that English language schools in the beginning years focused more on the development of the

learner's speaking and listening ability by utilizing native English speakers exclusively. Korea's English language education in general has focused on the structural aspect of the language, i.e., grammar-focused and translation-oriented instruction, and been used as an important criterion for entrance to higher-level educational institutions. The lack of concentration on English communicative ability has resulted in language learners who are not able to produce oral output or absorb oral input after six years of English language education in secondary schools and four years in college education. Recently, more than a century after it first employed native English speakers for government-sponsored English language schools, the Korean government has set up a program that intends to bring in and utilize native English speakers in public schools. It seems that English language education has come full circle.

Chapter 5: Degeneration of English Language Education under the Japanese Regency-General, 1906-1910

OVERVIEW OF THE PERIOD

In 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese government forced Korea into an agreement to "invite" Japanese advisers to administer Korea's financial and foreign affairs.[220] The Japanese government's encroachment, however, was not limited to Korea's rights of diplomacy and finance, but it took further steps, e.g., installing advisers in each ministry, despite the fact that doing so was not stipulated in the agreement.

In November 1905, Japan declared Korea a protectorate following the Portsmouth Agreement of September 1905, whereby it gained recognition from Russia of its dominance over Korea.[221] Article 3 of the Protectorate Treaty reads:[222]

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[220] On February 23, 1904, under the tight guard of the Japanese army, the Korean-Japanese agreement was signed. One of the advisers brought in was an American named Durham White Stevens, who had served in the Japanese government for over twenty years. He was appointed as the financial adviser. A supporter of Japanese dominance over Korea, he secretly worked for the Japanese government from 1904 to 1907. On March 25, 1908, on a trip to the United States to advocate Japanese domineering position in Korea, he was assassinated by Korean gunmen in San Francisco (Lee 1999b, 26; Yu 1992, 65).

[221] Theodore Roosevelt served as the mediator for the Portsmouth Agreement and won the Nobel Peace Prize for his involvement. Most Europeans and Americans at the time favored Japanese victory and its dominance of Korea over Russian aggression (Grajdanzev 1944, 33). As noted earlier, the United States recognized Japan's special interests in Korea in the Taft-Katsura Memorandum in November 1905 while Great Britain had already made a similar acknowledgement in the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902.

[222] (Son 1992, 47). To conclude the protectorate treaty, a prominent Japanese statesman, Itō Hirobumi and the prime minister, Hayashi Gonsuke, were escorted to the Korean royal court by Japanese soldiers. They threatened Kojong and his officials in an effort to force them to accept the treaty draft already prepared. Faced with their refusals, the Japanese took the seal of the minister of foreign affairs and affixed it to the treaty themselves. The "Protectorate Treaty" is known as the Treaty of 1905 among Koreans.

> The Japanese government places a resident-general within the palace of the Korean emperor. The resident-general resides in Seoul in order to manage diplomatic affairs only and has the rights to have secret audiences with the emperor. The Japanese government also has the rights to assign officials at each open port and at the places it believes are necessary. These officials, under the supervision of the resident-general, execute the duties that have belonged to the Japanese consul in Korea…

So began the government by the residency-general of Korea. The treaty stripped Korea of the sovereignty to establish or maintain foreign relations: Japan took complete control of Korea's international relations and prohibited the Korean government from entering into international agreements or treaties without its agency. The first Japanese Resident-General, Itō Hirobumi, was placed directly under the Korean emperor; the residency-general began its operation in February 1906.[223]

In June 1907, Kojong secretly dispatched a delegation to the Second International Peace Conference held in The Hague to appeal for the acknowledgement of the wrongs Japan had committed against Korea, in particular in the conclusion of the protectorate treaty. The mission argued that Korea was still an independent country since the conclusion of the treaty of 1905 had been coerced and was therefore groundless, but the mission's appeal failed to gain the world's recognition.[224] While world powers barely paid attention, the delegation's pleas did receive considerable publicity. Infuriated, Japan forced

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[223] Itō Hirobumi, author of the Japanese Constitution and an occasional prime minister of Japan between 1841 and 1909, was assassinated by a Korean patriot, An Chung-gun, at Harbin station in China in October 1909.

[224] The delegation was headed by Yi Sang-sŏl and accompanied by an American, Homer. B. Hulbert.

Kojong to relinquish his throne to the crown prince, his mentally fragile son, and Sunjong was enthroned in July 1907.[225]

In 1907, the two governments entered into a new "agreement," in which the Korean government surrendered full authority of all internal governmental affairs to the Japanese resident-general.[226] The previous way of "governing through advisers" was abandoned, and Japan began the "vice-minister government," where a Japanese vice-minister took the second-in-command position in every ministry. Korean police and courts were placed under the control of the residency-general, and the army was disbanded. The press had already fallen under the rigid surveillance of the office. Finally on August 29, 1910, Korea was annexed and became a colony of Japan.

There were numerous Korean revolts against the Japanese aggression from 1905 to 1910.[227] The nationalistic sentiment also took a form of Koreans' focus on the study and distribution of the native alphabet. Earnest efforts were made to standardize the orthography of *han'gŭl* while many literary works explored nationalistic themes. As political activities were banned, an educational movement emerged as a significant nationalistic movement. Korean private citizens established a number of schools, and this phenomenon continued after the protectorate.

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[225] Sunjong's reign was titled *Yunghŭi* ("Abundant Prosperity").
[226] The agreement is called the New Korean-Japanese Agreement, *Ŭlmi* Agreement, or Seven Agreements.
[227] (Grajdanzev 1944, 44). The insurrections were mainly led by the *ŭibyŏng*, or *Righteous Army*. The Korean population at the time was estimated to be twelve to thirteen million. Japanese statistics show that 14,566 insurgents were killed, and 8,728 surrendered from July 1907 to the end of 1908.

The five years between 1905 and 1910 were a transition period where Korea was systematically degraded into a colony of Japan; Japan took measured steps to divest the Korean government of its sovereign rights and to build a foundation for its colonial rule.

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY: PREPARATION FOR COLONIAL RULE

In December 1904, Shidehara Hiroshi was appointed as the adviser for the Ministry of Education. Article 2 of the agreement between him and the Korean government stipulated that the Ministry of Education handle all educational documents after obtaining Shidehara's agreement.[228] As the residency-general began its operation, the Ministry of Education came under the control of the office. Under Itō's governance, Korea's educational system was reorganized and began to take shape as that of Japan's colony. On August 27, 1906, the residency-general enforced the ordinances for normal schools, high schools, foreign language schools, and common schools, repealing the existing regulations for Hansŏng Normal School, Middle School, and Foreign Language School and the ordinance for primary schools, enacted by the Korean government.[229]

Introduction of the Japanese Language

The new ordinances introduced Japanese as a required subject in the curricula of the common school and the high school. Japanese was assigned six hours per week in each grade throughout primary and secondary education. The Japanese government placed an enormous emphasis on the distribution of

[228] (Chong and Yi 1994, 211).
[229] (Yu and Kim 1998, 51).

Japanese throughout its colonial rule, and schools were used as the most important tool to achieve the goal. When it is considered that language is often an essential part of one's identity, the colonial government's focus on the spread of its language was a foreseeable one.

Use of Japanese Teachers

Japanese teachers were brought into Korean schools to facilitate their Japanization. By enacting the "ordinance for faculty number of the schools under the direct control of the Ministry of Education" in 1906, the residency-general compelled all government and public schools to "invite" Japanese teachers.[230] Each government and public school and designated supplementary private school was required to hire a Japanese teacher in a supervisory position: those appointed in common schools were called teacher supervisor and those in high schools vice-principal. To illustrate, at the Government Hansŏng High School, two Japanese instructors, one of whom replaced the American Hulbert, were employed in 1905, four in 1906, two in 1907, two in 1908, seven in 1909, and one in 1910 before the annexation, and between the annexation and 1911 the number increased to ten.[231]

By enacting the ordinance for private schools in 1908, Japan expanded its control over school personnel and assigned Japanese teachers in private schools as well. In June 1909, for example, the residency-general forced thirty private schools to hire Japanese teachers. The responsibilities of Japanese personnel included supervision of Korean faculty and students and surveillance of political conspiracies among them.

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[230] (Son 1992, 53; Yi 1969, 38).
[231] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 86).

Control of Government/Public Schools and Suppression of Private Schools

Existing Korean government and public schools were placed under the direct control of the residency-general.[232] Korean parents at first avoided sending their children to the government-controlled schools in the belief that Japanese teachers and the spread of Japanese were benefiting Japan. The residency-general used shrewd tricks and forced measures to recruit students: in addition to supplies of textbooks, school supplies, and free lunches, the government used school ceremonies and informal talks to encourage parents to send their children, or local officials and the police were dispatched to pressure families.[233] The number of students at the Hansŏng Girls' High School, for instance, increased from dozens to over 130 within a year.[234]

Around the time of the Protectorate Treaty, Korea was in a desperate mood facing the crisis of losing its sovereignty. Korean national leaders adopted education as an important tool to strengthen their perishing country and led a "save-the-nation-by-education" movement. Appeals were made to the public that in order to escape from the aggression of Japanese imperialism, they needed to learn about their own culture and advanced European civilization. Numerous academic societies were established by these nationalistic leaders, and the number of private schools dramatically increased. While government and public schools

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[232] The government secondary schools at the time were the Hansŏng High School, restructured from the Middle School in September 1906, P'yŏngyang High School, opened in 1909, and the Hansŏng Girls' High School, the first government-sponsored women's educational institution, opened on April 1, 1908 (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 63; Kyonggi Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1957, 1; Yu and Kim 1998, 74-5).
[233] (Tsurumi 1984, 299).
[234] (Kyonggi Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1957, 4).

were under the strict control of the residency-general, private schools enjoyed freedom, e.g., sponsoring speech contests, debates, and other activities that stirred the students' patriotism. As the schools were considered nurseries of patriotism, it was only natural that a displeased Japan moved to hinder the growth of private education. As the first legal step toward that end, the residency-general promulgated the ordinance for private schools in August 1908. Some of the important provisions were:[235]

> Article 2. Those who intend to establish private schools must be equipped with the following items and receive approval of the Minister of Education.
>
> (1) goal, name, and location of school; (2) school regulations; (3) ground plan of school land and building; (4) one-year budget of earnings and expenses; (5) method of maintenance; (6) résumés of founder, principal, and faculty members; (7) names of textbooks
>
> Article 3. The school regulations must include the following items.
>
> (1) years required to complete the school and grades; (2) subjects and their levels and weekly instructional hours; (3) student quorum; (4) applicant qualifications and admission and expulsion details; (5) tuition and entrance fee; (6) other details the school considered necessary.
>
> Article 6. The textbooks used in private schools must be published by the Ministry of Education or approved by the Minister of Education.
>
> Article 9. When the facilities, classes, or others are found inappropriate, the Minister of Education can order changes.
>
> Article 10. In the following cases, the Minister of Education can order the closure of private school.
>
> (1) When violating provisions of the ordinance; (2) When disturbing peace order and corrupting public morals; (3) When not providing classes as

[235] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 157-58; Son 1992, 57-8).

> regulated for six or more months; (4) When violating the Minister of Education's orders in accordance with Article 9.
>
> Article 12. Private school principals must report to the Minister of Education the names of faculty, subjects they taught, number of registered students and attendees by grade, names of textbooks, and finances every May.
>
> Article 13. Governor supervises private schools within his province under the Minister of Education's directions

These regulations make clear that Japan attempted to control every aspect of private education: schools were required to acquire the government's approval for their establishment and continuing operation, that is, to report their finance, curricula, personnel, student status, and textbook use every year. Before the enactment of the ordinance, private schools had been free of troublesome procedures to observe. The main purpose of the ordinance was to suppress private schools, especially schools with anti-Japanese inclinations: schools with obvious nationalistic characteristics were denied the government's approval. Hence, many private schools were forced to close. By the end of its rule in 1911, the residency-general succeeded in smothering a majority of private schools, leaving only 820 approved by the government out of approximately 5,000 schools.[236]

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[236] (Tsurumi 1984, 296). Before the ordinance for private schools in 1908, private schools did not require the government's approval for their establishment or had no obligation to report to the government. Thus, the exact number of private schools was unknown. According to the governor-general's statistics after the annexation, there had been over 100 schools in Kyŏngsŏng (Seoul) and 5,000 in total nationwide, and the number of students reached 200,000 in 1908 (Son 1992, 86; Yi 1994, 13). However, according to statistics as of May 1910, after the enforcement of the ordinance for private schools in 1908, the total number of private schools approved by the government was reduced to 2,225, and among them 823 were schools sponsored by religion groups (Yi 1978, 22). Other sources report slightly different numbers: Son (1992: 87) reports that the number of approved private schools as of May 1910 was 16 common, 2 high, 7 vocational, 1,402 other, and 823 mission, totaling 2,250 while according to Underwood (1926: 173), there

Even though Japan was skeptical of the benefits of having mission schools within its protectorate, missionaries were protected under treaties, and the Japanese government was not yet prepared to exacerbate Western powers by harassing their citizens in Korea. Therefore, 778 requests from mission schools were all approved while only 42 out of 1,217 requests to conduct classes from Korean civilians received approval.[237] Moreover, the residency-general converted many private schools to government/public schools and discriminated against private school graduates, e.g., in employment for government positions, which seriously dwarfed the development of private education. Under these circumstances, government-controlled schools began to gain popularity.

The Degeneration of the Quality of Education

Japan took deliberate measures to degrade the quality of education for Koreans, one of which was reduction of school years. According to the new ordinance for common schools, primary school was renamed common school, and the number of years required to complete the primary education was four years, reduced from the six years stipulated by the previous ordinance for primary schools. The ordinance for high schools required four years to complete the so-called secondary education, doing away with the additional three-year advanced course stipulated by the previous government regulations for middle schools. According to the new school system, the common school was immediately

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were 2,080 private schools in 1910. This number was further reduced to only 820 or 742 (O 1980, 59) in 1911.

[237] (Son 1992, 63). As of February 1910, the number of Presbyterian schools was 501, Methodist 158, Episcopal 4, Seventh-Day Adventist 2, unknown denominations 84, joint denominations 1, and Catholic 46, and 796 in total (Yi 1949, 159-160).

connected to high school; thus, Korean children were given eight years to complete primary and secondary education. Furthermore, the name change from middle school, originally intended as a middle-level educational institution between primary school and higher-education institute/college, to high school was seen as a Japanese scheme to keep high school as the highest-level education for Koreans.[238]

JAPANESE INTERFERENCE IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Elimination of Foreign Language Instruction from Primary Schools

One of the policies of primacy the Japanese government adopted to aid the colonization of Korea was the spread of the Japanese language, and this policy was realized in the curriculum of common school. In accordance with the ordinance for common schools, Japanese was introduced as a required subject, and foreign language was eliminated from the curriculum.[239]

Table 8. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Common School[240]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Korean)-Chinese classics	10	10	10	10
Japanese	6	6	6	6
Total instructional hours	28	28	30	30

[238] Earlier during the *Kabo Reforms*, the Korean government resolved to establish primary schools, middle schools, professional schools, and universities in addition to foreign language schools and normal schools (Lee 1999a, 161-62).
[239] (Yu 1992, 68). Furthermore, handicraft, agriculture, and business were included as electives in the common-school curriculum, which shows that Japan intended to give low-level vocational education even to young children.
[240] (Son 1992, 50-1). See Appendix 5-A for the general curriculum and weekly instructional hours of common school.

Although foreign language had not been actually taught in the classroom, it had been included as an optional subject in the previous primary-school curriculum by the 1895 ordinance. The removal of foreign language from the new curriculum therefore suggests the government's disregard of foreign language education for Korean children. As noted, the previous inclusion of a foreign language could be seen as a Japanese scheme, that is, a convenient way to introduce Japanese in primary education later: as Japanese is included in the new curriculum, foreign language is removed. The introduction of Japanese in primary education is particularly significant with regard to the fact that a child's early exposure to a language considerably facilitates his/her acquisition of the language.

Marginalization of Foreign Language Instruction in Secondary Education

The enforcement regulations for the ordinance of high schools in 1906 specified the subjects for the regular course of high school as ethics, Korean, Chinese classics, Japanese, geography, mathematics, study of nature, physics, chemistry, legislation, economy, drawing-painting, music, and gymnastics with legislation, economy, and music as optional subjects (Article 4).[241] Foreign language, which had been an elective in middle school, was removed from the high-school curriculum; instead, Japanese, an elective in the previous middle-school curriculum, was introduced as a required subject. Japanese instruction was given the highest priority in the new curriculum: the instructional hours of

[241] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 81).

Japanese were six weekly hours in each grade while seven hours were assigned to Korean and Chinese classics combined.

Table 9. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in High School, 1906[242]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Korean) & Chinese classics	7	7	7	7
Japanese	6	6	6	6
Total instructional hours	30	30	30	30

In addition to the regular course, high schools were allowed to provide prep or supplementary courses (Article 3). The following is the instructional hours of the language subjects at the Hansŏng High School:[243]

Table 10. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in the Prep Course, 1906

National language (Korean), Chinese classics	5
Japanese	7
Total hours	30

The subject of Japanese language was given the highest number of instructional hours while no instruction of English or any other foreign language was given.[244]

In the later part of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Japanese-controlled government appeared to adopt a more positive approach to foreign

[242] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 82). See Appendix 5-B for the general curriculum and weekly instructional hours of high school.
[243] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 82-3; Yu and Kim 1998, 54).
[244] See Appendix 5-C for the general curriculum of the prep course.

language education. In April 1908, the first ordinance of secondary education for women, the ordinance for girls' high schools was promulgated.[245] The enforcement regulations of the ordinance stipulated ethics, Korean, Chinese classics, Japanese, history, geography, arithmetic, science, drawing, housekeeping, handicraft, music, and gymnastics as the subjects for the regular course. Foreign language could be offered as an elective (Article 4. Clause 1).[246]

Table 11. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Girls' High School, 1909[247]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
National language (Korean)-Chinese classics	5	4	4
Japanese	5	4	4
Foreign Language			
Total instructional hours	27	27	26

Moreover, the government for the first time stipulated instructional goals for foreign language instruction in secondary education, that is, "to understand

[245] (Kyonggi Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1957, 5). Applicants qualified to enter the girls' high school were those who completed the prep course or graduates of common schools. At the time, only a few common schools offered classes for girls: girls' classes were offered only in four schools in 1908 and nine schools in 1909. Accordingly, there were few qualified applicants; hence, applicants with no educational background were also admitted for the time being. Three years were required to complete the regular course of the girls' high school (Yu and Kim 1998, 66-7).

[246] As it will be discussed later in the chapter, during its rule, the colonial government raised Japanese to the status of national language and referred to it as such. In actuality, while it was first introduced as a foreign language to Koreans, Japanese did achieve the status of a second language among some Koreans. Thus, I differentiate Japanese, along with written Chinese, from other foreign languages.

[247] (O 1980, 52). See Appendix 5-D for the curriculum of the regular course of Girls' High School in 1909.

simple foreign language and to advance knowledge" (5.14).[248] Despite the provision that foreign language could be offered as an elective, however, the Government Hansŏng Girls' High School did not provide English or any other foreign language instruction in reality.

In 1909, a portion of the ordinance for high schools and its enforcement regulations was revised, newly including foreign language as an elective. Although the regulations stipulated either English, French, German, or Chinese could be selected as a foreign language, English was usually the language of choice and given two or three hours of instruction a week. In the Government Hansŏng High School, English language instruction was given to applicants for business majors two or three hours a week.

Table 12. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in High School, 1909[249]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Korean)-Chinese classics	6	6	6	6
Japanese	6	6	6	6
Foreign language/English	(2)	(3)	(3)	(3)[250]
Total hours	35	33	34	30

English Curriculum

1st year	reading, translation, dictation, penmanship
2nd	reading, translation, conversation, dictation
3rd	reading, translation, conversation, dictation, grammar
4th	reading, translation, conversation, dictation, grammar, composition

All in all, during the residency-government's rule, the existence of English language education in government-controlled secondary schools was negligible:

[248] (Kyonggi Chunggodung Hakkyo 1970, 41).
[249] (O 1980, 51). See Appendix 5-E for the general curriculum of high school.
[250] ( ) indicates hours assigned to electives.

first it was removed from the curriculum of boys' high school and later when reintroduced, it survived as an elective taught two or three hours a week to a limited group of students. Foreign language was stipulated as an elective for the girls' high school in the first ordinance of secondary education for women in April 1908, and the enforcement regulations further specified the educational goals. Nonetheless, English language instruction was not offered in the actual classroom; thus, female students in government-controlled schools remained excluded from benefiting from foreign language education.

The Lack of Foreign Language Instruction in Teacher Education

The ordinance for normal schools and its enforcement regulations in 1906 abolished the existing government regulations for Hansŏng Normal School. The newly specified subjects were ethics, education, Korean, Chinese classics, Japanese, history, geography, mathematics, physics-chemistry, study of nature, drawing, music, and gymnastics, with three weekly hours for Korean and four hours for Japanese in each grade. Japanese was a new addition, but no other foreign languages were included in the new curriculum.

The Decline of English Language Education in Foreign Language School

Immediately after the protectorate, the schools under the direct control of the Ministry of Education beyond the common-school level were Sŏnggyun'gwan, Normal School (or Government Hansŏng Normal School), High School, English, Chinese, German, and French Language Schools, Japanese Language School in Hansŏng and Inch'ŏn, and others. Most of these schools were foreign language schools, evidence that the Korean government had been

actively involved in foreign language education.[251] From 1906 under Japanese authority, foreign language schools underwent various confusing changes and became a target of caustic Japanese intervention, with the exception of the Japanese language programs, which were given considerable weight by the government.

In 1907, the government purchased land and built a building between Kyodong and Kwanhundong and finally brought together the five language schools.[252] However, in accordance with the ordinance for foreign language schools of August 1906 and its enforcement regulations, the schools came to function as independent schools, and the individual programs were called "Government Hansŏng English Language School," "Government Hansŏng Japanese Language School," and the like. The schools underwent another change in 1909: they were once again integrated by the revised enforcement regulations of the ordinance for foreign language schools and came under one school named Government Hansŏng Foreign Language School. According to the government regulations for the Government Hansŏng Foreign Language School, there were two departments in the new school: the regular department, which consisted of Japanese, English, French, German, and Chinese language programs, and the intensive Japanese language department.[253] Modeled after the Japanese school

[251] (Yu and Kim 1998, 64).
[252] (Yi 1969, 32).
[253] (Yu and Kim 1998, 64-5).

system, a trimester system was introduced in place of the previous semester system.[254]

Due to its emphasis on practical education, in addition to sparse needs for interpreters for the diplomatic purpose as Korea was robbed of its diplomatic rights, the government modified the educational goals of the foreign language school. Article 1 of the ordinance for foreign language schools in 1906 reads, "The goal of the Foreign Language School is to train capable individuals who have command of foreign language and are suitable for 'practical' affairs."[255] Correspondingly, practical subjects such as legislation, economy, and bookkeeping were added to the curriculum, reducing the school to a simple business training program.

The quality of the foreign language programs was further on a downward path when the government reduced the years required to complete the programs to three or two years by the ordinance for foreign language schools of 1906.[256] Previously, the Western languages, including English, had required five years of study while the Oriental languages, Chinese and Japanese, four years.

Despite the Japanese degradation of foreign language education, Koreans' interest in the English language remained strong. The number of students in the English language program invariably increased.

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[254] (Kim 1982, 43). In the trimester system, the first semester ran from April 1 to August 31, the second from September 1 to December 31, and the third from January 1 to March 31.
[255] (Yi 1969, 33).
[256] Article 5 of the ordinance reads, 'the years required for the Foreign Language School are three years for the regular course and two years or less for the study course.'

Table 13. Number of Students Admitted to Foreign Language School [257]

Language	**Year**					
	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
English	**62**	**67**	**97**	**94**	**96**	**106**
Japanese	**49**	**46**	**210**	**250**	**174**	**136**
Chinese	63	47	27	12	17	36
French	45	30	25	3	9	21
German	20	20	30	18	10	17

Article 6 of the 1906 ordinance for foreign language schools stipulated that the applicant should be a male of twelve years or older with a proper educational background. Albeit ambiguous, it was the first schooling requirement imposed on the applicants for the government foreign language schools. Earlier, age limits had been applied, but there had been no provisions with regard to applicants' educational background. In 1909, the revised ordinance for foreign language schools further limited admissions to common-school graduates. When the number of qualified applicants exceeded the quorum, they were given the entrance exam, which consisted of Korean reading and writing and Chinese classics reading and writing.[258] By this provision, the connection between the foreign language school and the common school was established.

[257] (Yi 1982, 80).
[258] Although admissions were limited to graduates of common schools, where they had learned Korean and Chinese classics, it appeared applicants of various backgrounds were also admitted.

The following is the detailed curriculum of the English language program announced by the Ministry of Education in 1909.

Table 14. Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of the English language Program, 1909[259]

1st Year		
Ethics	practical morality	1
English		
Reading comprehension & translation	**common sentences**	**7**
Conversation	**based on reading, translation**	**2**
Dictation	**"**	**6**
Composition & grammar	**common sentences**	**4**
National language-Chinese classics	**reading & composition**	**1**
Mathematics	four arithmetical rules	4
History-geography	of mother country	2
Gymnastics	school gymnastics	3
Total hours		30
2nd		
Ethics	practical morality	1
English		
Reading comprehension & translation	**common sentences**	**8**
Conversation	**based on reading, translation**	**1**
Dictation	**"**	**6**
Composition & grammar	**common sentences, elementary grammar**	**4**
National language-Chinese classics	**reading & composition**	**2**
Mathematics	four arithmetical rules & decimal	3
History-geography	of mother country & foreign geography	3
Science	study of nature & physiology	1
Gymnastics	school gymnastics	3
Elective	**easy Japanese writing**	**(2)**
Total hours		32 (34)
3rd		
Ethics	practical morality	1
English		
Reading comprehension & translation	**advanced common sentences**	**7**
Conversation	**based on reading, translation**	**1**

When Yi Hi-sŭng was admitted to the later Government English Language School, he had studied Korean and Chinese classics at home and private schools that taught Chinese classics (Yi 1984, 3).

[259] (Yi 1969, 36).

Dictation	**“**	**6**
Composition & grammar	**letter writing, advanced grammar**	**5**
National language-Chinese classics	**reading & composition**	**2**
Mathematics	fraction & proportion	2
History-geography	of mother country & foreign geography	4
Science	physics & chemistry	1
Gymnastics	school gymnastics	3
Elective	**easy Japanese writing**	**(2)**
Total hours		32 (34)

It appears that the curriculum itself placed emphasis on the development of the learner’s reading and writing skills, rather than his verbal communicative ability. In the first year, eleven instructional hours per week were assigned for reading, writing, translation, and grammar while conversation was given only one hour. Similar tendencies are observed in the higher grades. Nonetheless, students were given additional opportunities to improve their listening and speaking skills: English was used as the instructional language, and the school sponsored extracurricular activities to help improve students’ conversational skills. The subject of the Japanese language was included as an elective in all the language programs. A former student of the English language program and renowned Korean scholar, Yi Hi-sŭng looks back on his classes:[260]

> At the time, we learned everything, including geography and arithmetic, in English. From the beginning, we were taught in English, although it was an unreasonable demand. To develop the students’ language skills,…there was a conversational meeting every month and five students from the five departments appeared together and spoke in each one’s language. For example, those from the English language department talked about Aesop’s Fables…

From the beginning of the school, there were two native English-speaker instructors. When the English Language School was integrated into the Foreign

[260] (Yi 1984, 4).

Language School the first time, four Korean instructors joined the faculty. They were former students of English language schools such as Yugyŏng Kongwŏn or a returnee from immigration to the United States. When the language schools were once again integrated into the Government Foreign Language School in 1909, a Japanese third-grade official was appointed as the principal, placing the English language program under the direct supervision of Japanese personnel.[261] Yi discusses the quality of instructors:[262]

> Each foreigner was acknowledged as the chief instructor and one of the graduates served as associate instructor…(One of the Korean instructors was) Mr. Yi Kil-yong, who had returned from immigration as a laborer to Hawaii, U.S.A. He was fluent since he had worked as an interpreter rather than a laborer in an American-owned farm for several years. The teachers who learned (English) in Korea were good at grammar but their conversational skills were not as good as Mr. Yi's.
>
> Frampton compiled his own book and taught conversation with it at his convenience...We had a hard time studying it and suffered lots of insults…According to the senior students, Halifax was a man of great character, but Frampton lacked a good personality and was verbally very abusive when angry…Mr. Yi Nŭng-hwa was one of the first graduates of the French language school. He was fluent in French and a talented individual…He was so fluent in conversation with Frampton and the French instructor that foreign instructors bowed to him and were very respectful to him, although they were calling Koreans 'barbarians.'

Yi expresses his dissatisfaction over Frampton's arbitrary teaching style and discusses the unpleasant relations between the students and the foreign instructors in general.

Foreign language students' withdrawal remained a persistent problem under Japanese control. Nine hundred eleven students in total were admitted to

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[261] (Yu and Kim 1998, 65).
[262] (Yi 1984, 2-4).

the English language school from March 1896 to April 1910, but only seventy-nine, or 8.7 percent, completed the program.[263] The majority of dropouts were casualties of job taking priority over school or of violations of the school regulations.

Table 15. Number of Graduates of English Language School[264]

Year	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Yearly number	4	2	7	2	3	17	19	25
Cumulative total	4	6	13	15	18	35	54	79

In class, English textbooks published in the United States or Great Britain or materials compiled by the instructors were used.[265] A few English dictionaries, authored by missionaries, were available but rarely used by the students due to their costs.[266]

During the transition period from 1905 to 1911, Japan took pains to enslave every facet of Korea in preparation for its colonial rule, and foreign language education was a target of its persistent interference. The Foreign Language School underwent a variety of changes. In each change, Japanization

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[263] (Yi 1982, 81). See Appendix 5-F for the graduation statistics of the Foreign Language School.
[264] (Cho 1978, 22; Yi 1982, 81).
[265] *National Readers* by Charles J. Barnes and *Union Reader* by Sanders were most widely used textbooks. *National Readers*, Vol. I-V, were used for reading classes and a book compiled by Frampton for conversation (Pae 1990, 120). Yi Hi-sŭng recollects that the school provided students with *National Readers* prior to his attendance but he himself and his fellow students only used Frampton's materials (Yi 1984, 2).
[266] Some of the dictionaries available were *Dictionary of the Korean Language* (1889) by Horace Grant Underwood, *English Korean Dictionary* by James Scott (reviewed in *Korean Repository* 1:63-4 in February 1892), *Korean English Dictionary* by James S. Gale (reviewed in *Korean Repository* 4:150 in April 1897), and *Corean Words and Phrases* (1897) by J.W. Hodge. They were published in small volumes and were expensive, which denied students easy access (Yi 1969, 39).

of the school was reinforced, and the quality of education suffered. In 1906, the Japanese government reduced the years required to complete the Western language programs from five to three. In each language program, Japanese was included as an elective and students were forced to take the subject for two weekly hours. In addition to the regular language programs, an intensive Japanese language program was newly instituted. Rather than focusing on the reinforcement of the students' language skills, the government introduced business-oriented curricula, a reflection of its emphasis on "practical" education. Further, in 1909, the government appointed a Japanese official as the principal, placing the school under Japanese direct supervision. Finally, in 1911 after the annexation, Japan abandoned its gradual attempts to Japanize the foreign language school and permanently shut down the school.

Maintenance of English Language Education in Mission Schools

As the country was undergoing an impending crisis of losing its independence around 1905, many Korean leaders and patriots were directly involved in the expansion of education for the public. New schools continued to open, and for the purpose of "enlightenment" of the masses, these schools included subjects of Western knowledge and scientific technology in their curricula, and most of them provided English language instruction.

While the government-controlled schools deprived their students of English language education, private schools maintained independent management and were unrestricted in selection of subjects, thus, offering a larger number of cultural subjects, such as English language instruction. Kaesŏng Girls' Haktang,

or the present Holston Girls' Middle and High School, a U.S. Southern Methodist school, for instance, was supposed to organize its curriculum in accordance with Article 6 and 7 of the ordinance for common schools, but relatively free of Japanese interference, it replaced ethics with Bible and did not teach Japanese history or geography. Moreover, lessons of the subjects that were not taught in other common schools, such as English, Western history, Oriental history, mathematics, and physiology, were provided, making the Haktang a secondary-level educational institution.[267]

In Posŏng Middle School, which had received a substantial amount of financial support and the name itself from the royal court in the beginning but nevertheless was owned by an individual, the language subjects prescribed at the time of its opening in September 1906 were as follows:[268]

Table 16. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Posŏng Middle School, 1906[269]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Korean)	1	1		
Chinese classics	3	2	2	2
Foreign language (English)	[ ][270]	[ ]	[ ]	3
1st year – pronunciation, penmanship, spelling, vocabulary				
2nd – vocabulary, reading, grammar, dictation				
3rd – conversation, reading, grammar, translation, dictation				
4th – conversation, reading, grammar, translation, dictation, composition				
Total instructional hours	30	30	30	30

[267] (Hosudon Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1999, 40).

[268] (Posong Chunggodung Hakkyo 1986, 85-8). Posŏng, a private school founded by an individual named Yi Yong-ik, opened with 246 students in September 1906 with an approval of the Ministry of Education of Imperial Korea (Posong Chunggodung Hakkyo 1986, 61 & 108)

[269] See Appendix 5-G for the general curriculum at Posŏng Middle.

[270] [ ] indicates unidentified instructional hours.

English was stipulated as the foreign language and taught in all grades, although its weekly instructional hours were not specified in the first through third grades. First-year students, for example, were taught English two-and-a-half hours a week. Japanese was not included in the curriculum but was taught along with English.

By the promulgation of the ordinance for private schools in 1908, however, Japan began to exert its control over private schools: the curricula of private schools were subject to Japanese regulation, and a number of private schools established by Korean civilians were forced to close under the pretext that they did not satisfy the requirements stipulated by the ordinance. Mission schools, which received less Japanese interference, maintained English language education.[271]

According to Ewha's advertisement of student recruitment in *Hwangsŏng Sinmun* of September 17, 1908, the subject of English was included in the curricula of the primary and secondary courses, and English literature was included in the advanced course.[272] Many of the Ewha students achieved fluency in English and began to make important contributions to the development of English language education in Korea, working in the field of education. In brief, at the time when government-school curricula lacked English language instruction, and the survival of many Korean-run private schools was threatened, mission schools served as an important sustainer of Korea's English language education.

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[271] See Appendix 5-H for the curriculum of Paejae in March 1908.
[272] (O 1980, 53).

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

By concluding the Protectorate Treaty in 1905, Japan stripped Korea of the sovereignty to establish or maintain international relations. Between 1905 and 1910, Japan took measured steps to build a foundation for its colonial rule of Korea, and Korea was systematically degraded into its colony under the government of residency-general.

During this transitional period, as the Japanese government adopted educational policies that would bolster its colonization of Korea, English language education suffered setbacks. First of all, the colonial government determined the spread of the Japanese language to be the educational policy of primacy and implemented educational policies accordingly. It introduced Japanese as a required subject to primary- and high-school students while eliminating other foreign languages from the school curricula. It newly included Japanese in all the language programs at the government-sponsored Foreign Language School and placed a Japanese in charge of the school.

Secondly, the government's degradation of the quality of education in general for Koreans affected English language education. By doing away with middle schools and intending the superseding high school to be the highest level of education for Koreans and by limiting the duration of primary and secondary education to eight years only, the Japanese government deprived Koreans of further opportunities to learn English and other foreign languages. Moreover, it reduced the years required to complete the government-run foreign language programs: the requirement for the English language program decreased from five

years to three or two years. The Foreign Language School under the residency-general diminished to a clerical training program with a curriculum focusing on business subjects such as bookkeeping.

Thirdly, the residency-general's suppression and forceful closure of the majority of Korean-run private schools also denied Koreans appropriate opportunities for English language education. Despite the government's disregard, Koreans' active interest in the English language remained strong. At the Foreign Language School, for instance, the enrollment in the English language program consistently exceeded the enrollment in the other programs, with the exception of the Japanese program, until the closure of the school in 1911. In 1909, when foreign language was newly included as an elective in the high-school curriculum, most schools selected English despite the fact that they were given a choice of English, French, German, or Chinese. The existence of English language education in government-controlled schools was highly negligible.

All in all, during its rule, the residency-general implemented educational policies that suppressed education of languages other than Japanese, and thus its role was an impediment to the development of English language education. The Japanese government's degradation of English and other foreign language education during this period was culminated in the shutdown of the Foreign Language School, which the Korean government had established. From 1906, under Japanese authority, the school suffered from various unfavorable changes. Finally, with the annexation of Korea in 1910, Japan abandoned its gradual attempts to Japanize the school and once and for all shut down the school. The

main responsibility of providing English language education during this period was left with the private educational sector, especially mission schools, which received less Japanese interference.

Chapter 6: Further Decline of English Language Education during the First Decade of Colonial Rule, 1911-1922

OVERVIEW OF THE PERIOD

In May 1910, Japan appointed General Terauchi Masatake, war minister and a prominent militarist, as the new resident-general of Korea, and his mission in specific was the annexation of Korea.[273] He secured and strengthened police power and closed newspaper organs to facilitate Japanese control of the country.[274] He drafted the terms of the Treaty of Annexation with Korean Prime Minister Yi Wan-yong, taunted by many Koreans as the arch-traitor of the country and a former student of Yugyŏng Kongwŏn. Japan formally annexed Korea as a part of the Japanese Empire as Terauchi secured Yi's signature on the treaty on August 22, 1910. The residency-general was abolished as of October 1, and Japan began its colonial rule through the government-general.

Terauchi was appointed as the first governor-general.[275] The new colonial government had a relatively simple administration: the government-general, appointed from among Japanese generals or admirals, was at the head of administration and held all legislative, executive, and judicial powers within the colony: he was the chief executive of government affairs, was in charge of army

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[273] (Grajdanzev 1944, 43).

[274] Before coming to Korea, Terauchi concluded an agreement with the Korean government that it cede police power to Japan and increased the force of Japanese military police by 2000. He arrived in Seoul on July 23 and immediately suspended Korean newspapers, e.g., *Hwangsŏng Sinmun, Taehan Minbo (Imperial Korea People's Report), Taehan Maeil Sinbo (Imperial Korea Daily News)* (Grajdanzev 1944, 43; Lee 1984, 313).

[275] For the complete list of governor-generals during Japanese rule, see Appendix 6-A.

and navy, and held judicial rights, such as issuing of decrees and appointment of judges.

As the first governor-general, Terauchi's goal was to subordinate the new colony to the Japanese system, and thus he held a tight, repressive regime throughout his rule. He regarded the maintenance of law and order as the most critical element of his government and established an extensive military police system.[276] The police operated within the closely centralized system under the governor-general.[277] The police personnel were given rights to invade any private homes or participate in court procedures, to arrest any one who did not cooperate with the government without warrant or due judicial proceedings, and to make summary judgments on those arrested.[278] All government administration was essentially military, each department executing its functions in a military fashion. Officials and all public-school teachers were required to wear military uniforms with a sword. In addition, more than a half of the positions of provincial governors and the posts of district magistrate and village head were held by Japanese.

Further, Terauchi suppressed any organizations that might diminish or challenge Japanese authority. Publication of all newspapers was prohibited; even

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[276] In 1911, he dispatched some 7749 military police, 6222 regular police, and tens of thousands of aids throughout the country (Lee 1984, 314). The Japanese government controlled police stations down to the smallest regional unit (Pihl 1973, xvii).

[277] The number of staff of the government-general was about fifteen thousand, but in 1916 this increased to 42,312, of which 23,483 were Japanese, and Koreans took up lower-level insignificant positions (Grajdanzev 1944, 47).

[278] The usual punishment that Koreans received from Japanese policemen on summary judgements was fines or flogging, which were never given to Japanese. In a year, the number of cases in which the police were directly involved was more than eight thousand, and among them only thirty to fifty cases were proven innocent (Grajdanzev 1944, 47).

Japanese publishers had difficulty in distributing their newspapers. All political organizations were shut down, and any activities of a political character were forbidden; speeches and gatherings were not allowed whether they were political in nature or not.[279] Under this oppressive rule, Koreans suffered greatly.

Immediately after the conclusion of the Annexation Treaty of August 1910, Japan began to refer to its language as the national language of Korea, downgrading Korean to the Chosŏn language. At the same time, it changed the name of Korea from Imperial Korea to Chosŏn. By discarding the title 'Imperial Korea,' Japan rejected the notion of the Korean empire, and Chosŏn, when used by the Japanese, carried degrading connotations. Hansŏng, the capital of Korea, became Keijō, or Kyŏngsŏng.

Japan also attempted to suppress the Christian Church, the only organization that had international connections left in Korea. In the fall of 1911, immediately after annexation, Japan arrested over one hundred of the most prominent Korean Christians for their alleged involvement in a conspiracy to kill the governor-general. This incident was highly publicized among the Christians in the United States and became a target of their protests.

In October 1916, Terauchi was promoted to prime minister of Japan, and General Hasegawa succeeded in his position as governor-general. Hasegawa was a former commander of the Japanese troops in Korea and an even more rigid militarist; thus the repressive regime handed down by Terauchi persisted without softening, and the Koreans' sufferings continued. Japanese themselves called this

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[279] (Pihl 1973, xvi). Japan enacted the Peace Preservation Law in 1907 and used the provisions to control Koreans' political activity and prohibit any public gatherings (Lee 1984, 314).

period of the colonial rule, 1910-1919, *budanteki tojisaku*, or "control by military force."[280]

GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY: CENTRALIZATION AND INTEGRATION

Centralization of Educational System

In order to expedite Koreans' integration, Japan targeted the colony's education and succeeded in establishing a strictly centralized educational system. As in all the other areas in Korean administration, the government-general was the central top office of Korean education and held the ultimate authority in the colony's educational matters.[281] To further illustrate, within the government-general, there were four ministries: internal affairs; finance; justice; and agriculture, commerce, and industry. The bureau of educational affairs, an organ responsible for the colony's educational administration, including the direct supervision and management of government schools and higher education, came under the ministry of internal affairs.[282] Previously, the ministry of education was an independent ministry; thus, Koreans saw this reorganization to a bureau as a downgrade and disregard of their education. There were three subordinate offices under the bureau: the office of educational affairs, which handled general educational matters, teachers, schools, and kindergartens; the office of social education, responsible for social "enlightenment," youth training institutes,

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[280] (Grajdanzev 1944, 50).
[281] The governor-general was given complete control of the colony, except in the areas of foreign affairs and military administration, which were dictated by the central government in Japan (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 337).
[282] (Underwood 1926, 224).

libraries, museums, and *hyanggyo;* and the office of compilation that dealt with compilation, publication, and distribution of school textbooks.[283] In addition, inspectors and numerous assistant inspectors, directly supervised by the director of the educational bureau, oversaw individual schools. The agency of school inspection was a surveillance organ: inspectors could examine general affairs of schools and were used to control the expression of anti-Japanese thoughts among students and faculty.

The structure of regional educational administration was as follows: under the provincial office, there was a department of internal affairs. Educational administrators within the department handled educational affairs under the supervision of the provincial governor. In counties and districts, the office of educational affairs within the department of internal affairs managed regional educational affairs. In addition, the majority of principals were Japanese. In this way, the highly hierarchical structure of education was established: the governor general-minister of internal affairs-director of the bureau of educational affairs-provincial governor-director of educational affairs-county, district head-head of internal affairs-chief clerk of educational affairs-school principal.[284] Through this highly controlled system and strict regulation, the government was able to dictate curricula, standards of school facilities, teacher qualifications, and all other educational matters in schools in the smallest regional units. Schools were prohibited from making any modification in their curricula, for example, without obtaining appropriate approval from the government.

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[283] (Underwood 1926, 223-24; Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 337).
[284] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 337).

This highly centralized educational system of the Japanese is one of the lasting overridingly detrimental legacies that the colonial government left for Koreans. Before the annexation, Korea under the Chosŏn dynasty was a country where regional autonomy was maintained and respected. The domineering influence of the central government on educational affairs made possible by the Japanese efficient centralized system has lasted, and all school curricula remain dictated by the government. English language education has been no exception: many of the mishaps and failures that have occurred in the field of English language education in the past and recent years have been attributed to the centralized educational system and the government's desire to control schools.

Different Educational Systems for Japanese and Koreans

Japanese immigration to Korea began almost immediately after the conclusion of the Korean-Japanese treaty in 1876, but their largest influx took place around the protectorate in 1905. After that, the number of Japanese immigrants steadily increased. In 1915, the number of the Japanese population in Korea was approximately 303,700 while that of the Koreans was 16,278,000.[285]

The government-general established two separate educational systems for Koreans and for Japanese settlers. The schools for Koreans were called common, higher common, vocational, and professional, and those for Japanese primary, middle, vocational, and professional.[286] The common school was a four-year course of primary education that might be reduced to three years depending on the regional situations. The higher common school, the secondary school for

[285] (Grajdanzev 1944, 72-6).
[286] (Underwood 1926, 42 & 223).

Koreans, was also a four-year course, while the girls' higher common school required three years of study. Following the higher common school was the four-year professional school. Although professional schools were the highest-level educational institution for Koreans, they were in fact of the same level of education as today's secondary schools.

Japanese in Korea were given more years of schooling: six years of primary education and five years of middle school. Consequently, Korean children were deprived of three years of education additionally provided to Japanese counterparts upon their completion of secondary school. Moreover, Korean students who graduated from higher common schools were not qualified to apply for professional schools or prep departments of college. They were admitted as special students, and this discriminatory practice became a cause of students' strikes.[287]

Furthermore, Japan did not enact an ordinance for universities, thus prohibiting the opening of universities in Korea, while it established them in Japan. In Japan proper, primary, secondary, and higher-educational schools were called primary, middle, and college or sometimes professional school. Two courses, a six-year regular course and an eight-year advanced course, were offered in the primary school. After a five-year middle school, one could study at a four-year college or a three-year university preparatory school, or high school, and then enter a university that offered a course of three or four years.[288] In short, upon completing the educational systems designed by the Japanese government, a

[287] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 125).
[288] (Underwood 1926, 42).

Korean male student received a total of twelve years of schooling while his Japanese counterpart received fifteen or seventeen years. Underwood (1926: 193) reports Japanese explanations for this discriminatory practice:[289]

> …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. Such tactless utterances deeply wounded and angered many Koreans….

Assimilation Policy: Emphasis on Japanese Language Education and Prohibition of Korean Studies

The ultimate goal of Japanese educational policy in Korea was to assimilate Koreans, and Japan clearly stated the foundation of its colonial education in the first "ordinance for Chosŏn's education" of August 23, 1911.[290]

> Article II. The essential principles of education in Chosŏn shall be the making of loyal and good subjects by giving instruction on the basis of the Imperial Rescript concerning education.[291]
>
> Article 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.

The ordinance specified the educational purpose as "to cultivate loyal, faithful citizens and to spread the national language, Japanese." For Koreans' education, Japan concentrated on primary education called the common school, and at the center of the common-school curriculum was the distribution of the Japanese language, as stated in Article V. In curricula of all levels, Japanese was referred to as the national language in place of Korean and became a required subject, and its instructional hours sharply increased. Except for a few subjects such as

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[289] (Underwood 1926, 193).
[290] (Underwood 1926, 191).
[291] 'Imperial Rescript' is another name for 'royal decree.'

Korean-Chinese classics, textbooks were published in Japanese from the first grade of common school.[292]

At the same time, the subjects of Korean history and geography were eliminated and instead Japanese history and geography were introduced. The Japanese and their assistants went through private homes, confiscated, and burned or placed a ban on books about Korean history and geography and literature that might stir Koreans' patriotism. Over fifty different types of books were banned; the number of books that became the target of the ban exceeded several hundred thousands.[293]

Suppression of Korean Teacher Training

The Korean government schools had provided teacher education from 1885, but the colonial government ignored formal training of Korean teachers: no ordinances or regulations for normal schools were promulgated in 1911, effectively abolishing the existing normal schools. Accordingly, the Hansŏng Normal School, which had been established since the *Kabo Reforms*, was shut down. The ordinance for Chosŏn's education simply stated that a one-year or shorter-term teacher training course was to be instituted in the higher common school (Article 14) and in the girls' higher common school (19).[294]

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[292] (Yi 1994, 9).
[293] (Son 1992, 109).
[294] Article 14. "A normal-education program or intensive teacher training program could be installed in government higher common schools to provide necessary teacher education. One year is required for the normal-education program, and shorter than one year for the intensive teacher training program. Graduates of higher common school are qualified to enter the normal-education program, and those over sixteen years old who completed the second year or have corresponding schooling to enter the intensive teacher training program." Article 19. "A normal-education program could be installed in government girls' higher common schools to provide education necessary for common-school teachers. One year is required for the program.

Japan adopted a policy of employing "qualified Japanese with sufficient knowledge and experience for common-school teachers" in place of Koreans. Japanese teachers' ubiquitous presence was also seen in government secondary schools. Since the institution of the residency-general in 1905, a large number of Japanese instructors were hired for the Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School, but the phenomenon noticeably magnified after the annexation. From November 1911 to the end of the 1920s, the number of Japanese instructors was seventy-six while that of Koreans was thirteen, one sixth of the Japanese.[295] All the principals appointed were Japanese. A similar condition was observed in the Kyŏngsŏng Girls' Higher Common School.

Focus on Basic and Vocational Education and Restriction of Higher Education

Simplification and practicality were the two main themes consistent in the Japanese educational policy for Koreans throughout its colonial rule. The school system for Koreans determined by the first ordinance for Chosŏn's education was composed of common education (Article 5), vocational education (6), and professional education (7).[296] The common education consisted of common schools (four years), higher common schools (four years), and girls' higher common schools (three years). Vocational schools included two- or three-year agricultural, commercial, and industrial schools and simplified vocational schools.

Graduates of girls' higher common school are qualified to enter the program" (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 373-74).

[295] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 114).

[296] For Article I to VII of the ordinance, see Appendix 6-D.

Professional education was provided in three- or four-year professional schools of law, economy, medicine, and agriculture-commerce-industry.

Japan placed the common-school education at the core of its colonial education and intended it to be the concluding education for Koreans.[297] Usami, Minister of Internal Affairs, explains the government's policy at a training session for common-school principals in April 1912:[298]

> …Presently, the core of education…is within public common schools…The management of public common schools is what the government-general attaches the greatest importance to…The educational goal of common school is not to aid the graduates to pursue further studies in middle school or colleges for their advance in class. The goal is to cultivate loyal citizens who engage in business affairs immediately after graduation from common school, do not detest labor, have good command of the national language, have substantial degree of practical knowledge and skills…

As expressed in Usami's statement, Japan's educational policy for Koreans also centered on vocational education that offered instruction of simple manual skills. Article 3 of the 1911 ordinance reads, "Education in Chosŏn shall be adapted to the need of the times and the condition of the people." The government was mainly concerned about producing lower-level workers, officials, and clerks capable of carrying out menial tasks in support of Japanese bureaucrats. Following this policy, vocational subjects, e.g., manual work, sewing and handicraft (for girls), elementary agriculture, and elementary

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[297] Although the government claimed to focus on common-school education for Koreans, the number of students in common schools was approximately 44,000 or 2.1 percent only in 1912. Until 1920, the number remained low, below 5 percent (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 71). Tsurumi (1984: 299) reports that in 1918, there were approximately 88,000 students in 464 common schools with one female student in seven. In addition, there were twenty-six private common schools with 2,830 students, one fifth of which were female students. About 4 percent of the Korean primary school-aged children attended common schools.

[298] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 71).

commerce, were added to the common-school curriculum and vocation, legislation, economy, and manual work, and agriculture or commerce to the curriculum of higher common school. The instructional hours of sewing and handicraft drastically increased for the girls' higher common school.[299]

Japan's further "dumbing down" of education for Koreans was manifested in its restrictions of higher education. On April 30, 1912, the governor-general explained its reasoning for the restrictions to newly appointed Japanese teachers:[300]

> Today's Chosŏn has not yet reached the level that could hurriedly offer higher education to the Chosŏn people. Thus, by providing simple common education, the educational goal has to be producing a person that could work individually.

Before the annexation, there had been higher-education institutions in Korea, such as Sungsil Union Christian College and the college department of Ewha, both established by United States missionaries.[301] The college program at Sungsil was approved by the Imperial Korean government in 1907, and Ewha's college department in September 1910, but these approvals were nullified by the 1911 ordinance for Chosŏn's education.[302] Instead, in accordance with the professional school regulations promulgated in March 1915, professional schools were established as the highest educational institutions. However, government professional schools, e.g., Kyŏngsŏng Law Professional, Kyŏngsŏng Medicine Professional, Kyŏngsŏng Industry Professional, and Suwŏn Agriculture and

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[299] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 63).
[300] (Son 1992, 104).
[301] (Lee 1989, 95).
[302] (Son 1992, 105).

Forestry Professional, were no more than advanced-level vocational schools.[303] As the names of the schools suggest, the government allowed in professional schools education in practical matters and natural science, that is, areas needed to maintain the colonial society, rather than offering liberal education that might awaken students' awareness and anti-Japanese thoughts.

Suppression of Mission Schools

Although Japan was not entirely comfortable with the presence of foreigner-run schools, it did not take immediate, direct steps to suppress the mission schools during the government of the residency-general. Nonetheless, the Japanese government's fundamental approach to education was that it should be a function governed by the state. After the annexation, the government-general came down harder on private education in the colony. Terauchi explained his government's intention:[304]

> Among the private schools, there are schools managed by many missionaries in addition to schools established by Chosŏn people. The current number of students is over 200,000, more than the number of students at common schools managed by the government…Each provincial governor needs to supervise whether a school observes the regulations…or whether it uses textbooks published by the Ministry of Education. Among the private schools, there are schools that teach songs and use other materials that encourage independence and incite rebellion against the Japanese Empire. This is forbidden, and utmost care must be exercised to ensure that the prohibition of these activities is enforced. Koreans themselves should deeply reflect upon the consequences of fostering this type of thought. For instance, the cry for independence will eventually lead Koreans to rebel against Japan. Will this promote the

[303] (Yi 1994, 11). As for private professional schools, there were Posŏng Professional, Sungsil Professional, Ewha Haktang College Department, Severance Joint Medical School (1913), and Yŏnhi Professional (1915) (Pae 1990, 125).

[304] (Son 1992, 106; Tsurumi 1984, 296). This was expressed by the governor-general at a meeting of provincial governors on July 1, 1911.

> happiness of Koreans? Japan will just suppress such rebellion with force. This will not hurt Japan; only Koreans will suffer.

The foundation for the government's oppressive interference in private schools' affairs and strict supervision was laid by the private school regulations in 1911 and solidified in the revisions of the regulations in 1915. Despite the fact that the first ordinance for Chosŏn's education contained basic regulatory provisions against private schools, the government-general revised the ordinance for private schools of 1908 and promulgated the private school regulations in 1911 in order to exert further control. Thus, private schools were subject to multiple legal restraints. Some of the regulations were:[305]

> Article 2. The establishment of a private school must be approved by the governor-general.
>
> Article 6. Curricula of private schools, which are not common schools, higher common schools, vocational schools, or professional schools but offer common education, vocational education, or professional education, must be devised in accordance with the common school regulations, higher common school regulations, girls' higher common school regulations, vocational school regulations, or professional school regulations.
>
> Article 9. Textbooks of private schools must be compiled by the Office of Government-general or authorized by the governor-general.
>
> Article 10. Private school teachers that provide common education, vocational education, or professional education must have a mastery of the national language (Japanese) and suitable educational background.

The purpose of Article 10 was to further spread Japanese in schools and at the same time to compel private schools to hire Japanese teachers. This provision opened a door for an influx of Japanese instructors into private schools.

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[305] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 121).

By 1915, the government-general was ready to take on mission schools. It promulgated the revised private school regulations for more rigid control. Among the provisions, Article 6 Clause 2 provoked particularly fierce reactions from missionaries. By stipulating "it is not allowed to add any subject of study other than those set forth in the regulations," the government prohibited the inclusion of the Bible lessons and religious ceremonies within the curriculum.[306] Methodist and Presbyterian missions convened meetings daily in an effort to find appropriate measures to cope with this situation. The association of missionaries in Korea adopted *A Resolution Regarding the Revised Regulations* in 1915 in protest and asked the government-general to ease its regulation.[307] The Japanese authority paid little heed and further pressured private schools by threatening to close them if they did not comply with the regulations. The government-general compelled the schools to register with the government, converting them to higher common schools.

Mission schools of different denominations reacted differently. In general, the Presbyterians were more resistant: they argued for voluntary closure rather than obeying the government's regulations that banned the teaching of the Bible and decided to wait during the ten-year grace period, allowed by the supplementary rules of the 1915 regulations, and utilize it:[308]

> …Private schools, the establishment of which was permitted before and which exist at the time of the enforcement of these regulations, shall not be required to conform to the provisions mentioned in Article 3 (2);

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[306] (Underwood 1926, 197). See Appendix 6-E for the full text of Article 6 (2).
[307] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 196-97).
[308] (Underwood 1926, 196).

> Article 6 (2), and Article 10 (2), of the foregoing regulations until March 31 of the 14th year of Taisho (1925).

Presbyterian schools that had been already established at the time of the promulgation of the regulations decided to maintain religious subjects and rituals in the curricula and refused to convert to higher common schools whereas the compromising Methodists chose to register with the government-general following the new regulations.[309] The schools that failed to seek the government's approval as higher common school enjoyed freedom in design of curriculum but were reduced to the category of "miscellaneous secondary school" or "various school," which meant that the schools had to endure some disadvantages. As an example, their graduates were not qualified to enter the regular course of professional schools and were only admitted as special students.[310] Accordingly, the schools run by the Presbyterians suffered enormous setbacks in their growth.

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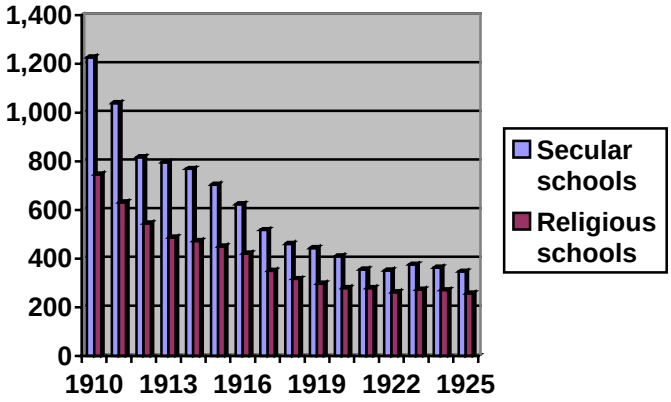
[309] The stance of the Presbyterian was that since the ultimate goal of the schools was propagation of Christianity, during the ten-year grace period they would fight against the Japanese control and close schools if the efforts failed. Some schools took drastic steps. A school of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in Sunch'ŏn closed rather than obtaining an approval under the new regulations (Underwood 1926, 203). The Methodists were more inclined to comply with the government-general's policy since the Bible teaching and religious rituals were permitted as extracurricular activities (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 144). The Paejae School conformed to the revised regulations and became a recognized higher common school in 1916. The Bible was excluded from the curriculum as a regular subject but taught after school as an extracurricular activity. Worship services were held in Chŏngdong First Church, located in the east side of the school, rather than in school (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 198). Following the Paejae's example, mission schools began to convert to higher common school or girls' higher common schools: Ewha in 1913, P'yŏngyang Kwangsŏng and Kaesŏng Holston Girls' School in 1918, and Chŏngui Girls' School in 1920 and among the Presbyterian schools, Yŏngsaeng Girls' School in Hamhŭng in 1925 and Yŏngsaeng School in 1931 while the others remained resistant (Son 1992, 117-18).

[310] This discrimination originated from Article 27 of the ordinance, "Those who could be admitted to professional are over sixteen years old and graduates of higher common school or those with the equivalent schooling."

Private schools managed by private Koreans were resistant to the government's pressure at first, but unable to bear the pressure many were eventually forced to close or convert to higher common schools: most noticeably, the government-general obstructed individuals' financial support for private schools, smothering the lifeline of the schools. As a result, the number of private schools dwindled to 742 and religion-related schools to 298 in 1919.[311] The following graph shows that the number of private schools sharply fell in 1911 and in 1912, once again dipped after 1915, and continued to fall until 1923, the first year following the annexation that showed a slight increase.[312]

Figure 1. Number of Private Schools, 1910-1925[313]



[311] Underwood (1926: 171) estimates that minimum 95 percent of the religion-related schools were Christian schools.
[312] (Underwood 1926, 175).
[313] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 131).

FURTHER WEAKENING OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

The crux of Japan's first educational ordinance for Koreans was its emphasis on Japanese language education and vocational education, as discussed earlier. As study of the Japanese language was largely strengthened and vocational subjects were reinforced in school curricula, the positions of other languages, including the English language, significantly weakened. English language education almost completely disappeared, except in mission schools.

Japanese-focused Language Education in the Primary School

The colonial government's focus on Japanese language education is clearly shown in the following chart of subjects required by the common school regulations of October 1911:

Table 17. Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Common School[314]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Japanese)[315]	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**
Chosŏn language (Korean)-Chinese classics	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6
Science			2	2
Singing-gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Drawing-painting				
Manual work (for boys)				
Sewing-handicraft (for girls)				
Elementary agriculture[316]				
Elementary commerce				
Total	26	26	27	27

[314] (O 1964, 248).
[315] The terms that were employed in the original documents by the Korean or the colonial government are translated verbatim. Thus, Korean or Japanese is indicated as the national language in different parts of the paper according to the sources.
[316] Drawing, manual work, sewing-handicraft, elementary agriculture, and elementary commerce were optional subjects. Either elementary agriculture or elementary commerce was taught to boys.

In the curriculum, Japanese was specified as the national language in place of Korean, which was in turn downgraded to the Chosŏn language, as discussed earlier. The instructional hours of Japanese sharply increased from the six hours in the 1906 curriculum to ten hours per week, taking up 37 to 38 percent of the total instructional hours in all grades. Inversely, the instructional hours of Korean-Chinese classics decreased from ten to six hours per week. Foreign or English language education remained absent from the common-school curriculum.

Neglect of English Language Education in the Secondary School

In accordance with the ordinance for Chosŏn's education in 1911, the previous high school was renamed higher common school and girls' high school was renamed girls' higher common school. English or foreign language education in the secondary school continued to be marginalized.

Table 18. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Higher Common School, 1911[317]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Japanese)	8	8	7	7
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	4	4	3	3
English			(2)	(2)
Total instructional hours	30	30	30(32)	30(32)

[317] Higher Common School Regulations of October 20, 1911. See Appendix 6-F for the general curriculum of higher common school in 1911.

Table 19. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Girls' Higher Common School, 1911[318]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
National language (Japanese)	6	6	6
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	2	2	2
Total instructional hours	31	31	31

English maintained its feeble existence in government-controlled secondary schools by remaining an optional subject in the higher common-school curriculum only. It had been stipulated in the girls' high school curriculum, although English or foreign language instruction was not actually offered in the classroom, but was completely removed from the new curriculum. One notable difference from the previous higher common-school curriculum was that in the revised curriculum, the choice of foreign language was limited to English only in comparison to the choice of English, French, German, and Chinese in the 1909 curriculum, thereby restricting the scope of foreign language education. This also suggests that English sustained its popularity even under Japanese authority.

Previously Japanese had been given six hours out of the thirty total instructional hours in each grade in boys' high school; and four or five out of twenty-six or twenty-seven total hours per grade in girls' school. However, in the revised curricula, it was taught seven or eight instructional hours per grade in boys' higher common school and six hours in girls' school. Thus, the proportion of the Japanese instructional hours in the curriculum for boys considerably increased from 20 percent to 23.3 or 26.7 percent. This presents a sharp contrast

[318] Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of October 20, 1911. See Appendix 6-G for the overall curriculum of girls' higher common school in 1911.

to the substantial decrease in the instructional hours of Korean/Chinese classics. Earlier the subject had been given seven hours per grade in boys' high school and four or five hours in girls' school, but the instructional hours were reduced from 23.3 percent to 13.3 percent in the case of boys' curriculum and, more dramatically, from 18.5 percent to 6.5 percent in the curriculum for girls.

In the Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School, formerly the Hansŏng High School, English language instruction was provided only to business-major students two hours a week from the second year.[319] This lack of English language education posed a great barrier when a graduate opted to continue his academic pursuit at a higher-level school. To illustrate, Yi Kyu-t'ae, a graduate of the higher common school and world-renown chemist, recollects that all he knew about English was the letters of the alphabet from A to I when he was given the entrance exam for the Hiroshima High Normal School and that even that recognition was made possible thanks to the symbols he used in his algebra and geometry classes![320]

Article 25 of the higher common school regulations stated the government's guidelines for English language instruction: "The crux of English (language instruction) is to develop an ability to understand and use common daily English. It should teach easy language and sentences." The guidelines indicated the importance of teaching easy or common English, although it is not certain if and to what extent these guidelines were applied in the actual classroom.

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[319] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 112).
[320] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 122).

Deficiency of English Language Education in Teacher Training

In place of the abolished Government Hansŏng Normal School, in January 1912, Japan set up temporary three-month intensive teacher training programs in the Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School and in the P'yŏngyang Higher Common School to meet the immediate demands for teachers. A temporary teaching training institute was later attached to the Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School. The government also established a normal-education program within the Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School in April 1913 and within the P'yŏngyang Higher Common School and the Kyŏngsŏng Girls' Higher Common School in April 1914.[321]

Table 20. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Normal-Education Programs, 1911[322]

	In Higher Common School	In Girls' Higher Common School
National language (Japanese)	5	4
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	2	2
Total hours	36	33

The subjects taught in the intensive teacher-training program were ethics, education, Japanese, Korean-Chinese classics, history, geography, arithmetic, science, vocation, drawing-painting, music, and gymnastics. The subject of foreign language or English was not included in any of the teacher training programs.

[321] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 244).
[322] Higher Common School Regulations and Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of October 20, 1911. See Appendix 6-H for the general curriculum of the normal-education programs.

It should be noted that the limited teacher education Japan offered in Korea was geared toward common-school teacher training only and that Japan was resistant and highly restrictive of offering secondary-school teacher education. Instead, the majority of teachers for government/public secondary schools were trained in normal schools in Japan. Along with Japanese teachers, Koreans who were educated in Japan came to exert important influence on modern education in Korea during its formation period. This phenomenon was true of the field of English language education and has left significant effects on present-day English language education.

Closure of Foreign Language School

Japan's attempts to obstruct Koreans' exposure to the world and advancement were transparent in the abolishment of the Government Hansŏng Foreign Language School in November 1911. Yi Hi-sŭng recalls the day of annexation:[323]

> On August 29, 1910,… the Korean-Japanese annexation was announced…In September,…many students came to school when the school opened…, but older students did not, skeptical of the purpose of study [in a time of national crisis]and deploring over the ill fate of the country. Although young--at the time I was fifteen years old--…we had a rough idea that the country had ceased to exist. At the time, Seoul had a warlike atmosphere. Since the Japanese had planned [the annexation] a great many military policemen and detectives spread throughout Seoul. I myself witnessed when only three people were together on the street, they were taken away. I didn't know what to do, so went to school. Older students were absent, but since young ones attended and the school continued to give classes. Mid October, the Foreign Language School was abolished. We were third-year students and thus were supposed to graduate in the following March but received early graduation certificates.

[323] (Yi 1984, 5).

As discussed, third-year students were given early graduation certificates before the closure of the school, and the remaining second-year students were transferred to different schools: most of them opted to attend foreign-run schools while some transferred to the Government Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School.[324]

Japan's ultimate goal was to colonize Korea, isolating it from the outside world. Koreans' acquisition of foreign language skills and exposure to Western languages and civilization were undoubtedly a subject of Japanese aversion and a source of discomfort. With the abolishment of the foreign language school, the Korean government's active involvement, starting with the establishment of the Tongmunhak in 1883, came to an end, and there no longer existed professional training schools of the English language. Henceforth, English survived only as a part of the general school curriculum during the colonial rule. The closure of the school marked the end of the government's direct, positive involvement in the development of English language education.

Lack of English Language Education in the Vocational School

English or foreign language education was not part of the curricula for any of the three types of vocational schools, i.e., agricultural, commercial, and industrial schools.

[324] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 117-18).

Development of English Language Education in Private Schools and Higher Education

Following the promulgation of the professional school regulations in 1915, several government professional schools were established, and the curriculum determined by the government was as follows:[325]

Table 21. Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Professionals, 1915[326]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Japanese)	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Specialty subjects				
Gymnastics	1	1	1	1

Total weekly instructional hours varied among individual schools, but the number was in general between twenty-nine and thirty-seven hours, and specialty subjects were taught between twenty-five and thirty-three hours.[327] Even though these were the highest-level educational institutions in Korea at the time, English or foreign language education was not provided.[328]

During the period of the first ordinance for Chosŏn's education, Korea's English language education maintained its existence in private institutions, especially in mission schools. Despite the government-general's intensified suppression of private education, e.g., through the private school regulations in

[325] The government professional schools at the time included Kyŏngsŏng Advanced Industry Professional School (established in 1916), Kyŏngsŏng Law (1916), Kyŏngsŏng Medicine (1916), and Suwŏn Advanced Agriculture and Forestry (1918).
[326] Professional School Regulations of March 24, 1915.
[327] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 188-89).
[328] (Kim 1991, 87).

1911 and 1915, foreigner-run mission schools managed to provide English language education.

Ewha Haktang did not register with the government-general to become "Ewha Professional School" until 1925, when the ten-year grace period expired.[329] During this period, the college department, established in 1910, had relative freedom in the choice of subjects, employment of instructors, and selection of textbooks and was able to focus on English language education, along with music education. The early curriculum of the college department consisted of Bible study, Japanese, English, English grammar, Chinese classics, music, drawing-painting, embroidery, gymnastics, medicine, homemaking, mathematics, zoology, cooking, chemistry, sewing, handicraft, history, health education, kindergarten studies, and science, and English was used as the main instructional language.[330]

In the Korean-run Posŏng, which was prohibited from becoming a professional school, the business department began offering English language classes in 1910. English was taught two hours a week; in the first and second years, reading, writing, and translation and in the third year business English conversation was offered. In Severance Joint Medical Professional School, supported by the U.S. Northern Presbyterians from 1894 and later co-sponsored

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[329] In September 1910, the fourth president of Ewha, Lulu E. Frey installed a college department despite the objections that it might be too early to do so and began lectures with fifteen students (Conrow 1956, 11). Thus, Ewha Haktang became an institution that provided a fifteen-year course with four years of common school, three years of high school, four-years of middle school, and four years of college. (It should be noted that the middle-school course was a more advanced one than the high school.) In 1917, the middle school course was reorganized into a two-year college prep course, and from 1918, Ewha Common School and Ewha Girls' Higher Common School were separated (Yi 1969, 84).
[330] (Pae 1990, 127).

by other denominations, e.g., U.S. Southern Presbyterians, U.S. Northern and Southern Methodists, and Canadian and Australian Presbyterians, four weekly instructional hours were given to English in the first year and two hours in the second and the third year each, focusing on reading and listening comprehension to facilitate students' medical studies in English.[331] In Sungsil, a U.S. Northern Presbyterian school, in the first to third years, three hours of English, and in the fourth year, five hours of English were taught.[332]

Table 22. Curriculum of Sungsil College, 1912-1913[333]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Bible study	3	3	3	3
Mathematics-astronomy	5	3	6	6
History-economy	3	3	3	5
Natural science	5	6	9	12
Humanities	3	2	6	6
Language				
Chinese classics & etc	**3**	**1**	**?**[334]	**1**
English	**3**	**3**	**3**	**5**
Japanese	**3**	**3**	**3**	**5**
Music	2	2	?	2
Practice	6	3	3	3

Yŏnhi (currently Yonsei University) opened as a professional school in April 1915, despite its original goal to be established as a college.[335] A school co-

[331] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 24 & 37).
[332] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 44). Sungsil College, the only college existed in Korea before the annexation, became Sungsil Professional School in 1925.
[333] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 156).
[334] No hours were indicated.
[335] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 60 & 144). Horace G. Underwood opened a college department within Kyŏngsin School with cooperation of O. R. Avison and A. L. Becker, E. H. Miller, and others and received an approval as the Yŏnhi Professional School on April 7, 1917 (Pae 1990, 129). Yŏnhi had the organization of faculty and staff and academic calendar of college and was known as 'Chosŏn Christian College' in English as it had originally planned to open as a college. There were six departments, liberal arts, business, agriculture,

sponsored by the U.S. Presbyterians and Methodists, Yŏnhi Professional School provided many opportunities for students to be exposed to the English language: foreign instructors used English as their instructional language and English was used in a variety of school events. Especially, in chapel services, foreign guest speakers frequently gave lectures in English. Moreover, a large portion of the curriculum was devoted to instruction of English: English language and literature were given eight hours per week for each year students, and this was true of all departments.

Table 23. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Literature Department, Yŏnhi Professional School, 1921[336]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Japanese language	2	2	2	2
English language	5	5	5	5
Reading, conversation, recitation, translation				
English literature	3	3	3	3
1st & 2nd years – grammar, dictation, composition				
3rd & 4th years – English literature				
Chinese classics			2	3
Total instructional hours	31	28	29	30

Despite the government-general's educational policy that emphasized the distribution of the Japanese language, Yŏnhi's curriculum included only two weekly instructional hours of Japanese while eight hours were given to English.

The subject of English also remained a part of private secondary-school curricula, while it was virtually non-existent in government/public schools: In

theology, math-physics, and applied chemistry, and graduates were awarded bachelor degrees (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 162).

[336] Yŏnhi Professional School Regulations of 1921, quoted in (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 163). See Appendix 6-I for the general curriculum of the literature department at Yŏnhi in 1921.

many mission schools, English continued to be a required subject.[337] A case in point, Paejae, the first school that succumbed to the government-general's pressure to convert to higher common school, offered English as a required subject in its four-year curriculum, although it assigned more instructional hours to Japanese (twenty-two credit hours for four years) than to English (fourteen hours).[338]

Table 24. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Paejae Higher Common School, 1916[339]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Korean	3	3	3	2
Japanese	6	6	5	5
Foreign language (English)	3	4	4	3
1st	Spelling, pronunciation, translation, penmanship			
2nd	Reading, translation, composition, conversation			
3rd	Reading, translation, composition, conversation			
4th	Reading, grammar, translation, conversation			
Total instructional hours	31	33	33	34

In sum, mission schools made substantial contributions to the development of English language education during the first decade of the colonial rule, where the government-general created a highly sterile environment against English language education and foreign language education in general. Given the fact that the growth of private schools was severely stunted by the government's

[337] See Appendix 6-J for Ewha's secondary-education curricula, which included English as a required subject.
[338] (Paejae Chunggodung Hakkyo 1965, 27).
[339] (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 199). See Appendix 6-K for Paejae's general curriculum in 1916.

harsh suppression and that Koreans' access to higher education was extremely limited, the growth of English language education was limited to its qualitative aspect rather than quantitative expansion.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

In August 1910, Japan formally annexed Korea and began colonial rule through the government-general. In the following decade, the colonial government concentrated on the assimilation and integration of Koreans into the Japanese system and carried out its educational policies accordingly. These policies had detrimental effects on English language education, and thus the growth of the field was further hampered.

In order to facilitate Koreans' assimilation, the government defined the underlying purpose of colonial education as "to cultivate loyal, faithful citizens and to spread the Japanese" and increasingly underscored the importance of Japanese language education. It began to refer to Japanese as the national language while downgrading Korean as the language of Chosŏn, which had negative connotations when used by the Japanese, and largely increased Japanese instructional hours at all educational levels. Education of other languages was disregarded: English language education was absent in all types of schools, i.e., common, girls' higher common, vocational, teachers' and professional schools, under the government's direct supervision. The government allowed English language instruction in boys' higher common schools only, but the instruction was optional and the hours were highly limited, two hours a week in the third and fourth years.

Further, the first decade of Japanese colonial rule was characterized by its harsh military rule that the Japanese themselves called the "control by military force." In further efforts to foster Koreans' integration, the colonial government attempted to centralize the educational system. The government-general was at the head of administration and held all legislative, executive, and judicial powers within the colony. It held the ultimate authority on all educational matters. By enforcing strict regulations and dictating curricula, the government strove to attain a rigid control over schools, and under this highly controlled system, individual schools enjoyed little freedom in curriculum design and other educational decisions. Restricted by the government's policy and regulations that discouraged foreign language education, schools were not allowed to offer English language instruction.

Moreover, during the decade following the annexation, the government's suppression of private schools intensified and extended to foreigner-run mission schools, where English language instruction had been more freely provided. Secondary-education mission schools, along with Korean-run private schools, were compelled to convert to higher common schools, which received more strict supervision of the government. When a school failed to comply with the requirement, it endured various disadvantages, such as its graduates' failure to gain the same recognition and qualification to enter higher-education institutions given to the graduates of higher common schools. This decline of private schools acerbated the degeneration of English language education.

In addition, the Japanese government's concentration on primary and vocational education for Koreans and restrictions of higher education was not conducive, if not detrimental, to the development of English language education. Japan exploited the colony's educational system by focusing on primary and vocational education to produce lower-level workers with simple manual skills that would be serviceable to the colonial system. English language education was of little use for colonial rule. By prohibiting the establishment of colleges and universities and thus depriving Koreans of opportunities to receive higher education, Japan also robbed them of chances to advance the field of English language education as an academic field. Fortunately, the professional schools run by missionaries were able to maintain their emphasis on English language instruction and remained the main sustainer of the field during this highly sterile period.

The abolishment of the English Language School, a part of the government-run Foreign Language School, in 1911 symbolized the end of the Korean government's contributory involvement in English language education and the beginning of the Japanese government's often-pernicious roles in the development of the field. With the abolishment of the school, there no longer existed professional training schools of the English language. English survived as a part of the general school curriculum only throughout the colonial rule.

Chapter 7: Development of English Language Education during the Second Ordinance for Chosŏn's Education, 1922-1938

OVERVIEW OF THE PERIOD

The world was an unsettled place toward the end of the second decade of the twentieth century: as World War I ended, colonies worldwide, awakened by a new sense of nationalism and a strong desire for independence, were engaging in mass movements. Korea was no exception: Koreans enthusiastically embraced Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of national self-determination, which was advocated as a part of the post-World War I peace settlement.[340] In 1919, after a decade of harsh Japanese rule, Koreans' indirect or implicit nationalistic movements, led by underground groups or exiles or confined to educational activities, exploded into an all-out nationwide movement of independence.

The movement, referred to as the March First Movement and considered by Koreans the greatest mass movement in their history, began on March 1, 1919, two days before Kojong's funeral rites, an event that brought thousands of Koreans to the capital from across the country. Thirty-three Korean leaders gathered and declared independence, and the initial peaceful procession soon developed into mass demonstrations nationwide.[341] More than half a million Koreans from over six hundred different regions participated in the movement

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[340] (Lee 1984, 340).

[341] Utilizing the crowds gathered for the funeral rites of Kojong, who died on January 20, 1919, thirty-three Korean representatives led by Son Pyŏng-hŭi for Chŏngdogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way), Yi Sŭng-hun for the Christians, and Han Yong-un for the Buddhists prepared and signed a "Proclamation of Korean Independence" (Grajdanzev 1944, 55; Lee 1984, 341).

within the next two months.[342] Japan was taken aback by the enormity and organization of the demonstrations, and police and armies, infuriated by the fact that they had been kept in the dark despite their well-developed security apparatus, ruthlessly suppressed the unarmed demonstrators.[343]

The movement and Japan's brutal suppression of it received international publicity. It had been accepted that Korea was a flourishing colony under the beneficent rule of Japan, but the world was awakened to a new understanding of Japan's distorted propaganda that the Korean people had willingly submitted to colonial rule. Unfortunately the new revelation did not bring Korea the support it needed from the world powers, and the movement failed to achieve its goal of independence. As one of the allies in World War I, Japan held a strong position in the international world.

Although the March First Movement was harshly suppressed, it left a lasting impact on both the Koreans and the colonial ruler. Koreans were enlivened with a new sense of conviction for their independence. A large number of secret independence organizations were formed, the most important being the Provisional Government of Korea, the government-in-exile in Shanghai. Interest in studies of Korean language, literature, history, folklore, and art was heightened. Especially, the importance of a native writing system in building national identity

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[342] (Cumings 1997, 154-55; Tsurumi 1984, 301). A series of unarmed demonstrations were joined by people from all walks of life, old and young, men and women, students, farmers and laborers, throughout the country. More than 1500 gatherings took place in 211 counties out of the 218 counties in the country (Lee 1984, 344).

[343] When the Japanese police and military police's attempts to suppress the demonstrations failed, the government mobilized the army and the navy, and bloody collisions occurred between the soldiers and the demonstrators. According to the government, 553 Koreans were killed and 19,054 arrests were made, but Koreans reported 7,500 deaths and 45,000 arrests (Cumings 1997, 155; Grajdanzev 1944, 55).

was recognized; thus, concerted efforts among Korean nationalists were made to advocate and expand the use of the Korean alphabet.[344]

For the colonial ruler, the movement made it inevitable that it change its colonial policy, if only cosmetically. The shocked Japanese government realized that its repressive militant rule had not been effective and that it needed to assuage the tension created by the movement and Koreans' hostility against the Japanese. The newly elected prime minister, Hara Kei, and his government promoted "*Nissen yuwa,"* or "Harmony between Japan and Korea," and adopted a new more lenient, conciliatory policy called the "cultural policy," or "*bunka seiji*."[345] General Hasegawa was recalled to Japan, and Hara appointed Admiral Saitō Makoto as the new governor-general in August 1919.

Saitō abolished the military police system and introduced the High Police for a more efficient control necessary for the appeasing "cultural policy."[346] School personnel were no longer required to wear swords, which had contributed to creating a fearful environment in schools. Whereas the previous selection for governor-general had been limited to generals or admirals on duty, a new policy that allowed civilian appointment was adopted. Koreans' advances into government positions were also permitted. A milder approach to the control of

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[344] Amid Koreans' growing nationalistic awareness, many private citizens sponsored organizations that promoted the use of the Korean alphabet. Chu Si-gyŏng (1876-1914), considered one of the most influential Korean linguists, initiated standardization of Korean orthography. The Korean Language Society (Chosŏnŏ Hakhae), established by his followers, enacted the unification of Korean orthography in 1933. It was a major achievement in the systematization of the Korean writing system (Rhee 1997, 56). The organization made efforts to popularize the use of the alphabet through its monthly, '*Han'gŭl*,' and began compiling a Korean dictionary (Lee 1984, 369). During this period, a new breed of novels, written entirely in *han'gŭl*, were published (Lee 1984, 337).

[345] (Lee 1973, 18).

[346] The 'cultural policy' is also called 'enlightened administration' (*munhwa chŏngch'i*).

publication was taken: in January 1920, the government-general permitted publication of three Korean newspapers, *Chosŏn Ilbo* (Korea Daily News), *Tonga Ilbo* (East Asia Daily News), and *Sisa Sinmun* (Current Affairs Newspaper), and a number of magazines and political publications.[347]

However, Koreans believed that this so-called "cultural policy" was only a newly disguised approach to the same goal that the Japanese government had set for the colony, that is, the complete control and exploitation of the colony for the benefit of Japan. In fact, military control was reinforced and police power was strengthened despite the government's abolishment of the military police: the number of police personnel, including the military police, increased to approximately 15,000 right after the 1919 movement, and by 1938 it expanded to 21,782.[348] New jails were built and the number of arrests of political offenders soared. No civilians were appointed to the position of governor-general until Korea's liberation in 1945. Publication of newspapers in *han'gŭl* was allowed, but they were subject to the government's constant, strict censorship, frequently undergoing text deletion, confiscation, and suspension.

In any examination of the March First Movement and the subsequent Koreans' nationalistic movements, students' roles are of consequence. The declaration of independence by Korean students in Tokyo in February 1919 served as the impetus for the March First Movement.[349] Within the colony,

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[347] (Son 1992, 161).

[348] (Lee 1984, 346). Grajdanzev (1944, 63) reported that the number of police personnel increased from 14,358 to 20,771 in 1922 while the ratios of Japanese officers vs. Koreans in the personnel changed from 58.7 percent vs. 41.3 percent to 73.3 vs. 26.7.

[349] On February 8, 1919, six hundred plus Korean students gathered at the Tokyo YMCA and issued a declaration of independence for their homeland (Lee 1984, 341).

students' fervent street demonstrations were the driving force that metamorphosed the initial march in Seoul into a nationwide independence movement. As the movement spread, the government-general was forced to issue an order for the temporary closure of schools, and schools remained closed until October 1919.[350]

Strikes, where students refused to attend school demanding that certain issues be resolved, such as the inclusion of Korean language and history in the curriculum and the termination of racially discriminatory educational practices, were another form of students' anti-Japanese movements. These strikes were widespread throughout the colony, with the most extensive being the Kwangju student uprising in 1929. The initial clashes between Korean and Japanese students in the city of Kwangju and the Japanese authority's unfair treatment of the Korean students involved sparked nationwide student strikes and demonstrations, where approximately 54,000 students from 194 schools public and private schools participated.[351]

Toward the end of the 1920s, the world was experiencing a great depression. The poor performance of its own economy forced Japan to adopt a retrenchment policy. In December 1927, Japan appointed Yamanashi Hanzō, who attempted a return to the practicality-oriented educational policy in the early years of colonial rule as the new governor-general. In June 1931, Ugaki Kazushige succeeded Saitō, who served his brief second term after Yamanashi. Ugaki reinforced Yamanashi's practicality-oriented, labor-centered education and

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[350] (Son 1992, 151).
[351] (Tsurumi 1984, 307). For the involvement in the uprising, 582 students were expelled and 2,330 suspended from their schools and 1,642 were arrested (Lee 1984, 364)

led a movement of improving farming villages. Internally, Japan was suffering from its weak performance in international commerce and was shaken by a strong wave of liberalism and socialism. Externally, it was becoming an international "orphan" thanks to its Manchurian invasion in September 1931. The colonial government's emphasis on the improvement of farming villages was, therefore, on the surface for the benefit of Koreans, but was in fact to solve Japan's food problems and provide a way out of economic depression.

Ugaki harbored an intense dislike of Korean private schools, a source of enormous problems for the previous government, and regarded the schools as one of his three enemies. Student strikes were harshly crushed, and their frequency drastically decreased.[352] Under his repressive rule, the private school-led nationalist movement went underground or employed a less transparent form of protest.

Within Japan, militant imperialism was once again raising its ugly head: in the year after its provocation with the Manchurian Incident, Japan established a puppet government in Manchuria. In October 1933, it withdrew from the League of Nations and was on the way to becoming a thoroughgoing military country governed by brutal militarists. Thus, a bleak future was awaiting Koreans.

CHANGES IN GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY: APPEASEMENT POLICY

Students of government and public schools as well as of private schools actively participated in the March First Movement, and this phenomenon

[352] The number of student strikes decreased from 107 in 1930 to 39 in 1934. Even the literacy movement, in which students taught villagers *han'gŭl* during their summer vacations, was banned by the government-general in 1935 (Son 1992, 222-26).

conveyed a new revelation to the colonial government that its earlier assimilation policy through education had been a failure. Attendance in Japan-controlled schools was not sufficient to instill Japanese values and loyalty to Japan in Koreans. Therefore, Saitō's new administration took educational reform as its top priority and made far ranging changes.

First of all, in order to appease Koreans' anti-Japanese sentiment intensified by the March First Movement, the government-general de-emphasized the previous forced assimilation policy. Article II of the first ordinance for Chosŏn's education in 1911 had stated the educational goal as "to cultivate loyal, faithful citizens," but this article was eliminated from the second ordinance in 1922.

The second ordinance addressed the thorny issue of discriminatory school systems for Koreans and Japanese, which had been a major source of students' protests against the colonial government. The government extended the school years required for Korean students to the same length as for the Japanese and permitted teacher schools and college education. Japanese discrimination against Korean children in education, nonetheless, persisted.

> Article 2. Common education for those who have regular use of the national language observes the ordinance for primary schools, the ordinance for middle schools, and the ordinance for girls' high schools.[353]
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> Article 3. Common education for those who do not have regular use of the national language is provided in the common school, higher common school, and girls' higher common school.

[353] The Ordinance for Chosŏn's Education in February 1922.

As these articles of the second ordinance suggested, the government allowed separate educational systems for those who used Japanese daily and those who did not. Thus, although in theory education involving both Japanese and Korean students was possible in primary schools, the reality rarely reflected it. Korean children might be allowed to enter Japanese schools, but permission was given to only a meager number of students whose parents were particularly serviceable to the Japanese. In 1939, among 95,500 of the student population in Japanese primary schools, 3,900 were Koreans; only 640 Japanese students attended common schools (for Koreans) with the total student attendance of 1,159,500.[354]

A higher level of integration was attained in secondary and higher education. Nevertheless, inequity and discrimination in education were prevalent: twice as many Koreans applied for secondary schools in 1939 (29,071) as in 1935 (15,020), but their acceptance rate fell from 21.48 percent to 15.85 percent.[355]

Furthermore, as a conciliatory policy, the colonial government expanded the employment of Korean personnel. In 1924 for the first time since the protectorate, a Korean, Yi Chin-ho, was appointed as head of the Bureau of Education, a showcase of the government's claim that Koreans' voices were being heard in the new administration.

The government-general announced revisions of the higher common school regulations and the girls' higher common school regulations in December

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[354] (Grajdanzev 1944, 267). See Appendix 7-A for the Korean and Japanese ratios in primary schools, 1922-1943.
[355] (Zeng 1996, 50). See Appendix 7-B for the acceptance ratios of Koreans and Japanese in secondary schools, 1935-1939.

1919 and of the private school regulations in March 1920.[356] The first ordinance for Chosŏn's education was revised in November 1920, but for more extensive changes, the second ordinance was promulgated in 1922. Saitō explained the revisions of the school regulations in the introduction of the "Instruction No. 46, to Provincial Governors and Principals Concerned" on December 1, 1919:[357]

> The ordinance for Chosŏn's education now in force was adopted eight years ago, and the authorities have now found it necessary to revise it in a suitable way in view of the rapid progress of the times and the remarkable advance made in the conditions of the people.

Extension of School Years

The number of years required for the common school was extended from four to six, for the higher common school from four to five, for the girls' higher common school from three to four, and for the vocational school from two or three years to three to five years.[358] The years required for Korean students to complete common school through professional school increased from eleven or twelve years to eleven to sixteen or seventeen years. Hence, the previous discrepancies in the school-year requirements for Koreans and Japanese were eliminated.

Expansion of Primary and Secondary Education

In spite of the colonial government's emphasis on primary education, Korean children's attendance in common schools remained low, below 5 percent

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[356] (Son 1992, 162).
[357] (Underwood 1926, 211).
[358] Despite the fact that the revised educational ordinance in November 1920 extended the common-school year to six years, most remained four-year schools as four- or five- year courses were permitted depending on local situations (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 22).

of the school-aged population, until the 1920s. Koreans' avoidance of government-controlled schools was, however, replaced by their demands for the increase of educational opportunities after the nationalist movement in 1919. The number of Korean applicants for schools at all levels far exceeded the school capacities; thus, from the late 1920s, even the common-school applicants were required to take entrance examinations. The government-general set a four-year plan for "one school for every three villages" in 1919 and expanded the goal to "one school in every village" in 1929.[359] However, in the 1930s, still fewer than 40 percent of the school-aged children attended common school, and the difficulty of entering common school due to the limited admissions became a serious social issue.[360]

To meet Koreans' demands for the increase of higher common schools, the government announced the "one school in one province" policy in 1920 and a decision to open two higher common schools immediately, in Seoul and in the North P'yŏngan Province.[361] The school opened in Seoul in April 1921 was named the Government Kyŏngsŏng Second Higher Common School (currently Kyŏngbok High School). In April 1925, the government transferred the management of higher common schools to individual provinces, as it was becoming a demanding task to have direct control over the increased number of higher common schools. Government Kyŏngsŏng First Higher Common School (formerly Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School), thus, became a public school,

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[359] (Tsurumi 1984, 304; Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 75-7).
[360] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 74).
[361] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 135).

Kyŏngsŏng First Public Higher Common School, and Government Kyŏngsŏng Second Higher Common School was renamed Kyŏngsŏng Second Public Higher Common School.

Despite the increase in the number of higher common schools, the capacity of the schools trailed far behind the number of applicants, causing fierce competition among Korean students and complaints against the government's reluctance or slow response to accommodate the demands for the expansion of schools. To illustrate, in 1928, there were two middle schools (for Japanese speakers) in Seoul, Kyŏngsŏng Middle School and Yongsan Middle School.[362] The former had the capacity of 200 with 343 applicants, and the latter the capacity of 200 with 363 applicants. On the other hand, admissions to schools for Korean children were much more restricted: 1,140 applied for Kyŏngsŏng First Higher Common School with the capacity of 200 and 877 for Kyŏngsŏng Second Higher Common School with the capacity of 150. The five private schools in Seoul at the time, Chungang, Hwimun, Posŏng, Yangjŏng, and Paejae, had a capacity of fewer than 1,000 all combined.

Table 25. Number of Korean & Japanese Students in Secondary Schools[363]

Year	Korean students per 10,000 Koreans	Japanese students per 10,000 Japanese
1921	5.8	184.7
1924	10.9	307.3
1930	15.4	372.8
1933	17.0	394.3
1939	26.0	485.5

[362] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 147).

[363] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 82). Secondary schools included public and private higher common schools and middle schools, public and private girls' higher common schools and girls' high schools, government, public, and private vocational schools, public and private supplementary vocational schools, government and public normal schools, and temporary teacher training institutes.

Continuing Emphasis on Japanese and Inclusion of Korean Studies

Following the new ordinance and regulations, Korean history and geography were introduced in the new curricula, and the Korean language remained a required subject.[364] The main goal of the 1922 educational ordinance, however, was to facilitate the distribution of Japanese; thus, the instructional hours of Japanese took up the largest portions in the primary- and secondary-school curricula.

Table 26. Spread of Japanese among Koreans[365]

Year	Korean Population	Number of Koreans who Understood Japanese	Percent of Koreans who Understood Japanese
1913	15,170,000	92,000	0.6
1919	16,697,000	304,000	1.8
1923	17,447,000	712,000	4.1
1928	18,667,000	1,290,000	6.9
1933	20,206,000	1,578,000	7.8
1938	21,951,000	2,718,000	12.4
1939	22,801,000	3,069,000	13.9

The government's Japanese-focused language educational policy took effect to some degree: the percentage of Koreans who understood Japanese increased

[364] As an afterthought of Koreans' fierce independence movement in 1919, many Japanese in the colony, like author Aoyagi Tsunatarō, saw the previous educational policy that prevented Koreans from learning their history as a failure and supported the teaching of Korean history and geography in the common school. Aoyagi argued that Koreans' lack of knowledge in their history had fueled their nationalistic thoughts by giving them a false sense of their glorious past and that Korea's four-thousand-year-old history was the history of 'mere appendage of the Chinese empire' (Tsurumi 1984, 303).

[365] *Kokusei Gurafu*, a monthly, October 1940, quoted in (Grajdanzev 1944, 269).

gradually. However, a further examination reveals that among those who understood Japanese in 1939, men were 2,463,000 and women 606,000, indicating that only a small portion of the Korean women had Japanese language ability. This indicates that Korean remained the home language; thus children grew up under the influence of Korean culture and language despite decades of the government's emphasis on Japanese language education.

Establishment of a University

The second ordinance for Chosŏn's education in 1922 allowed the establishment of four-year colleges (Article 12) and brought post-secondary schools under one education system. Strengthened by the widespread nationalistic movement in 1919, Koreans campaigned for the establishment of a university independent of the colonial government and collected funds nationwide.[366] In reaction against these endeavors, the colonial government opened Kyŏngsŏng (Keijō or Seoul) Imperial University, the first college in Korea, in 1924. In accordance with the Government Regulations for Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, two-year prep courses were instituted in 1924, and in 1926 the government opened the schools of law-liberal arts and medicine as bachelor programs.[367]

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[366] (Robinson 1988, 86). In November 1922, the Committee for the Establishment of a Civilian University in Chosŏn, with Yi Sang-jae as the representative, was formed within the Chosŏn Educational Association. The general initiation meetings of the Committee were held on March 29, 1923, and the nationwide campaign began. Regional sections of the Committee were established, and newspapers cooperated on the collection of fund by reporting individual donations. For more detailed discussion on the campaign, see Son (1992) pp. 178-185.
[367] (Yi 1969, 64; Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 29).

By establishing the government-run university, the government-general succeeded in seizing the initiative from the Koreans and stifling the spirit of the movement.[368] It did not allow the establishment of any additional colleges or universities, government, public, or private, and thus, Kyŏngsŏng remained the only university or recognized higher institution that provided college education until the end of its colonial rule in 1945.

Ethnic discrimination played a large role in the admissions to the university: an extremely limited number of Korean students were actually admitted, and the population of Japanese students remained an overwhelming majority at all times, severely limiting Koreans' opportunity to receive college education. While the number of Korean students in the university was markedly lower than that of their Japanese counterparts, Korean students formed the majority in professional schools. The ratio of Koreans in the professional schools was 76.9 percent in 1916, 63.4 percent in 1926, 59.1 percent in 1936, and 57.3 percent in 1943, while their ratio in the prep courses at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University was 31.4 percent in 1926, 34.8 percent in 1936, and 28.7 percent in 1943 and in the regular courses, 31.3 percent in 1926, 31 percent in 1936, and 43

[368] The Koreans' campaign bore little fruit for several reasons. The government interfered with the campaign by labeling the participants anti-Japanese nationalists and reporting them to the police. It objected to the establishment of a civilian university, arguing that the campaign was motivated by political intentions, and instead established a government university. Numerous natural disasters also hampered the collection of fund. In 1923, there was a large-scale flood, and in 1924 an extreme drought in the south and in July once again a catastrophic flood, followed by another in 1925 (Son 1992, 186). The colonial government had additional motives for establishing a state-run university: it hoped to keep Korean students at higher educational institutions in Korea rather than sending them to Japan, where they were exposed to more liberal thought than in the colony, and to instill in them colonial nationalism.

percent in 1943.[369] Until the end of the colonial rule, the number of Korean students remained less than half the university student population.

University Entrance Examinations

During the 1920s, along with the establishment of Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, the colonial government introduced a system of university entrance examinations, a revival of the Confucian civil service examination system. Due to its significant influence on English language education and education in general in Korea, the introduction of the exam system merits a close examination.

The origin of the civil service examinations in Korea and Japan dates back to China's Han dynasty (201 B.C.-8 A.D.).[370] By the early eighth century, both countries had instituted Chinese-modeled state examination systems. In Korea, the examination system, where applicants for government positions were tested on Chinese reading, was introduced in 788 during the Silla dynasty (57 B.C.-935).[371] The Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) adopted the civil service examination in 958, and it was given more substantial weight in Confucianism-permeated Chosŏn, where the *yangban* monopolized and used the system as the primary vehicle to solidify their privileged status.

However, beginning in the late nineteenth century as Chosŏn helplessly struggled to cope with foreign aggression and inner turmoil, Koreans, especially progressive intellectuals, began to regard Confucianism as one of the maleficent elements that had incapacitated their country and the main deterrent to its

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[369] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 41).
[370] (Zeng 1996, 10 & 14).
[371] (Lee 1984, 83).

modernization. This tradition of thought was fortified under Japanese rule. The state examination system, a quintessential element of the Confucian educational system, was abolished in 1895 during the *Kabo Reforms*. Instead, dissemination of Western knowledge became the major educational goal of the new breed of schools, and among the educated, the importance of acquiring Japanese or Western language skills surpassed that of attaining skills for reading the Chinese classics.

In Japan, as it was inundated with Western ideas and knowledge in the 1860s, the Confucian tradition was brushed aside and suffered a transient decline. Within the first decade of the Meiji period (1868-1912), however, Confucianism made a re-entry into Japanese society on its way to modernization and regained its reputable status among the intellectuals and government officials. The Japanese government announced a series of education ordinances that stressed the importance of Confucianism. In the colonies, Japan attempted to instill Chinese or Korean children with Confucian values, such as "benevolent rule, loyalty, and hierarchical status relations," to facilitate their assimilation.[372] Japanese political leaders undoubtedly recognized the benefits of reviving Confucian values in their efforts to unify the country and to assimilate the colonies that shared the common factor of Confucian tradition. Hence, Japan, the last country to have come under the influence of Confucianism among the East Asian countries, became the first to resuscitate it.

[372] (Tsurumi 1984, 297).

As Confucianism was reinvigorated in Meiji Japan, the government introduced the university examination system. Rozman (1991:179) discusses the importance of examination system in the Confucian order:

> Entrance exams play a central role in the Confucian tradition. They channel career aspirations, produce a meritocratic elite that can be further shaped through the sponsorship of the existing elites, set the standard for discipline and motivation, and bolster an ethic of fair competition… Despite its own weak examination tradition, in the 1880s Japan quickly grasped the merits of rigorous entrance examinations and made this the cornerstone of its recruitment of officials and reshaping of sponsored social mobility.

The Japanese educational and examination systems were precisely duplicated in the colonies.[373] The government promulgated educational ordinances for the colonial people, as it had done for its own people, and the Tokyo Imperial University served as the model for all the imperial universities in the colonies as well as in Japan. Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University and other institutions of higher education in Korea came to heavily depend upon students' performance on the entrance examinations in their selection.

Japanese revival or reinforcement of the examination system in the colonies has had lasting broad influence on Korean education and society. In present Korean society as well as in other parts of East Asia, the university entrance exams play such powerful roles: the exams connect one's schooling to

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[373] There was little difference in the entrance policies and requirements among the Korean, Taiwanese, and Japanese universities. The universities announced information on applications and entrance exams at the same time, and the exams resembled and were standardized (Zeng 1996, 88). Despite this uniformity in the entrance examinations between the Japanese universities and those in the colonies, the selection process in the colonies was inherently biased and discriminatory. In addition to the language barrier that non-Japanese applicants had to overcome, unofficial quota systems that preferred Japanese students were rigidly applied. Only one third of the total number of 930 students in 1934, for instance, were Koreans (Lee 1989, 95).

his/her ability to acquire desired social status, and thus good performance on the exams is seen as a guarantee to success in the society, therefore, provoking fierce competition among high-school students.

Teacher Education Reforms

In the new ordinance for Chosŏn's education, the government-general sloughed off the previous unwilling, restrictive approach to teacher training for Koreans and carried out a broad reform of teacher education. It abolished all the existing teacher-training programs, temporary or auxiliary in nature, and established normal schools. The normal school consisted of a five-year common course and a one-year practice/internship course.[374] By 1923, the government had established one government and thirteen provincial/public normal schools.[375] Separate training courses were offered for primary-school teachers (for Japanese children) and common-school teachers (for Koreans). Graduates of normal schools were guaranteed employment; thus normal schools enjoyed popularity.

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[374] The normal school was a part of secondary education; thus, applicants were required to have completed primary school or six-year common school (Underwood 1926, 272). Graduates of higher common schools were allowed to transfer to the practice course.

[375] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 24). A government normal school was established in 1922 and public normal schools in thirteen provinces in the following year. After the inauguration of a new governor-general Yamanashi in 1927, a normal-school reform was carried out: by 1930 all public normal schools had been closed and instead government normal schools were established in different regions.

Table 27. Students in Government and Public Normal Schools, 1923[376]

School Year				Nationality		
1st	2nd	3rd	Practice Course	Korean	Japanese	Total
1,295	151	75	142	1,249	414	1,663

For post-primary schools, Koreans received teacher training in Japan or in the United States. In 1920, the government permitted private study abroad and adopted a government-sponsored study-abroad program in 1922. The majority of Korean students in Japan received advanced teacher training, mostly in higher normal schools while some Koreans went to the United States for post-graduate studies and came into direct contact with progressive educational philosophies such as Dewey's and Kilpatrick's.[377] After their return, the Japan-trained teachers taught in government/public schools while the U.S.-educated teachers in private schools, especially in mission schools. The two groups held different positions in educational theories and practices, but the Japan-educated far outnumbered the U.S.-influenced. Under the educational environment controlled by the colonial government, the Japan-educated spread across various important sectors of education, laying a foundation for a long-lasting significant influence on Korea's education. The field of English language education has been no exception to this phenomenon.

Maintenance of Centralized Education

The government's close control of the colony's educational system left little to be decided or initiated by individual schools or teachers. Every issue

[376] (Underwood 1926, 273).
[377] (Kim 1997b, 93).

involving an educational institution--from the determination of academic calendar to the curriculum development to the selection of textbooks--was determined by the central government, and the new government-general introduced little change in this aspect. The new ordinance for Chosŏn's education in 1922 may have given more freedom to the principals in making insignificant changes and exceptions to the rules than in the previous ordinance, but this exercise of authority was done under the watchful eyes of the government and with difficulties. Additionally, government-run schools were given prestige and preferential treatment by the government and functioned as model institutions for other schools, promoting people's preference for state schools over private ones. In this manner, the Japanese government maintained its tight control and standardization of the schools throughout the colony and succeeded in sustaining a highly centralized, bureaucratic educational system throughout its rule. The centralization of education is a legacy still predominant in present Korean society.

Softening of Restrictions on Private Education

In the revision of the private school regulations in March 1920, the government eased its restrictions on private-school curricula and teacher qualifications.[378] Shibata, director of the educational bureau, issued a "Statement on the Revision of the Private School Regulations":[379]

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[378] (Pae 1990, 126). When Saitō was inaugurated in September 1919, mission groups, i.e., U.S. Methodists and Presbyterians, Canadian Presbyterians, and Australian Presbyterians, jointly appealed for the improvement of the government's suppressive educational policy against mission schools. Saitō accepted many of these petitions (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 239-240).
[379] (Underwood 1926, 212-13).

> …The government-general of Chosŏn prohibited in August 1915, the teaching of religion in schools…By the revision introduced any private school may now include religion in its curriculum…A second item of the revision concerns the Japanese language. It has hitherto been required that teachers in schools be those knowing well the Japanese language, and that in all schools,…all subjects of study must be taught in that language. By the revision introduced,…teachers in private schools are required to be well versed in the Japanese language, but they are not required necessarily to use it in teaching certain subjects…The use of Japanese in schools is necessary for fostering national characteristics in the minds of students and pupils, but it is considered that in the teaching of Chinese classics, Korean language, and foreign languages,…better results may be achieved by not requiring Japanese only to be used.

The new regulations lifted the ban on the teaching of religion, the controversial issue that had created strong reaction from the mission schools, and alleviated the Japanese requirements for teachers. Now, teachers of particular subjects, such as Korean and foreign languages, were no longer required to have command of the Japanese language. Along with his fluent English ability, Saitō's lenient approach brought missionaries to his side, although the government maintained its vigilant attitude and did not allow full freedom to private schools.

REINFORCEMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION

One of the notable changes observed in the new educational policy was the reinforcement of foreign language education. Previously English language education had been in an obscure place: English existed only as an elective in the higher common school, and the instruction was primarily provided by private schools. However, in the new curricula, the status of English language education was strengthened: English was offered as a required subject in secondary schools and higher education, and as departments of English language and literature were

established in the university and professional schools, the quality of English language education considerably improved.

Continued Absence of English Language Education in Primary Schools

In November 1920, as one of the emergency measures the government took to alleviate the tension created during the extensive nationalist movement in 1919, the government announced a revision of the common school regulations. The previous four-year common school could be extended to a six-year course, the same length of schooling required for Japanese primary-school students. Five- or four-year common schools were also allowed, depending on regional circumstances.

Table 28. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Six-Year Common School, 1921[380]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
National language (Japanese)	10	10	10	10	9	9
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	6	6	5	5	4	4
Total hours	27	27	28	28	29	29

No foreign or English language instruction was offered. Little change was made in the language subjects compared to the previous curriculum: Japanese took up one third of the total instructional hours as before. One notable difference in the new curriculum was the addition of "national history and geography," which newly included the instruction of Korean history and geography. For the first time since the annexation, Korean children began to learn about their country in school, although the views were distorted by Japanese bias.

[380] Common School Regulations of November 12, 1920. See Appendix 7-C for the general curriculum of the six-year common school in 1921.

The government claimed to intend more fundamental reforms of education and announced the second ordinance for Chosŏn's education in February 1922. The common school regulations were once again revised in accordance with the new ordinance.[381] Still foreign languages were not part of the new curriculum. Among the language subjects, Korean, called the Chosŏn language, was separated from Chinese classics and became an individual subject, and Chinese classics was reduced to an elective.

In the revised common school regulations, the instructional guidelines for the language subjects were stipulated as follows:[382]

> Article 10. The goal of (the instruction of) the national language is to teach common language and phrases and sentences that one must know in daily life so that one can develop an ability to express thoughts accurately and to cultivate knowledge and virtue at the same time.
>
> Article 11. (*The goal of Korean instruction is the same as that of Japanese instruction.*)…The instruction of reading, composition, and writing must conform to the instruction of the national language. In particular, writing…could be taught along with writing in the national language. When teaching the Chosŏn language, one should always connect it to the national language and at times instruct to speak in the national language.

The guidelines indicated that Korean instruction conform to Japanese instruction and that the importance of Korean existed in conjunction with Japanese.

Following the model of Japanese primary school, the revised common school regulations allowed a two-year advanced course in the six-year common school. In the advanced course, foreign language was included as an elective:[383]

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[381] See Appendix 7-D for the curriculum of the six-year common school in 1922.
[382] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 402).
[383] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 406).

> Article 25. The subjects of the advanced course are ethics, national language, Chosŏn language, arithmetic, national history, geography, science, singing, and gymnastics, and for girls sewing is added…Depending on regional circumstances,…Chinese classics, drawing-painting, foreign language, and other necessary subjects can be taught.
>
> Article 28. The goal of foreign language (instruction) is to acquire everyday, simple foreign language. Instruction should begin with pronunciation and spelling and continue with reading, speaking, composition, and writing in simple sentences. When teaching a foreign language, one should facilitate its understanding by relating it to everyday life whenever possible and focus on practice.

The last time that foreign language had been included in primary education for Korean children had been in the 1895 ordinance for primary schools, although the provisions were not realized in the actual classroom. In the 1906 ordinance for common schools, Japanese replaced the subject of "foreign language," and from then on, foreign language had been absent from the common-school curriculum. The new inclusion of foreign language, therefore, could be seen as a noteworthy revival attempt or introduction of foreign language instruction in primary education for Korean children. However, as had been the case with the 1895 ordinance, the new provision was never implemented. Only a limited number of common schools actually instituted advanced courses, and those with advanced courses concentrated on vocational education, leaving little room for foreign language education.[384] Therefore, instruction of English or other foreign languages remained elusive for Korean children.

As Yamanashi Hanzō, the newly appointed governor-general in December 1927, advocated a return to practicality-focused educational policy, the common

[384] (Yu 1992, 171).

school regulations were revised in June 1929.[385] The language subjects underwent few changes while "occupation" was added as a required subject.

In 1934, the government introduced irregular two-year primary educational institutes called "simplified schools."[386] As the curriculum focused on the teaching of Japanese and vocational subjects, Korean children received a broader exposure to the colonial language.

Expansion of Foreign Language Education in the Secondary School

The revised regulations for (boys') higher common school in December 1919 renamed the previous subject of "English" to "foreign language." English had been an elective in the previous curriculum, offered two weekly hours in the third and fourth grades, but in the revision, foreign language became a required subject and the choice was extended to three languages of English, German, and French. Five instructional hours per week were given to foreign language in all grades (Article 14 Clause 2).[387] Thus, the proportion of the foreign language instructional hours in the curriculum, although previously only English was taught, increased from 6.67 percent in the third and fourth years to 15.6 percent in all years. This considerable reinforcement of foreign language instruction was one of the attempts the government made to enhance the quality of education in the higher common school in order to alleviate Koreans' agitated sentiments.

The government's earlier concentration on vocational education was put aside, even if temporarily: the instructional hours of vocational subjects were

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[385] See Appendix 7-E for the curriculum of six-year common school, 1929.
[386] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 20).
[387] (Yu 1992, 157).

reduced. While foreign language education was enhanced, the instructional hours of Japanese and Korean-Chinese classics decreased: Japanese was reduced by one hour in each year while Korean-Chinese classics by one hour in the first and the second year.

Table 29. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Higher Common School, 1920[388]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Japanese)	7	7	6	6
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	3	3	3	3
Foreign language	5	5	5	5
Total hours	32	32	32	32

However, English language education remained elusive for girls. In the curriculum of girls' higher common school, modified in accordance with the revisions in the girls' higher common school of 1920, foreign language was not included.

Table 30. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Girls' Higher Common School, 1920[389]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
National language (Japanese)	8	7	6
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	3	3	3
Total hours	31	31	30

In February 1922, the higher common school regulations were once again revised in accordance with the second ordinance for Chosŏn's education.

[388] Higher Common School Regulations of December 1, 1919. See Appendix 7-F for the general curriculum of the higher common school.
[389] Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of December 1, 1919. See Appendix 7-G for the general curriculum of the girls' higher common school.

Although the government maintained two separate systems of secondary school, i.e., higher common schools for Korean speakers and middle schools for Japanese, the length of higher common school was extended to five years, the same as that of middle school, and an almost identical curriculum was offered in both types of schools.[390] The new curriculum placed further emphasis on foreign language, assigning additional instructional hours. In addition to the increase in the instructional hours of foreign language from 15.6 percent in 1920 to 18.8 percent in 1922, vocational subjects were given fewer instructional hours, down from 6.3 percent to 2.5 percent of the total instructional hours. Foreign language was specified as English, German, or French, as in the 1920 curriculum, while Japanese was now offered combined with Chinese classics.[391]

Table 31. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Higher Common School, 1922[392]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	8	8	6	5	5
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	3	3	2	2	2
Foreign language	6	7	7	5	5
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

The length of school years required for girls' higher common school extended from three years to four or five years in accordance with the new ordinance for Chosŏn's education.[393] Foreign language, specified as English or

[390] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 134; Yu 1992, 171).
[391] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 164).
[392] Higher Common School Regulations of February 20, 1922. See Appendix 7-H for the general curriculum.
[393] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 22).

French, was introduced in the new curriculum but could be offered as an optional subject that the schools were given the freedom to add or remove.

Table 32. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Girls' Higher Common School, 1922[394]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language (Japanese)	6	6	6	5	5
Chosŏn language	3	3	2	2	2
Foreign language	3	3	3	3	3
Total hours	30	30	30	30	30

At Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School, a prototype higher common school at the time, English language education had been negligible during the first decade of the Japanese rule, and the curriculum was vocational education-oriented. Students' dissatisfaction and complaints over the curriculum resulted in a strike in November 1919, and one of the demands they made was the addition of English as a required subject.[395] The strike took a disastrous toll on the students: approximately one third of the enrolled were expelled. Following the second educational ordinance in 1922, the school was renamed Kyŏngsŏng First Higher Common School, and the curriculum included English as a required subject.

According to the government's new focus on vocational education, the higher common school regulations were revised in January 1931. The instructional hours of the vocational subject increased from 2.5 percent in 1922 to

[394] Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of February 17, 1922. See Appendix 7-I for the general curriculum.
[395] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 132).

7.5 percent. Those of foreign language were reduced by one hour in second and third year each, and those of Japanese-Chinese classics were also slightly reduced.

Table 33. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Higher Common School, 1931[396]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	7	7	6	5	5
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	2	2	2	3	3
Foreign language	6	6	6	5	5
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

In the revisions of the curriculum of higher common school in 1932, Chinese was added as a foreign language to English, German, and French, reflecting Japanese invasion of Manchuria and heightened interest in the aggression toward China.

The government's negligence of foreign language education for girls continued in the 1920s and 1930s. While foreign language was offered as a required subject in the boys' higher common school in 1920, girls were excluded from the benefit of receiving foreign language education. When it was introduced in the 1922 curriculum for girls, it was an optional subject that could be removed at the principal's discretion, and far fewer instructional hours were assigned compared to those for boys.

Entrance Exams and Secondary-School English Language Education

In understanding English language education in the secondary school during this period, it is critical to examine the roles that the higher-education

[396] Higher Common School Regulations of January 7, 1931. See Appendix 7-J for the general curriculum.

entrance exams played. The higher common school regulations in 1922 stipulated the instructional guidelines for foreign language as follows:[397]

> Article 12. The goal of (the instruction of) foreign language is to help understand common English, German, or French and cultivate the ability to use it in order to assist (the learner's) advance of knowledge and virtue. Instruction should begin with pronunciation and spelling and continue with reading, translation, speaking, composition, and dictation of sentences that are familiar in everyday life and easy. It should further handle common sentences and include the summary of grammar and penmanship.

The guidelines suggested that foreign language instruction focus on the learner's understanding and use of simple, everyday language. However, this goal did not appear to be achieved or pursued in the actual classroom. In the 1920s, the higher educational institutions, Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University and professional schools, required entrance exams. The inclusion of English in the exams had an important effect: English language education in the secondary school concentrated on grammar and translation in preparation for the exams. Underwood (1926: 237-38) made this observation:

> …it is not surprising that the 'best teacher of English grammar in the city of Seoul' should be an individual who cannot speak English intelligibly but who has thoroughly mastered puzzles and trick questions of the examinations for the advanced schools in this subject. What is little more than rote-memory work is at a premium and the results are astonishing, as always, when this is made the objective.

English instructors with insufficient communicative skills were considered well-qualified as long as they were good at solving difficult problems, and thus English classes were naturally instructor-centered. Secondary-school students' acquisition

[397] Higher Common School Regulations of February 20, 1922, quoted in (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 414).

of the English language was mainly for its instrumental value, that is, obtaining access to higher education, and this phenomenon is still prevalent in present-day English language education in Korea. The university entrance exams are one of the lasting legacies Japanese rule has left to Korea and arguably the most influential factor that has swayed Korea's English language education. As the English test in the university entrance exams is mainly designed to evaluate the test takers' reading and grammar skills, this aspect has long governed English language education in the secondary school. The inclusion of English in the entrance exams may have created intense interest in the language among Koreans, but it has also crippled the development of their education, resulting in the learner's deficiency in communicative skills despite long years of English studies.

Inclusion of English in the Normal-School Curriculum

In accordance with the ordinance for Chosŏn's education in 1922, Government Kyŏngsŏng Normal School was established. The new school was restructured from the Government-General Normal School, established in 1921, and offered a five-year common course and a one-year practice course for primary education teachers.[398] The Government Kyŏngsŏng Normal School was the only state-run teacher training school in Korea until 1929, when two other government normal schools were established.[399]

The curricula stipulated in the normal school regulations of February 23, 1922 were as follows:

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[398] (Yu 1992, 180).
[399] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 252).

Table 34. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Normal-School Common Course for Men, 1922[400]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	8	8	6	5	5
Chosŏn language or	2	2	2	2	2
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
English	5	5	6	4	4
Total hours	31(32)	31(32)	33(34)	33(34)	33(34)

Table 35. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Normal-School Common Course for Women, 1922[401]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	6	6	5	5
Chosŏn language or	2	2	2	2
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)
English	3	3	2	2
Total hours	31(32)	31(32)	32(34)	34(34)

English was for the first time included as a regular subject in the normal-school curriculum, although, earlier, under the Korean government before the colonial rule, English had been used as the instructional language in some classes at the Hansŏng Normal School as the American instructor, Homer B. Hulbert, taught classes. The government's discriminatory practices against female students in English language education continued: while English was taught to male students as a required subject, it could be eliminated in the course for female students.

[400] Normal School Regulations of February 23, 1922. See Appendix 7-K for the overall curriculum.
[401] Normal School Regulations of February 23, 1922. See Appendix 7-L for the general curriculum.

Introduction of English Language Education in Vocational Schools

Previously, no foreign language education had been provided in vocational schools, but foreign language was included in the new curricula of agricultural and commercial schools among various vocational schools.[402]

Table 36. Curricula of Vocational Schools

Curriculum of Agricultural School, 1922 [403]	Curriculum of Commercial School, 1922 [404]
(For Males) Required subjects: ethics, civil education, **national language (Japanese)**, history, geography, mathematics, physics-chemistry, study of nature, gymnastics, agricultural subject, agricultural practice. Additional subjects: bookkeeping, drawing-painting, manual work, **foreign language**, industry, commerce, **Chosŏn language (Korean)**. Agricultural subjects	(For Males) Required subjects: ethics, civil education, **national language (Japanese)**, mathematics, geography, history, science, **foreign language**, gymnastics, commercial subject, commercial practice. Additional subjects: drawing-painting, industry, agriculture, **Chosŏn language (Korean)**. Agricultural subjects
(For Females) Required subjects: ethics, civil education, **national language (Japanese)**, history, geography, mathematics, science, homemaking-sewing, gymnastics, agricultural subject, agricultural practice. Additional subjects: bookkeeping, drawing-painting, music, handicraft, **Chosŏn language (Korean)**. Agricultural subjects	(For Females) Required subjects: ethics, civil education, **national language (Japanese)**, mathematics, geography, history, science, **foreign language**, homemaking-sewing, gymnastics, commercial subject, commercial practice. Additional subjects: drawing-painting, music, **Chosŏn language (Korean)**. Agricultural subjects

402 (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 183).
403 Agricultural School Regulations of January 1921.
404 Commercial School Regulations of March 1921.

In the agricultural school, foreign language and Korean were offered as optional subjects for male students while Japanese was offered as a required subject. Foreign language instruction was not provided for female students. In the commercial-school curriculum, foreign language was included as a required subject for both male and female students. "Business English" was offered as an individual subject.[405]

Advancement of English Language Education in Private Education and Higher Education

Wider Exposure to English Language Education in Private Primary and Secondary Schools

Among the private schools, mission schools in particular exercised a certain degree of freedom in curriculum development: their curricula displayed variations from the curriculum required by the government. Although the subject of English was not required or stipulated in the curricula of private common schools, it appears that some mission schools provided English language instruction.

At Paehwa Common School, a U.S. Southern Methodist school located in Seoul, English was not specified as a regular subject, but it was used as the instructional language in higher grades.[406] Instructor Velma H. Maynor, reported in 1922 that English lectures were translated into Korean or Japanese, but from the second grade of the common-school students learned English.[407] As the revised private school regulations in 1920 permitted the teaching of religion,

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[405] (Kim 1991, 89).
[406] See Appendix 7-M for the curriculum of common-school department at Paehwa, 1922.
[407] (Kim 1958, 199).

"Bible" was included, and the curriculum showed other variations from the government's requirements. Two or three more weekly instructional hours per grade were assigned to the Korean language while two to four fewer hours of Japanese instructional hours per grade were offered.

In mission schools for girls, English was given far more emphasis than in the government-controlled schools and other private schools. English was often offered as a required subject while it had insignificant existence in government/public girls' higher common schools.

Table 37. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects at Paehwa Girls' Higher Common School, 1925[408]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language (Korean)	3	3	3	2
Japanese	6	6	5	5
Foreign language (English)	3	3	3	3
1st year: spelling, pronunciation, translation, penmanship				
2nd & 3rd: reading, translation, composition, conversation				
4th: reading, grammar, translation, conversation				
Total hours	32	33	33	33

The tendency to use the school's discretion in curriculum development is especially evident in the following curriculum of Holston Girls' Higher Common School, a U.S. Southern Methodist school located in the city of Kaesŏng, Kyŏnggi Province:

[408] (Kim 1958, 261). See Appendix 7-N for the general curriculum.

Table 38. Curriculum of Holston Girls' Higher Common School, 1935[409]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Bible	3	3	3	3
Chinese-classics	**2**	**2**		
Japanese	**7**	**7**	**7**	**7**
Korean	**2**	**2**	**2**	
English	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Physical geography	1	1		1
History		1		2
Geography				3
Physical education	3	3	3	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1
Singing	2	2	1	1
Sewing	2	2	2	2
Knitting			1	2
Cooking			2	2
Geometry	2	1		
Mathematics		2	2	
Biology	1			
Physiology			2	
Physics			2	
Chemistry				2
Religious culture			1	
Ethics				1

Compared to the government's requirements, the language subjects were given more instructional hours, and additional subjects, such as Chinese classics, Bible, and religious culture, were included. English was specified as the foreign language and offered as a required subject. Moreover, the school sponsored extracurricular activities that promoted the use of English, such as English speech contests. Also, among twenty of the faculty and staff members in 1935 were three American missionaries, allowing the students direct contract with native English speakers.[410]

[409] (Hosudon Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1999, 144-45).
[410] (Hosudon Yoja Chunggodung Hakkyo 1999, 145).

Whereas mission schools appeared to exercise broader discretion in curriculum development, Korean-run private secondary schools faithfully observed the government's higher common school regulations. The following is a curriculum of Osan Higher Common School, a Korean-run school in P'yŏngan Province:[411]

Table 39. Curriculum of Osan Higher Common School, 1926[412]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	**8**	**8**	**8**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Foreign language (English)	**6**	**7**	**7**	**5**	**5**
1st & 2nd years: pronunciation, composition, reading, translation					
3rd, 4th & 5th: reading, composition, grammar					
History-geography (Japanese & foreign)	3	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	5	4	4
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
Study of nature	2	2	2	2	
Physics-chemistry			2	4	4
Vocation				2	2
Legislation-economy					2
Singing	1				
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

No notable differences from the government's regulations are observed, except that English was specified as the foreign language, reflecting the general tendency in foreign language education at secondary schools at the time.

In sum, while all private schools were subject to the government's regulations, mission schools exercised greater freedom compared to Korean-run

[411] (Osan 70nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1978, 41-51 & 69). Osan School was established by Yi Sŭng-hun, who became a successful merchant in international commerce, on December 24, 1907.
[412] (Osan 70nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1978, 197-98).

private schools, and the students, especially female students, in mission schools had wider exposure to the English language in and outside the classroom, including direct contact with native English speakers.

Beginning of English Language Education at the University

As noted earlier, Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University began with prep courses in 1924. The schools of law-liberal arts and medicine were established in 1926, and the school of science and engineering in 1938 for the purpose of scientific mobilization as Japan was facing its entry into a war.[413] The two-year prep courses were divided into liberal-arts and science courses. English was taught as the first foreign language in liberal arts and as the second foreign language in science while German was taught as the second foreign language in the former and as the first foreign language in the latter.

Table 40. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in the Prep Courses of Liberal Arts and Science, 1933[414]

	Liberal Arts		Science	
	1st year	2nd	1st	2nd
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	5	5	2	
First foreign language	8	10	10	10
Second foreign language	4	4	2	2
Latin			1	
Total hours	33	34	33	34

The courses placed emphasis on language instruction, assigning the largest number of instructional hours to the language subjects, English, German, and

[413] (Son 1992, 190-191).
[414] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 193). See Appendix 7-O for the general curriculum.

Japanese-Chinese classics. English was given one third or a quarter of the total instructional hours in the prep course of liberal arts, indicating the colonial government's considerable interest in English language education.

The school of law-liberal arts consisted of departments of law, philosophy, history, and literature, and the department of literature was divided into four programs of Japanese language and literature, Korean language and literature, Chinese language and literature, and English language and literature.[415] The English program concentrated on the studies of classical English literature, such as Shakespeare's works, following the model of Japanese universities.

Table 41. Curriculum of English Language and Literature, 1935[416]

	Credit units
Common Courses of Literature Department	
Introduction to literature	1
Introduction to linguistics	1
General lecture on philosophy, general lecture on psychology, esthetics, general lecture on history of fine arts	1
General lecture on education	2
Subjects for English majors	
English language, general lecture on English literature	3
English language, special lecture on English literature, practice	7
English language for majors	1
Greek, Latin	1
Japanese language and literature	1

The majority of faculty members and students in the English program at Kyŏngsŏng were Japanese.[417] Only a few Korean students were admitted, and from 1928, when the program produced its first graduates, to the end of Japanese

[415] (Yi 1969, 76).
[416] (Yi 1969, 76-7).
[417] (Kim 1996, 14; Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 159). In 1934, three Japanese instructors and one British taught English courses.

rule in 1945, only dozens of Koreans graduated from the program.[418] Despite their paucity, the graduates made crucial contributions to education in English language and literature in Korea, and the program served as a pioneer for college English programs.

Significant Development of English Language Education in Professional Schools

Both government-controlled professional schools and private professional schools focused on advanced vocational education, such as the fields of medicine, industry, and law, rather than functioning as higher-education institutions. As the government-general prohibited the establishment of additional colleges or universities, Ewha's efforts to open a college or Yŏnhi's attempts to establish itself as a university, combining Yŏnhi Professional School, Severance Medical Professional School and Hyŏpsong Theological School, were not realized, and the schools opened as professional schools.[419] As of 1938, there were seven government or public and eight private professional schools.

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[418] (Yi 1969, 77).
[419] (Son 1992, 197-98).

Table 42. Professional Schools, 1938[420]

Kyŏngsŏng Advanced Industry (government school established in 1916)
Kyŏngsŏng Law (1916)
Kyŏngsŏng Medicine (1916)
Suwŏn Advanced Agriculture & Forestry Professional School (1918)
Kyŏngsŏng Advanced Commerce (1922)
P'yŏngyang Medicine (public school established in 1929)
Taegu Medicine (1933)

Yŏnhi (private school established in 1917)
Severance Joint Medicine (1917)
Posŏng (1922)
Sungsil (1925)
Ewha (1925)
Kyŏngsŏng Medical (1925)
Kyŏngsŏng Pharmacy (1930)
Chungang Buddhist (1930)

In 1928, the professional-school curricula showed that all the government-sponsored and private schools included English as a regular subject, a markedly different phenomenon from the previous lack of English language education in government-run professional schools.[421] Here are some of the examples of curricula of government-sponsored professional schools:

Table 43. Curriculum of Kyŏngsŏng Law Professional School, 1928

Ethics, **national language (Japanese), English**, introduction to law, constitution, administrative law, civil law, commercial law, bankruptcy law, criminal law, civil procedure law, criminal procedure law, international law, economy, finance, commerce, practice, and gymnastics

[420] (Kim 1991, 88; Pae 1990, 125 & 130; Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 26-7). In 1935, the total number of students in the professional schools was 2,722 (Kim 1991, 89).
[421] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 189-192).

Table 44. Curriculum of Kyŏngsŏng Medicine Professional School, 1928

> Ethics, **national language (Japanese)**, **German, English**, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, medical chemistry, hygienics, microbiology, pathology, pharmacology, pharmaceutics, internal medicine, surgery, pediatrics, dermatology-urology, otorhinolaryngology, ophthalmology, obstetrics-gynecology, psychiatry, dentistry, forensic medicine, and gymnastics.

Private professional schools, especially those founded by American missionaries, continued to make significant contributions to English language education. Among them, Ewha and Yŏnhi most actively engaged in English language education and provided a variety of extracurricular activities that promoted the use of the English language. Within these schools, programs of English language and literature, although primitive in structure, were established and began offering English teacher training, as did Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University.

In 1923, Ewha revised the school regulations in accordance with the second ordinance for Chosŏn's education and largely increased the instructional hours of English. In April 1925, the school was approved by the government as Ewha Women's Professional School.[422] There were two departments, liberal arts with a one-year prep course and four-year regular course and music with a one-year prep course and three-year regular course. Ewha placed emphasis on English as an important educational instrument to teach the students about the world and Christianity. In the prep department, English was taught as a foreign language and in the college department, it was used as the instructional language. Foreign

[422] Ewha consisted of Ewha Women's Professional School, Ewha Girls' Higher Common School, and Ewha Girls' Common School in 1929.

instructors conducted classes in English, and all subjects, except for Chinese classics and Japanese, used English textbooks.[423] Many students were able to achieve a high level of English skills.

Table 45. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Liberal-Arts Curriculum at Ewha, 1925[424]

	Prep	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Japanese	5	2	2	2	2
Chinese classics (elective)	2	2	2	2	2
English					
Composition, conversation	2	3	3	2	2
Grammar, translation	3	2	2		
Literature	3	5	5	3	3
Total Hours	31	30	32	30	27

In the department of liberal arts, English classes were given thirty-eight instructional hours out of 150 of the total instructional hours. Due to the strong presence of English curriculum, the department was considered an English department and at times called "English Literary Department" in English.[425]

In 1930, the department of liberal arts was restructured to a four-year course with a one-year prep course and three-year regular course.[426] Although the number of years required for the completion of the program was reduced, the English curriculum was further strengthened: the instructional hours of English classes increased to forty-four out of 122 of the total instructional hours. In the

[423] This was also due to the fact that there were no Korean textbooks appropriate for the college level and there was a shortage of Korean teachers who could teach college courses.
[424] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 346). See Appendix 7-P for the general curriculum.
[425] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 170 & 196).
[426] (Pae 1990, 127).

prep course, basic English language skills, i.e., reading, conversation, and composition-grammar, were addressed while in the regular course, English teaching methodology, an internship, and plays were newly introduced.

Table 46. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Liberal-Arts Curriculum at Ewha, 1930[427]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Japanese	5	2	2	2
Education				
English teaching methods			1	
Internship				
English				
Reading	5			
Introduction to literature		2		
Literature		3	5	3
Play				3
Korean literature			1	
Composition-grammar	3			
Grammar		2		
Composition		3	3	
Journalism(?)				2
Conversation	2	2		
Translation (to Japanese)		1	1	
(to Korean)				1
Psychology of learning	2			
Korean-Chinese classics				
Korean grammar	1			
Korean composition	1	1	1	
History of Korean literature	1			
Chinese classics	1		1	1
Total	32	31	31	28

The English curriculum began to take shape as that of an English major in college.[428] In the 1936 curriculum of liberal arts, the English subjects were

[427] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 346-47). See Appendix 7-Q for the general curriculum.

[428] The music department provided a similar number of English instructional hours to that in the previous curriculum while the department of homemaking, newly instituted in 1929, taught

assigned the same number of instructional hours as in 1930.[429] In 1936, a one- or two-year research course, corresponding to today's master's course, was instituted.

For extracurricular English-language activities, societies for academic research were formed among the professors and students. The school opened Yŏnghakkwan, or *English Study House*, where the graduating class of the department of liberal arts were immersed in an English-speaking environment, learning Western customs and manners while living with the missionary teachers.[430] Students also performed English plays and published *The Ewha College News Sheet* (1930-1937), a weekly that reported school news and English works by students, and *The Ewha College Girl* (1930-1940), a monthly that carried papers on English literature and translation works.[431]

Yŏnhi Professional School reopened with three departments of liberal arts, theology, and business in March 1923 in accordance with the 1922 ordinance for Chosŏn's education. In April 1924, the school regulations were once again revised and the department of mathematics-physics was added.[432]

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thirteen hours of English composition, conversation, and reading in 1930 (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 347-48).

[429] However, the instructional hours of English in the music department were reduced to seven hours in the prep course, two hours in the first year, one hour in the second year, and one hour in the third year, and those in the homemaking department to three hours in the prep course and two hours in the first year (Pae 1990, 129).

[430] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 198). The house opened in December 1931.

[431] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 191; Yi 1969, 89). The initial name of the weekly was 'The Ewha Weekly News Sheet' and was renamed in 1934.

[432] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 172).

Table 47. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Liberal-Arts Curriculum at Yŏnhi, 1924[433]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Japanese	2			
Japanese literature		2	2	2
Chinese literature	3	2	2	
Introduction to literature	2			
English studies				
English language	5	5	2	2
English literature (grammar, composition, conversation)	5	5	3	3
Total	32	32	29	29

As in the case of Ewha, the department of liberal arts was considered a department of English due to its strength of English curriculum.[434] English was given the highest number of instructional hours: English subjects were given ten weekly hours in first and second years each and five hours in third and fourth years each while Japanese was given only two weekly hours each year. A similar tendency was observed in the other departments.[435] Instructors began to engage in active research activities and publish papers. Yŏnhi also provided extensive extracurricular activities that aided the use of the English language, such as publication of a monthly, *Yŏnhi Times*, and a journal, *Yŏnmun Yon'gu* and

[433] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 174). See Appendix 7-R for the general curriculum.
[434] (Yonsei University 1969, 304-309).
[435] In theology, English language was taught five hours a week in the first and second years each and two hours a week in third and fourth years while English literature was given three hours a week in each year (Yi 1969, 80; Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 175). The department of business provided ten hours of English instruction including business English in the first and third years and twelve hours each in the second and fourth years while the department of mathematics-physics eight hours for the first-year students only (Pae 1990, 130; Yi 1969, 81).

sponsorship of annual nationwide English speech contests for middle- and high-school students as well as for Yŏnhi students.[436]

In the Korean-run Posŏng Professional School, English had been taught two hours a week to business majors. From 1923, first- to third-year business students were taught three hours a week and in 1925 English instructional hours further increased to seven hours in the first year, five in the second, and three in the third for business majors and two to three hours for law majors.[437]

Under the second ordinance for Chosŏn's education, English language education in higher education was vitalized, and significant contributions to the advance of the field were made by Ewha Women's Professional School and Yŏnhi Professional School, mission schools with a long history of providing higher-quality English language education for Koreans. It is noteworthy that while Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University focused on the studies of English classics, following the Japanese model, private professional schools were offering more practical English language education. Moreover, English language education for women was mainly shouldered by mission schools, as the government largely neglected women's foreign language education.

Beginning of English Language Teacher Training

The department of liberal arts at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University was renamed the department of English language and literature in 1930, thus becoming the first formally-recognized department of English language and

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[436] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 204).
[437] (Korea University 1965, 161).

literature in Korean colleges.[438] The program was equipped with a curriculum necessary for English teacher training. Consequently, the program's significant contributions to the field of English language education were recognized in two aspects: it produced scholars of English literature as well as functioning as an important training school for English teachers.

While the graduates of Kyŏngsŏng taught in government-run schools, those who completed the liberal-arts programs at Yŏnhi and at Ewha received the government's approval to be awarded English teaching certificates for the private higher common school, in April 1924 and in February 1928, respectively.[439] Until then, there had been no training institutes for English teachers in Korea; thus, a variety of ways had been pursued to meet the demands for secondary-school English teachers. Mission schools employed missionaries and Koreans, mostly alumni, with study-abroad experience. Other private schools hired graduates of English departments at Japanese universities. In general, English teachers in government/public schools were those educated in Japanese normal schools: the government selected graduates with excellent academic records from the government higher common schools and sent them to normal schools in Japan for teacher training.[440] Among the Koreans who studied in Japan, the number of English majors was the highest.

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[438] See Appendix 7-S for the curriculum of Liberal Arts Prep Course at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University in 1934.
[439] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 171; Pae 1990, 129; Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 183).
[440] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 179).

Table 48. Korean Students in Japan by Major, 1926[441]

English language/literature	486
Law	351
Sociology	112
Politics/economics	24
Literature	52
Philosophy/religion	49
Mathematics/physics	42
Others	588

Inclusion of English on Entrance Exams

English was included as a test subject as higher educational institutions adopted the entrance examinations. At Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, English was included on the entrance exams as the university was established.[442] At Ewha, English became a part of the entrance exams in 1926.[443] Although the number of applicants was in general lower than the capacity of the school, Ewha applied a strict standard of selection, rejecting a number of applicants.[444] At Yŏnhi, English became a subject on the entrance exams for the departments of liberal arts, business, and mathematics-physics in 1930.[445] According to Sungsil's announcement for student recruitment in 1922, foreign history and English were test subjects on the entrance exams.[446]

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[441] Tonga Ilbo of Jan. 29, 1926, quoted in (Kim 1982, 64).
[442] (Pae 1990, 129; Sin 1994, 22).
[443] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 178). In 1926, the test subjects of the entrance exams were English, Japanese, and mathematics for both liberal-arts and music departments. Music (instrument) test was added for the music department. In 1928, test subjects were reduced: Japanese and English for the liberal-arts department and Japanese and music for the music department. For the department of homemaking, instituted in 1929, Japanese and homemaking subjects (physics, chemistry, and nutrition) were tested. In 1933, composition was added.
[444] In 1928, the admission quorum approved by the Bureau of Education was ninety-five but only seventy-seven were admitted, and in 1932, for the 100 of admission quorum, 107 were accepted while fifty applicants were rejected (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 180).
[445] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 180).
[446] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 163).

As discussed earlier, the inclusion of English on the entrance exams exerted a vast influence on the English curriculum in secondary schools at the time, and this phenomenon has persisted into current English language education in Korea: it has created students' and the schools' exceptional interest in the language and concentration on English as a test subject, hindering the Korean learner's approach to the English language as a communicative tool.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Koreans' indignation over a decade of Japan's harsh rule exploded into a nationwide movement of independence in 1919. Jolted by the explosive nationalistic movement, the Japanese government realized that its repressive rule had not been effective. In order to assuage Koreans' intense anti-Japanese feelings and criticisms against the previous discriminatory, exploitative educational policy, the government took a new conciliatory approach and adopted educational reform as its top priority. The government's shift in the educational policy brought about noteworthy improvement in English language education.

First, English language education experienced quantitative expansion: an increased number of Koreans became recipients of English language education. The government increased the number of higher common schools and required foreign language instruction in the schools, most of which offered English as the choice of foreign language. In addition to an increase in the number of school years, the government extended the instructional hours of foreign/English language, from the previous 6.6 percent to 15.6 percent of the total instructional hours. Students at normal schools were also required to take English, and

vocational-school students were also introduced to English instruction for the first time. All government-run and private professional schools offered English as a regular subject. In the prep course of Liberal Arts at the Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, the first and only university in the colony, the instructional hours of English took up more than a quarter of the total instructional hours.

Secondly, the quality of English language education improved. A program of English language and literature was established within Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, and classical English literature was taught. English language education in private professional schools made significant progress: Yŏnhi and Ewha Professional Schools were allowed to offer English teacher training, and their English curricula were strengthened. The government's alleviation of restrictions on private education helped mission schools to reinforce their English curricula and extracurricular activities. The government's requirement of entrance exams for higher educational institutions and inclusion of English as a test subject heightened the importance of English instruction in secondary schools.

However, the progress made in the field of English language education was limited, and the restraints were mainly imposed by the colonial government's educational policy, often detrimental to Koreans. Throughout its rule, the government maintained the spread of the Japanese language as its educational policy of primacy, and this policy remained unwavering after Koreans' explosive nationalistic movement in 1919. The status of Japanese language education was further solidified in the decade following the movement: in the curricula of all

school levels, Japanese was given the highest number of instructional hours. Thus, education of other languages including English and Korean received secondary, perfunctory attention. The new inclusion of or increase in the instructional hours of the English language was largely the government's tactics to alleviate the Koreans' dissatisfaction over the discriminatory educational policies and practices and complaints against the previous insufficient English language education.

Moreover, the quantitative expansion of English language education was highly confined and inadequate. In 1921, for instance, the number of Korean students who attended secondary schools, i.e., higher common, vocational, and normal schools, was 5.8 per 10,000 Koreans while the number of Japanese students was 184.7 per 10,000 Japanese. Ten years later, the number of Koreans increased to 15.4 while that of Japanese grew to 372.4. Koreans' opportunities to receive English language education as well as secondary education in general, therefore, were extremely limited compared to those for children of the Japanese settlers. Further, the government instituted an English program in the University but severely limited Koreans' admissions: the total number of the Korean graduates of the program did not exceed dozens during more than twenty years of the school's existence.

The government's adoption of university entrance exams and inclusion of English as a test subject in higher-education entrance exams brought about a significant impact on English language education in secondary schools. While the adoption elevated the status and importance of English language instruction in the

secondary school, it also contributed to creating peculiar situations where instructors with limited English communicative skill were considered well-qualified as long as they were successful in assisting their students in preparation for the entrance exams.

Moreover, as the government permitted study abroad and began government-sponsored study-abroad programs in the early 1920s, the majority of Koreans who opted to or were selected to study overseas attended higher normal schools in Japan. The students educated in Japan far outnumbered those who studied in the United States or in Europe. Among the Koreans in Japanese schools, the number of English majors was the highest. As they became teachers at government or public schools upon their return to the colony, their Japanese-influenced pedagogy exerted important, long lasting influence on English language education in Korea. The grammar-translation methods were given the most attention in class, and thus the students were more likely to develop passive language skills rather than active skills such as oral output.

Furthermore, the advancement of English language education, as true of all other educational fields and practices, remained restricted by the colonial government's centralized educational system. The government continued to maintain its stringent control over individual schools and dictate curricula of all schools. Under this centralized system, the field of English language education was easily manipulated: English language education was provided not on the basis of individuals' needs or demands but according to the government's arbitrary policies to accommodate national benefits or for its convenience.

Finally, English language education dictated by the government was still minimal for women. The chances to receive secondary and higher education were highly limited for women, and English instruction for female students was far more restricted than for male students at higher common schools.

In brief, immediately following Koreans' nationalistic movement in 1919, the colonial government was impelled to strengthen English language education for Koreans, and in the next two decades, the field made progress in its quality and quantity. However, the quantitative expansion was largely a byproduct of the government's attempts to alleviate Koreans' complaints against its discriminatory educational practices. The qualitative improvement (e.g., the government's allowance of Koreans' English teacher training in Japan and inclusion of English as a part of higher-education entrance exams) had double-edged effects and also left long-lasting negative impact on English language education in Korea.

Chapter 8: Sharp Deterioration of English Language Education during War, 1938-1945

OVERVIEW OF THE PERIOD

In the 1930s, the climate in Japanese politics was changing: the military ascended while the liberal, democratic component of the government and the society was suppressed. The military coup of February 26, 1936 allowed the militarists nearly complete control of the Japanese government.[447] By the end of the 1930s, Japan rose as a formidable imperial power. Historically, Japan had had a fixation on China and thus was preoccupied with Korea for its strategically important location.

Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931 and took full control of the area of China under its puppet government, Manchukuo. In 1937 Japan again provoked an incident in the southern part of Beijing, and the incident escalated into a war against China. As China engaged in long-term resistance, Japan became in desperate need of extensive armed forces, labor force, and supply of raw material. Japan's attempt to advance into the Pacific for its abundance of resources was obstructed by the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands.[448] The United States froze Japanese properties within its territory and placed an embargo on war materials to weaken Japan's military capability. On December 8, 1941, Japan executed a sudden attack on Pearl Harbor and declared war against the United States and Britain. The United States overcame its initial inadequacy, and the

[447] (Son 1992, 236).
[448] (Yi 1969, 66; Yu 1992, 208).

United Nations forces were organized; soon counterattacks were launched against Japan and its allies, Germany and Italy.

The militarists' ascendancy in the Japanese government and the Manchurian invasion in 1931 brought about marked changes in Japan's colonial policy. In contrast to the lenient "cultural policy" during the previous decade, the new colonial government headed by Ugaki Kazushige began an era of harsh rule. Minami Jirō, an expansionist militarist, was appointed as the new governor-general in August 1936 and sought the total assimilation of Koreans. Under the slogan of "Japan and Korea are One Entity," he launched a sweeping campaign to eradicate the Korean national identity. The government prohibited all nationalistic cultural expression. In 1937, after the breakout of the Sino-Japanese War, it compelled all organizations and schools to recite the "Pledge of Subjects of the Great Empire" and to include it in all publications.[449] In order to foster Koreans' belief in the Japanese emperor's divinity, the colonial government built Shinto shrines across the country and mandated Koreans' participation in worship services. Shintoism, an indigenous religion of Japan, claimed that the great Japanese god was the creator of the universe, and therefore the Japanese people were children of the god's legitimate wife while others were illegitimate children, born of concubines.[450]

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[449] (Osan 70nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1978, 329). In the pledge, Koreans were forced to swear to be loyal to the Empire as its subjects. For example, the 'Pledge of Primary-School Students' reads, "I am a subject of the Great Imperial Japan. United in mind and body I am loyal to the Emperor. I will become an excellent, strong subject through training for perseverance" (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 54).

[450] (Son 1992, 253). Shintoism was originally nature worship with organized myths added. Later, Japanese emperors were regarded as gods, and it was prescribed as a special religion during the year of Showa (beginning in December 25, 1928).

Further, the government-general adopted a monolingual policy: previously the Japanese-spread policy had centered on school education, but the new policy extended to Koreans' daily use of language and prohibited the use of Korean. Immediately before the enforcement of conscription on May 8, 1942, the government-general conducted a countrywide campaign for the spread of Japanese. In public places, the use of Japanese was required, and fines were imposed when violated. Publishing in Korean was prohibited.[451] Thus, Korean-language newspapers and magazines were shut down: in August 1940, *Tonga Ilbo* and *Chosŏn Ilbo* were discontinued. In March 1938, the government introduced a ten-year plan to distribute the Japanese language through "simplified national language classes."[452] The plan targeted every Korean between eleven and thirty with no Japanese language ability and attempted to reach at least one person per household, particularly a young adult, revealing the government's scheme to cultivate the language ability of people of ages appropriate for draft.

Table 49. Distribution of the Japanese Language among Koreans[453]

Year	No. of Korean population	No. of Koreans who understood Japanese	Percentage
1937	21,682,855	2,397,398	11.06
1938	21,950,716	2,717,807	12.38
1939	22,800,647	3,069,032	13.89
1940	22,954,563	3,573,338	15.57
1941	23,913,063	3,972,094	16.61
1942	25,525,409	5,089,214	19.94
1943	25,827,208	5,722,448	22.15

[451] (Lee 1984, 371).
[452] (Choe 1995, 241).
[453] From various sources, such as *Chosŏn Ch'ongdokpu Chosawŏlbo* (Monthly Report of the Government-General) vol. 9 (issue 7), 10 (6) & 11 (6) and *Che79hoe Cheguguihoe Sŏlmyŏng Charyo* and Taeyamunsŏ, 1236, quoted in (Choe 1995, 242; Kim 1969, 32).

Despite the government's active campaign and requirement, the number of Koreans who understood Japanese did not reach 20 percent of the population until 1943, more than thirty years after colonial rule began. It should be noted that the data show the percentage of Koreans who understood Japanese and that understanding a language is different from having command of the language. It is not clear what categories were used to define "understanding" Japanese. Nonetheless, the rate was higher in urban areas than in the countryside and among males than among females, reflecting the demographics of those who had more exposure to colonial education.

Moreover, the government-general ordered Koreans' adoption of Japanese names in February 1940. Those who refused to follow the policy fell victim to the government's restrictions and imposed inconveniences: they became targets of the police and were denied food supplies, school admissions and attendance, and/or employment.

Along with these drastic measures to induce Koreans' psychological surrender for their active support for its war and to assimilate them into the Japanese system, Japan endeavored to convert the entire colony into a war supply base. After 1937, as Japan's attacks on China developed into a full-scale war, which endured despite Japan's initial miscalculated confidence, the government-general implemented a general mobilization policy. Korea's economy was restructured, and manpower and materials were mobilized for the purpose of war. The idea of drafting Koreans was first raised among Japanese leaders after the Manchurian Incident, but it was realized in February 1938, when the colonial

government announced an ordinance for special "volunteers" for the Japanese army.[454] In May 1942, following its attack on the United States, Japan inaugurated a new colonial government headed by Koiso; his new administration's goal was to maximize the usage of the colony for war productivity. The government enforced a draft system; thus, Koreans were driven into battle lines as so-called "volunteers" first and then "conscripts." Those who refused to join the army were compelled into labor, while tens of thousands of young women were mobilized and forced into sexual slavery for Japanese soldiers.

As World War II progressed, Koreans' sufferings deepened, but with the sufferings arose new hopes for Korea's liberation. With Italy's surrender in June 1943, the Allies' victory became more likely. In December of the same year, the leaders of the United States, Britain, and China adopted the "Cairo Declaration," which asserted Korea's independence: "the aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent."[455] The three Allies and the Soviet Union confirmed this assertion upon Germany's surrender in May 1945. With Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945, Korea was finally freed from four decades of oppressive rule.

WARTIME EDUCATIONAL POLICY

On March 3, 1938, immediately after the breakout of the second Sino-Japanese War, Governor-General Minami announced the third ordinance for

[454] (Tongsong Chunggodung Hakkyo 1987, 216).
[455] (Lee 1984, 373).

Chosŏn's education on the basis of three educational policies, i.e., "understanding of the national polity" (*kokutai meicho*), "Japan and Korea as one" (*naisen ittai*), and "training for perseverance" (*ninku rensei*).[456] Under the policy of "understanding of the national polity," students were required to attend worship services at Shinto shrines and to recite the "Pledge of Subjects of the Great Empire." To realize the national goal of "Japan and Korea as one," students were forced to use Japanese in and outside class and to take Japanese names. Under the pretext of "training for perseverance," students were given military drills and mobilized as a labor force. The goal of education was to manipulate education for the purpose of Japan's war efforts, that is, the mobilization of Koreans and the exploitation of the colony as a supply base.

Integration of Schools

The major change brought about by the third ordinance was that the previous differential systems for Japanese and Korean students were discarded. On the ground of the policy of "Japan and Korea as one," the government unified school names, changing those of Korean schools to Japanese. The previous common schools, higher common schools, and girls' higher common schools were renamed primary schools, middle schools, and girls' high schools, respectively.[457] Attempts were made to place Koreans and Japanese in the same schools: existing schools could remain segregated, but new schools were

[456] (Rhee 1989, 61; Son 1992, 244; Yi 1969, 66). The three principles in Korean are 'kukch'e myongjing,' 'naesŏn ilch'e,' and 'in'go tallyŏn.'
[457] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 153).

encouraged to be integrated. In principle, the same instructional guidelines and curricula were provided for both Korean and Japanese schools.

Monolingual Policy and Language Education

During this final decade of colonial rule, Japan's primary goal was to fully assimilate Koreans for the purpose of war effects. In order to meet the increasing need for a labor force that understood the Japanese language, Japanese language education was given an unparalleled emphasis, and the language was forced upon Koreans as their daily means of communication. Accordingly, the status of Korean significantly weakened in school curricula, and in many cases Korean language education was completely abandoned. In 1937, the governor-general ordered that all instruction be conducted in Japanese and that students not be allowed to speak Korean in or outside class. When a student was discovered using Korean, s/he was punished or given lower points on her/his conduct grade. For instance, in July 1942, when the Bureau of Education officially instructed Ewha to use Japanese as the daily language on campus as well as the instructional language, the school was forced to reorganize its personnel and to increase the number of ethnic Japanese instructors.[458]

Suppression of Mission Schools and Expulsion of Missionaries

The third ordinance for Chosŏn's education discouraged the establishment of private schools: from 1938 to 1943 seventeen new public middle schools and twenty-two public girls' high schools were established while the opening of any

[458] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 282).

new private schools was not permitted. Mission schools were no longer allowed to teach the Bible and were ordered to abandon all religious activities.

The government's mandate for worship at Shinto shrines emerged as a critical issue that threatened the existence of mission schools, for many missionaries viewed Shintoism as idolatry. The governor-general revised the Shinto regulations in August 1936 and reinforced schools' participation in such worship.[459] The mission schools that refused to observe the mandate were faced with being closed. In coping with the difficult situation, different denominations took different approaches: Catholics and Methodists considered the participation in Shinto worship as "patriotic events" rather than religious ones and thus complied with the government's requirement. Presbyterians resolutely rejected the practice and voluntarily closed schools. Southern Presbyterians in particular strongly resisted and refused to participate; thus all ten schools run by the mission were closed.[460] Northern Presbyterian schools, such as Sungsil Professional School, Sungsil Middle School, and Sungŭi Girls' School, closed in March 1938.[461] The Mission Headquarters of the U.S. Northern Presbyterian Church announced a complete halt of financial support for Korean schools and withdrawal of missionaries in May 1938.[462] By 1939, numerous mission schools

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[459] (Son 1992, 254). A Shinto shrine was installed in each village, and every house was instructed to install an altar of sacrifice called kamidana (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 252). The government-general mobilized students to worship at Shinto shrines once a month at first and then every week. Every morning students were forced to bow toward the Japanese palace and to offer silent prayers at noon.

[460] (Kim 1970, 184). The schools closed were Sungil Middle School and Supia Girls' School in Kwangju, Yŏnghŭng Middle School and Chŏngmyŏng Girls' School in Mokp'o, Maesan School in Sunch'ŏnSinhŭng School and Kijŏn Girls' School in Chŏnju, and Yŏngmyŏng School in Kunsan.

[461] (Sungjon Taehakkyo 80nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1979, 361).

[462] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 277).

had been closed, or their ownership had been transferred to Koreans or Japanese. This was the most trying period for mission schools during their long existence in Korea.

Japan's antagonism against mission schools intensified beginning in 1939, when the United States and Japan became embroiled in war. After the Sino-Japanese War, the United States supported China's Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975). Japan considered the United States an enemy and created an anti-American atmosphere in Korea. It made constant attempts to drive missionaries out of Korea. In October 1940, the president of the United States ordered through the State Department a complete withdrawal of all its citizens from Korea.[463] By 1942, all missionaries, along with other Americans in Korea, had been repatriated.[464] The positions and school proprietorships that the American missionaries had maintained were eventually taken over by the Japanese and Japanese foundations. Yŏnhi Professional School, for instance, was confiscated as enemy property by the government in August 1942.[465] It goes without saying that this drastic downfall of mission schools, many of which had provided quality English language education, dealt a debilitating blow to the development of the education.

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[463] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 278).
[464] When the United States ordered the Americans in Korea to withdraw, Underwood refused and decided to stay, saying "As long as Koreans do not order me to leave, I can't leave Korea." He was arrested and imprisoned (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 252). In June 1942, when Underwood, who had been running Yŏnhi, left Korea, he was the last missionary to leave Korea and all the missionaries had withdrawn from Korea.
[465] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 275).

Restructure of School System and Mobilization

The militarization of schools began with the promulgation of the third educational ordinance in March 1938. Under the national mobilization law in May, students were mobilized for on- and outside-campus projects, such as the rearrangement of school surroundings and road improvement.[466] From 1940, Japan dispatched Japanese soldiers to schools and began giving military drills to students.[467] After Japan declared war against the United States in December 1941, the government's interference in school affairs increased. The number of years required for professional school and other higher educational institutions was reduced, a measure closely related to the enforcement of the draft system. In 1941, the school of science and engineering was instituted in the Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University. In the same year, the ordinance for national schools was enacted, whereby primary schools were renamed national schools, one of the attempts the colonial government made in order to invoke Korean children's patriotism for the Empire. The ordinance for middle schools in January 1943 reduced the school length by one year, another measure related to the issue of conscription.

The government-general introduced the fourth ordinance for Chosŏn's education in March 1943 and the "ordinance for wartime emergency measures with regard to education" in October in order to more thoroughly adapt the Korean educational system for the purpose of the Japanese war.[468] Kyŏngsŏng

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[466] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 184).
[467] (Yi 1969, 81).
[468] (Son 1992, 305).

Imperial University and professional schools were restructured and/or renamed.[469] Liberal arts suffered a decline while the science departments expanded in order to meet Japan's need for industrial war technology.

Japan began drafting Korean adult males in August 1943 and announced a student-soldier system in October of the same year. Male students were ordered to submit applications for military service by November 20. When the refusal campaign organized by students from Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University and professional schools in Seoul failed, many of them left school and scattered across the country to avoid being forced into service. As its expectation for the number of student "volunteers" was not met, the government-general enlisted assistance of schools, government officials, and the police to pressure students' participation, along with an active countrywide campaign.

While a number of older Korean students were forced into military service, young students were commandeered as labor force. As early as May 1939, Japan began to apply its national mobilization law to Koreans. The colonial government organized labor corps within middle or higher-level schools. From 1943, labor mobilization became more frequent, and even primary-school students were mobilized.[470] Starting in May 1943, the entire population of the

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[469] Myŏngnyun Professional School was renamed as Youth Development Institute; Ewha Women's Professional School as Leader Training Department, Women's Youth Development Institute, Ewha Women's Professional School (December 1943); Sungmyŏng Women's Professional School as Leader Training Department, Women's Youth Development Institute, Sungmyŏng Women's Professional School (December 1943); Yŏnhi Professional School as Kyŏngsŏng Industry Management Professional School (April 1944); Posŏng Professional School as Kyŏngsŏng Colonial Economy Professional School (April 1944); Kyŏngsŏng Law Professional School and Kyŏngsŏng Advanced Commercial School as Kyŏngsŏng Economy Professional School (April 1944) (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 31-2).

[470] Japan suffered a serious lack of oil supply as the war intensified. Thus, even elementary-school students were forced to gather turpentine (Son 1992, 296). For the supply of war

private-school students in Seoul was mobilized for the dredging work of a reservoir. Students in other regions were dragged to munitions factories. Students were assigned specific hours and days per year for labor, e.g., twenty days in the first semester, twenty days in the second semester, sixty days in the third year and ninety days in the fourth year.[471] Consequently, classes were neglected or abandoned.

As there were growing signs of Japan's defeat, Korean students were further driven into labor mobilization. Japan announced the "outline for the reinforcement of students' military education" and the "outline for the emergency measures for student mobilization" in March 1944, effectively converting students into half soldiers and half laborers.[472] In March of the following year, the colonial government announced a suspension of all classes except national-school classes, but later classes at national schools were cancelled as well. As no classes were held, students were compelled to do more work at munitions factories or for other military purposes. Pak Ch'an-ung, a student at Kyŏnggi Middle School at the time, recollects those grim days:[473]

> For fifty-two days from August 20 to October 10, (1944), in the summer of our fifth year, we were mobilized to work on the airport in P'yŏng-t'aek. Students from schools of different levels in Seoul as well as people

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materials, to cite an example of Yŏnhi, the statue of Underwood, astronomical observatory, telescopes, and steel products from the school buildings were confiscated for the manufacture of military supplies beginning in 1942, and the campus became a drill ground. The stadium and plazas were turned into fields for food production, and the woods on campus became a secret storage area for explosives and gunpowder and shelters (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 299).

[471] A recollection of Kim T'ae-sik, a student at Posŏng Middle School from 1941-1945 (Posong Chunggodung Hakkyo 1986, 518-19).

[472] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 182).

[473] (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 184-85).

> mobilized countrywide formed a sort of labor camp. A Japanese navy lieutenant was in charge and under him were two or three Japanese petty officers. Everyday we were assigned to level the ground and carry away the soil. When the assigned portion was not met, we were prohibited from returning to our billets (dugouts). The meals were not much better than those given in prison; thus, in the beginning no one bothered to eat them. But later even these meals were not enough, and so people fought over them...I remember when the lieutenant and the petty officers beat up all of us, the students from Kyŏnggi, and when we walked to nearby houses (more than three kilometers) and were treated to rice on the night of *Ch'u-sŏk*.[474]

In May 1945, the government announced a wartime educational ordinance that committed education solely for the purpose of the execution of war. The ordinance allowed the government to take special measures to change curricula and the number of school days according to the development of the war. The schools were converted into military structures, and all school training was diverted for the purpose of producing food and military supplies.

However, Japan's madness and brutal rule finally came to a close as World War II ended in the Allied's victory and Korea was liberated on August 15, 1945. The last decade of Japanese rule was a period of truly dark, tragic years for Koreans; Japan manipulated colonial education to the fullest as the main vehicle for assimilating Korean youths into the Japanese mainstream and exploiting Korea for the purpose of its imperialistic war.

SHARP DEGENERATION OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN TIME OF WAR

While Japan was engaged in a war against the United States and Britain, English language education in Korea experienced a sharp decline. In addition to

[474] *Ch'u-sŏk* is traditional Korean Thanksgiving Day.

the colonial government's de-emphasis of liberal arts and foreign languages in general and the exploitation of schools and students for wartime mobilization, Japan created an environment that suppressed the use of the English language. American-sponsored mission schools, a major resource of quality English language education in Korea, were under the government's strict supervision and withered because of religious and political conflicts as Japan fought the United States.

English as the Language of the Enemy

In May 1938, the governor-general "…flatly reject[ed] corrupt customs that are based on the abstract, individual European and American thoughts, which have nothing to do with our history and national body."[475] Accordingly, the government banned the importation of Western books that it viewed as unfit for its national policies and ideologies and the climate of Japanese imperialism; it also restricted the use of American and British authors' works as textbooks.[476] It banned the display of English language signs on school facilities and prohibited study in or travel to the United States and Europe. In 1939, the government initiated a drastic reduction of the instructional hours of English in middle school and removed the subject from the higher-education entrance exams, a decision that had an especially negative impact on the mission schools that had concentrated on English language education.[477] The government declared English

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[475] (Son 1992, 245).
[476] (Pae 1990, 130). Among the banned were the works of Bertrand Russell, who was widely critical of Japan after the Sino-Japanese War, *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill, and the short stories of Aldous Huxley (Son 1992, 245; Yi 1969, 81).
[477] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 278).

as an enemy language and fired all of the British and Americans in official positions. As noted, missionaries were removed from the schools and forced to leave the country. In sum, under the highly discouraging atmosphere the colonial government created against the English language, both the quality and the quantity of English language education suffered a great deal.

Strict Monolingual Education in the Primary School

As noted, in accordance with the third ordinance for Chosŏn's education, the common school was renamed primary school. The primary school regulations of March 15, 1938, stipulated the educational goals and guidelines for language education as follows:[478]

> Article 16. VII. Primary school provides thorough education of the national language [i.e., Japanese] by assisting students to acquire the national language and to have accurate usage and good command of the language in order to cultivate characteristics as subjects of the Empire.
>
> VIII. The instructional language is the national language.

The policy of Japanese as the instructional language had been maintained from the beginning of Japanese occupation, but now a strict application was made, and the use of Korean was prohibited even for students' communication among themselves outside class.

In the revised curriculum, Korean was reduced to an elective, and an elimination of the subject was allowed at the principal's discretion. At the time, most of the primary-school principals were Japanese, and assimilation education was firmly implemented; thus, an assumption could be made that Korean

[478] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 52-52).

language education almost completely disappeared from primary schools, and monolingual education was established.[479]

The government enacted the ordinance for national schools on February 28, 1941 and renamed primary schools national schools.[480] An integrated curriculum, in which several subjects came under one integrated subject, was introduced, and Korean was completely eliminated from the new curriculum.[481]

Decline of English Language Education in the Secondary School

Higher common schools were renamed middle schools in accordance with the third ordinance for Chosŏn's education. The middle school regulations of March 15, 1938 stipulated the educational goals for the language subjects as follows:[482]

> Article 17. The main goal of foreign language instruction is to develop an ability to understand and use common Chinese, German, French, or English in order to help advance knowledge and virtue and to cultivate national identity. Pronunciation, spelling, listening, reading and interpretation, speaking and composition, dictation, and the gist of grammar should be taught along with penmanship. In foreign language instruction, simple modern sentences should be focused on so as to facilitate an understanding and application of the language. Through the comparison with foreign countries, the uniqueness of our nationality should be understood, and it should contribute to the cultivation of national morals.
>
> Article 24. Whenever possible, instruction of the Chosŏn language [Korean] should be connected to the national language…and help cultivate one's conviction as subjects of the Empire.

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[479] See Appendix 8-A for the curriculum of six-year primary school in 1938.
[480] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 20 & 157).
[481] See Appendix 8-B for the curriculum of national school in 1941.
[482] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 463-67).

> Article 25. The schools that do not add the Chosŏn language can assign its weekly instructional hours to other subjects of the corresponding grade with an approval of the Governor-General.

Whether for foreign language or for Korean, the instructional goals emphasized the importance of language education in terms of cultivating patriotism and loyalty for the Empire. In the new curriculum, foreign language remained a required subject, but the order of listing foreign languages was altered: Chinese was given the top priority, reflecting Japan's preoccupation with China.

Table 50. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Middle School, 1938[483]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language (Japanese)-Chinese classics	7	7	6	5	5
Chosŏn language (Korean)	2	2	1	1	1
Foreign language	5	5	6	5	5
Total hours	34	34	35	35	35

Compared to the 1931 curriculum, there were not considerable changes in the number of the instructional hours for foreign language: one hour per week was reduced in the curricula for first- and second-year students.

Girls' higher common schools were renamed girls' high schools. In the new curriculum, foreign language was stipulated as Chinese, French, or English and offered as an elective. As in the boys' curriculum, the instructional hours of foreign language sustained only a few changes in the new curriculum.

[483] Middle School Regulations of March 15, 1938. See Appendix 8-C for the general curriculum of middle school.

Table 51. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Five-year Girls' High School, 1938[484]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language	6	6	6	5	5
Chosŏn language	2	2	1	1	1
Foreign language	3	3	3	2	2
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

As Japan's entanglement in the war deepened, however, foreign language instruction, as with the school curricula in general, underwent substantial changes. The ordinance for middle schools in January 1943 reduced the middle-school years to four and the years for girls' high school to two, thus curtailing the general amount of foreign language instruction that secondary-school students received. In the revised curriculum of middle school, foreign language was reduced to an optional subject in the third and higher grades. The proportion of the weekly instructional hours of foreign language decreased from the previous 15 percent to 10.7 or 5.3 percent. In the curriculum of girls' high school, foreign language was offered as an elective, part of the additional subjects, in all grades. Korean was completely eliminated from all secondary-school curricula.

Table 52. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Middle School, 1943[485]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language	5	5	5	5
Foreign language	4	4	(4)	(4)
Total hours	37	37	38	38

[484] Girls' High School Regulations of March 15, 1938. See Appendix 8-D for the general curriculum.
[485] Middle School Regulations of March 3, 1943. See Appendix 8-E for the overall curriculum of middle school in 1943.

Table 53. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Two-year Girls' High School, 1943[486]

	1st year	2nd
National language	4	4
Additional subjects	4	4
Total hours	37	37

The following guidelines were provided for foreign language instruction in middle school:[487]

> Article 2. The subjects are national subjects, science-mathematics subjects, phys. ed-drill subjects, arts subjects, vocational subjects or foreign language subjects. Foreign language is an elective in the third or higher grade.
>
> Article 8. The instructional goals of the foreign language subjects are to develop an ability to understand and express in foreign language and to have a correct understanding of situations in foreign nations, and to contribute to national self-awareness. The subject of foreign language is English, German, French, Chinese, Malay or another foreign language.

The importance of foreign language instruction was once again defined in terms of national benefits rather than a matter of personal pursuit. Malay or another foreign language was added as a new choice. Interestingly, English returned to the first place in the list, indicating the Japanese government's possible recognition of the value of English language education while it declared English as an enemy language.

[486] (O 1980, 82). See Appendix 8-F for the overall curriculum.
[487] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 521-22). Middle school regulations of March 27, 1943.

Foreign Language Instruction in Teacher Education

As explained, the distinction between primary-school (for Japanese children) teacher training and common-school (for Koreans) teacher training was eliminated, and teacher-training institutions were integrated in accordance with the ordinance for Chosŏn's education of March 3, 1938. As the number of primary schools dramatically increased, so did the demand for normal-school graduates. From 1940, the government began offering special training courses within normal schools for men to meet the urgent needs for primary-school teachers and also brought in six hundred Japanese teachers a year. The government enforced an examination system for a teaching credential.

The curriculum of normal schools consisted of a five-year regular course and two-year practice course for men while women were offered a one-year practice course in addition to the regular course. Foreign language was a required subject in the regular course for males but offered as an elective for female students, a consistent practice continued from the previous curricula.

Previously, in the 1922 curriculum, English had been offered as the only choice of foreign language, but the new curriculum included Chinese, German and French as well, effectively de-emphasizing the importance of the English language. English language instruction had been offered four to six hours per week for men, that is, 14.9 percent of the overall instructional hours, but with the elimination of English as the only required subject of foreign language, the instructional hours of foreign language were reduced to less than a half, 7.1 percent.

Table 54. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Regular Course for Women at Normal School, 1938[488]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
National language-Chinese classics	6	6	5	5
Chosŏn language	2	2	1	1
Foreign language	2	2	2	1
Total hours	34	34	34	34

Table 55. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Regular Course for Men at Normal School, 1938[489]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
National language-Chinese classics	8	8	6	5	5
Chosŏn language	2	2	2	1	1
Foreign language	3	3	2	2	2
Total hours	34	34	34	34	34

In 1943, normal schools were reorganized: the new curriculum consisted of prep course and regular course, and the regular course was raised to the level of professional school. The normal school regulations of March 27, 1943, stipulated the instructional goals and guidelines of foreign language as follows:[490]

> Article 3. The regular course consisted of basic subjects and electives. The basic subjects are required except foreign language …For the subject of foreign language, Chinese, German, French, English, or another foreign language can be selected. When necessary, an additional foreign language could be chosen.
>
> Article 11. The instructional goals of foreign language are to develop an ability to understand and express in a modern foreign language, to help understand the special quality of the language, and to have a correct

[488] Normal School Regulations of March 3, 1938. See Appendix 8-G for the general curriculum.
[489] Normal School Regulations of March 3, 1938. See Appendix 8-H for the overall curriculum.
[490] (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 546-48).

> understanding of the situations occurring in foreign nations so that this cultivates the quality as educator that contributes to national self-awareness. Foreign language is Chinese, German, French, English or another language.
>
> Article 13. …in the prep course…For foreign language, Chinese, German, French, English or another language could be taken. For female students, foreign language is an elective.

While foreign language was required for men in the prep course, it became an elective in the regular course for both men and women, further weakening the status of foreign language education in the field of teacher education. The instructional goals also revealed that the putative importance of foreign language education lay in its contribution to the cultivation of the learner's national self-awareness.

Table 56. Weekly Instructional Hours of Language Subjects in Regular Course for Men at Normal School, 1943[491]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
National language-Chinese classics	4	2	2
Foreign language (elective)		3-6	3-6
Total hours	40	40	40

Weakening of Foreign Language Education in Vocational Education

In the revision of regulations in 1943, foreign language was required in commercial schools only, compared to the previous requirement in agricultural and commercial schools.

[491] Normal School Regulations of March 27, 1943. See Appendix 8-I for the general curriculum.

Decline of English Language Education in Higher Education

As Japan geared the colony to the needs of war, against the anglophone United States and Britain in particular, English language education in higher-education institutions, most of which were run by American missionaries, endured a serious setback. As discussed earlier, mission schools became a target of the government's harsh suppression and experienced a significant decline, which reduced the quality of English language education these schools offered.

Further, the government banned all student and research activities, including English-language activities such as English speech contests and the publication of English language works. The subject of English was removed from the entrance exams, as discussed earlier, a blow to the missionary-run professional schools that had emphasized English language education, such as Yŏnhi and Ewha. With the removal of English from the exams came the lessening of schools' and students' interest in English language education.

More significantly, Japan's desperate measures, which drove Korean young adults into battle lines and labor mobilization, left few educational opportunities for students in higher education, and the field of English language education suffered along with higher education in general.

Here are the cases of two professional schools that had made significant contributions to the development of English language education in Korea. At Yŏnhi, American and British trustees and instructors were removed from the school in December 1941.[492] The government robbed them of their ownership,

[492] (Yonsei University 1969, 421-432).

and the school came under the direct management of the government-general in August 1942. In 1942, the number of years required for the completion of a degree from the literature and science departments was reduced to three years.[493] The school was restructured and renamed Kyŏngsŏng Industrial Management Professional School in 1944.

At Ewha, the government-general gradually forced itself into the school's management and academic affairs, resulting in the removal of a number of teachers whose educational background included studies in the United States or Europe and those who did not have Japanese language ability. English language activities, such as English-short story contests and the publication of English newspapers, were discontinued in 1938 and in 1940, respectively.[494] Regarded as an enemy language, English was banned in school, and all English language textbooks were burned.[495] In 1943 by the government's coercion, the department of liberal arts, which had been considered by some as an English department, became the department of national (i.e., Japanese) literature. In December of the same year, the government renamed the school, "Leadership Training Institute, Female Youth Development Institute, Kyŏngsŏng Women's Professional School." The existing four departments were integrated into one, and without the distinction of school years, students were organized into groups and received three-month training before being assigned to "female youth development institutes," instituted by the government nationwide, and used as a vehicle to

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[493] (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 275).
[494] (Son 1992, 265).
[495] (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994a, 282).

convert women in rural areas to part of the labor force. Yŏnhi and Ewha Professional Schools had been two of the major engines leading the development of English language education in Korea, but the schools were forced to desert the role until Korea's liberation in 1945.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

During the period between 1938 and 1945, Japan attempted to assimilate Koreans and to convert the entire colony into a war supply base, hauling Korean youths for labor mobilization and to battle lines. The colonial government strictly enforced a Japanese monolingual policy, compelling Koreans to use Japanese in daily activities outside school as well as in class. Moreover, as Japan engaged in a war against the United States and the Allies, the colonial government declared English as the language of the enemy and created an environment that suppressed the use and learning of English.

The Japanese government's strict monolingual policy, exploitation of students for the purpose of war, and suppression of English use resulted in a serious decline in English language education in Korea. English instructional hours and school years were cut short. In higher education, liberal arts were discouraged while the government expanded science and engineering programs. Study in Anglophone countries and use of American and British authors' works were banned or restricted. Mission schools, which had served as the main source for quality English language education in Korea, withered under the anti-US government. Missionaries were removed from the schools and eventually forced to leave the country. Moreover, Japan's desperate measures that drove Korean

students into battle lines and labor mobilization robbed them of educational opportunities. This was a truly adverse period for the field of English language education in Korea: English language education underwent the most profound decline since the Japanese annexation of Korea.

Japanese colonial rule in Korea can be divided into four periods, protectorate (1905-1910), military rule (1911-1919), cultural rule (1920-1938), and wartime rule (1938-1945). Keeping pace with the new developments and changes in the internal climate of Japan and the colony as well as changing international situations, Japan adopted new colonial policies, and colonial education underwent changes accordingly. Japan promulgated and enforced four ordinances for Chosŏn's education, in 1911, 1922, 1938 and 1943, and several amendments, restructuring the existing educational systems according to the ruling goals that the Japanese government newly set for the colony.

The four decades of Japanese rule had most unfortunate consequences for Korea's English language education. The most significant influence would be the Japanese government's fundamental approach to education: that education should be a function governed by the state through a centralized educational system. Through a highly controlled system and strict regulation, the colonial government dictated all educational matters from curricula to textbooks to standards of facilities to teacher qualifications. Thus, every issue entailed in an educational institution was determined by the central government, and this close control left little room for individual schools' and teachers' initiatives.

Additionally, the colonial government granted prestige and preferential treatment to government-run schools. In this manner, the Japanese government maintained standardization of the schools throughout the colony. For further control of colonial education, Japan suppressed the growth of private schools. The lack of positive, significant development in the field of English language education during colonial rule was mainly attributed to the strict centralized educational system and the government's effective suppression of private education.

Japanese introduction of the university examination system and the inclusion of English on the exams had important effects on English language education in secondary schools and provided a foundation for Koreans' enduring approach toward English language education. Secondary-school students' acquisition of the language was mostly for its instrumental value, that is, obtaining access to higher education. As the English tests of the entrance exams were primarily designed to evaluate passive language skills, such as reading and grammar skills, this aspect governed English language education in the secondary school.

In general, Japanese speakers or the Japan-educated functioned as English language instructors during colonial rule. The colonial government's adherence to primary-school teacher training only brought about the direct influence of Japanese education on Korea's English language education. Koreans' post-primary teacher training was mostly done in Japan or in the United States, but teachers who were Japan-educated far outnumbered the U.S.-influenced. Under

the educational environment controlled by the government, the Japan-educated spread across and dominated various important sectors of education, including the field of English language education.

It is important to note the magnitude and significance of the contributions that mission schools made for women's English language education during Japanese rule. Throughout the rule, females in general remained far less beneficiaries of the government-provided English language education than males: English language education for women was mainly shouldered by mission schools when the government had a highly negligible, discriminating approach to their language education. In mission schools for girls, English was often offered as a required subject while it had insignificant existence in government schools.

The colonial government viewed English or foreign language education in terms of national benefit. Especially, during Japan's war against China and the Allies, the importance of language education was often emphasized for the purpose of cultivating patriotism and loyalty for the Japanese Empire.

As Japan's colonial language policy underwent different phases, although fundamentally the spread of the Japanese language remained the focal point of the policy, English language education endured changes accordingly. During the protectorate, Japanese was established as a second language, rather than a foreign language. In all school curricula from primary school to higher education, Japanese was introduced as a required subject and as many instructional hours as those of Korean were assigned to Japanese. In the following decade of the annexation, as Japan concentrated on the establishment of a colonial system in

Korea, Japanese language education was emphasized in order to facilitate Koreans' assimilation. Japanese replaced Korean as the national language, and foreign language education was neglected.

From 1920 to 1937, following the Independence Movement, Japan adopted a colonial language policy that was more inclusive of other language education. Korean language education was encouraged, and press and literary activities in Korean and studies and distribution of the language were allowed. At the same time, foreign language education was reinforced: foreign language was introduced as a required subject in secondary schools and higher education, where English was generally selected as the required foreign language, and departments of English language and literature were newly established in the university and professional schools.

After the Sino-Japanese War until Korea's liberation in 1945, Japan enforced a monolingual policy: the government attempted to "erase" the Korean language; all foreign language education degenerated. During this period, with forceful measures, such as punishment and fines, and active Japanese language education, the colonial government succeeded in drastically increasing the number of Japanese language speakers among Koreans. Due to the negative climate created by the colonial government and Japan's war efforts, English language education suffered a serious setback. In sum, Japanese colonial rule proved how inseparable the relationship between the development of foreign language education and national language policy is.

Japanese rule has left a profoundly detrimental influence on the development of Korea as a modern state. Obstructed by Japanese occupation, Koreans were not able to experience modernization on their own terms: the history of Korea as a sovereignty came to a standstill or was seriously deviated from its own course for four decades by being forced to move from a feudal sovereignty to a colony. English language education endured a similar fate. Its active development by the Korean government was impeded and came to a sudden halt by the colonial government. Throughout the occupation, except for the brief reinforcement in the 1920s, English or foreign language education was marginalized and was deprived of chances to develop and advance as it should have. Further, after Korea's liberation, English language education was riddled with unfavorable remnants of Japanese rule, and their effects still persist in present English language education.

In examining the legacies the colonial period has left for English language education, it is appropriate to quote Lee's (1958) observation: "It is important to keep in mind that whatever form of education Korea has had, whether it is system or thought, the greatest influence was brought from Japan."[496]

[496] (S-H Lee 1958, 134), quoted in (S Lee 1989,96).

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Discussion

There has been little research interest in the linguistic situations in monolingual countries. However, the recent phenomenon of uninterrupted, speedy international communication aided by advanced technology and the worldwide dominance of major languages, most noticeably English, has created intricate situations in traditionally monolingual countries, such as Korea.

I have examined the introduction of the English language into Korea and the early development of English language education as a part of my research efforts to investigate the phenomenon of widespread English in current (South) Korean society. In my examination, I placed my focus on the critical roles that the Korean and the Japanese colonial governments played in the development of English language education, the main vehicle of the English spread in Korea.

The two governments' involvement in English language education and effects on its development share some similarities while there are marked differences. The main attribute that the two governments share is that English language education was defined by the governments during their respective governing periods. The Chosŏn court introduced the English language and its education to its people, and King Kojong and his followers served as the main sustainer of English language education. Under the Japanese colonial government, the government's policies and regulations dictated every aspect of English language education.

The second common characteristic that the governments share is that, as the governments defined and dictated English language education, the political climates and the foreign influence dominating the political systems swayed its development. Under the ruling of the Chosŏn court, foreign power often held sway over Korea's English language education, and, thus, it experienced the ebb and flow accordingly. The Korean government's decision to open the first English language school was heavily influenced by China, for example, as was the demise of the ambitious Yugyŏng Kongwŏn.

Under Japanese influence, the English Language School, a part of the Foreign Language School, was closed. Once the protectorate was in place, the Japanese government determined every facet of English language education in Korea. As Japan adopted new national and colonial policies in conformity with new developments and changes in the internal and international climates, Korea's English language education underwent significant changes.

Thirdly, both governments attempted to provide elitist English language education, that is, to limit high-quality English language education to the small groups of elites in their respective societies, a trait of the Confucian tradition. For Yugyŏng Kongwŏn, the Chosŏn government applied a highly exclusive selection of students and limited admissions to a handful of sons of the privileged. At Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, exclusivity was twofold, with elitism combined with Japanese discrimination against colonial people. From 1928 to the end of Japanese rule, only dozens of Koreans were allowed in the English program at the University.

One parallel that persisted through the Chosŏn and the colonial periods was the governments' discrimination against women in their approaches to and renderings of English language education. Under the Chosŏn government, women were completely excluded from government-sponsored English language education while the colonial government offered females in general far fewer opportunities for English language education than it did for males.

While there are a few, limited shared characteristics between the two governments' approaches to English language education, the differences are abundant and striking. First of all, while both governments were profoundly involved in the development of English language education, the effects of their involvement were at two extreme ends: on one end, the Korean government actively pursued English language education and attempted to provide a supportive environment for its development; on the other, the colonial government largely stunted the growth of English language education.

From the opening of Tongmunhak, the first "modern" and English language school that the Korean government established, to the closure of the English Language School, the Korean government showed active interest in and unwavering support for English language education. Under the colonial government, however, English language education was marginalized and denied chances to grow and expand. The government's main goal for the colonial people was integration or assimilation into the Japanese mainstream, and, therefore, the spread of Japanese was adopted and implemented as the policy of primacy from the beginning of colonial rule. As Japanese language education was given

extensive emphasis, education of other languages was overlooked or deliberately ignored. Further, the colonial government maintained "simplification and practicality" as the two main themes of its educational policy throughout colonial rule and placed primary and vocational education at the core of colonial education. Accordingly, the government gave little attention to English language education, a part of secondary-level academic curriculum and considered a tool to access higher education. Moreover, when Japan engaged in war, especially against the United States and Great Britain, the existence of English language education was seriously threatened.

Secondly, the two governments focused on different aspects of English language education: the Chosŏn court concentrated on pragmatic or practical benefits of English language education while the Japanese government treated English language instruction as a cultural subject and placed it as a part of general curriculum.

The Korean government maintained the same, but limited, educational goal for English language education, that is, technical training of English language specialists needed to facilitate the government's modernization efforts. The Chosŏn court's emphasis was on the development of English speakers in a timely manner, and this resulted in the failure of harvesting broader, long-term benefits of English language education. Thus, hardly observed are this period's lasting contributions to the field of English language education in Korea. In contrast, English language education dictated by the colonial government concentrated on the passive language skills, e.g., understanding of the grammar

and reading comprehension, and was devoid of the development of production or communicative skills.

The governments' different goals for English language education promoted different goals for learners as well. Under the Korean government, English language schools came into existence and were maintained as part of the government's modernization endeavors, as noted earlier. The practical goal the government set for the English language schools affected the students' approach to English language education: their purpose of learning the language was mainly for their career advancement, in other words, to "get a (better) job."

Under the colonial government, as English became a part of the academic curriculum of secondary education and was included on the higher-education entrance exams, learners saw English as an important instrument that allowed access to higher education. Thus, English language education in the secondary school became biased toward grammar and translation in preparation for the entrance exams.

The fourth difference was that the Korean government mostly utilized native English speakers as teachers while the colonial government depended solely on non-native, especially Japanese, speakers. During colonial rule, native English speakers were at no time employed at government or public schools. The government ignored or neglected formal training of Korean teachers, including in the field of English language education. The majority of teachers at government/public secondary schools received teacher training in normal schools

in Japan, and, thus, those Japanese-influenced or Japanese-ethnic teachers exerted critical influence on English language education.

Fifthly, while the Chosŏn court appeared supportive of English language education at private schools, the Japanese government tightly controlled and suppressed it through a strictly centralized education system. Kojong's decision to allow missionary work in the field of education made possible the establishment of mission schools. Moreover, he showed special interest in American-run schools with a propensity for English language education. When learning of Appenzeller's focus on English language instruction, Kojong expressed his interest by granting the school a name, Paejae, and later allowed the establishment of a joint training program for English language specialists with Paejae.

Under the colonial government, however, a radically different picture is painted: private education received the government's strict supervision and was controlled and suppressed through its highly centralized education system and frequent promulgation and imposing of rules and regulations. The government's control of every aspect of private education deterred the growth of English language education.

In brief, the main common trait of English language education provided by the Korean government and the colonial government was that the political systems governed by small groups of elite defined English language education. Although one government was supportive of English language education and the other in general had a detrimental impact, it should be noted that government-

leading English language education without the foundation of people's support has innate, inevitable limitations; it is bound to fail or have only a limited level of success. What is required is a due process that identifies and absorbs what people desire before the government is able to give rise to language education built on people's support.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE PRESENT

The Japanese government's centralization of education and Chosŏn's government-directed education are legacies still predominant in present Korean society. The central government holds the ultimate authority over educational matters. The National Curriculum defines and dictates each school's curriculum. One can observe the strong presence of the government and its involvement in English language education. Many of the mishaps and failures that have occurred in the field of English language education in the distant and recent past, as well as the fundamental limitations that have persisted in the field, have been attributed to the centralized educational system and the government's desire to control schools.

The Japanese revival or reinforcement of the examination system in the colonies has had lasting broad influence on Korean education and society. In present Korean society as well as in other parts of East Asia with colonial history and Confucian tradition, university entrance exams play powerful roles, defining one's success in his/her society. As English became a part of the examination, English language education became a slave to the exam system, giving excessive emphasis to grammar and reading comprehension required by the examination. The test-oriented system of English language education has created learners with

highly limited communicative skills despite their long years of English language studies.

Further evidence of persistent Japanese influence is shown in contemporary Koreans' heavy dependence on non-native English speakers in public English language education. It has been only since 1998 that the government has attempted to recruit and utilize native English speakers in English language education in middle and high schools in a program called EPIK (English Program in Korea).[497]

As private education played an important part in the development of English language education under the ruling of the Chosŏn court and despite the Japanese government's suppressive rule, today Korea has a thriving private language education, offering what government-dictated English language education has not been able to provide, mainly the enhancement of communicative skills. English language learners with sufficient resources opt to take part in overseas language training programs or to attend highly-priced language institutes. Thus, the private sector's substantial contributions to English language education may have created and exacerbated a language-based discriminatory social system by allowing inequitable access.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

A thorough understanding of the phenomenon of English spread in current Korean society is not possible without an examination of Koreans' behavior toward the English language and English language education in the recent past.

[497] (Soh 2000).

My examination of the early periods has revealed that the government was the most critical factor in the development of English language education but does not sufficiently explain the widespread use of English in current South Korean society, especially when English language education experienced suppression during Japanese rule. Therefore, I suggest further studies on English language education from liberation in 1945 until the present and believe the inclusion of first-hand sources, such as interviews of policy makers involved, will offer valuable data.

Moreover, it is worth examining why Japanese influence, most noticeably a centralized educational system, still persists in Korea's English language education today, more than fifty years after liberation. It was only in 1995 that the Korean government finally held elections for local councils and the chief executives, signaling the true, meaningful reintroduction of local autonomy despite its long history. A large number of Koreans are still emphatic about the need to "cleanse Japanese remnants." It seems that a correct understanding of Japanese influence on Korea's English language education is only possible with the examination of English language education after liberation.

The status that the English language has acquired in Korean society is remarkable, as noted before. The development of English language education was heavily influenced by foreign powers in its beginning years. Korea's dependence on the United States and its influence have played crucial roles in the development of English language education and in the establishment of the

current status of English in Korean society. This assumption warrants a thorough analysis of the development of English language education in recent decades.

Further, I believe an analysis of Korea's English language education cannot be complete without examination of English language education in North Korea, a separate political entity from South Korea since 1948. Recently, North Korea received international attention when the leader of the communist regime, Kim Jŏng-il, requested during the visit of then U.S. Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright that the United States provide English teacher-training profession for North Korea. The isolationist North Koreans have shown greatly increased interest in English language education starting in the mid-1980s. The investigation of the English spread in Korea will not be complete without an examination of the situation of English in North Korea as well as that of South Korea.

Finally, it should be noted that this paper was written from the perspective of a female who was born and received primary, secondary, and college education in South Korea.

Appendices

Appendix 1-A: McCune-Reischauer Romanization System

SIMPLIFIED TABLE — McCune-Reischauer Romanization of Korean

Initial / Final		ㅇ	ㄱ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅁ	ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅈ	ㅊ	ㅋ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ㅎ
		*[1]	K	N	T	(R)	M	P	S[2]	CH	CH'	K'	T'	P'	H
ㄱ	K	G	KK	NGN	KT	NGN	NGM	KP	KS	KCH	KCH'	KK'	KT'	KP'	KH
ㄴ	N	N	N'G	NN	ND	LL	NM	NB	NS	NJ	NCH'	NK'	NT'	NP'	NH
ㄹ	L	R	LG	LL	LT	LL	LM	LB	LS	LCH	LCH'	LK'	LT'	LP'	RH
ㅁ	M	M	MG	MN	MD	MN	MM	MB	MS	MJ	MCH'	MK'	MT'	MP'	MH
ㅂ	P	B	PK	MN	PT	MN	MM	PP	PS	PCH	PCH'	PK'	PT'	PP'	PH
ㅇ	NG	NG	NGG	NGN	NGD	NGN	NGM	NGB	NGS	NGJ	NGCH'	NGK'	NGT'	NGP'	NGH

1. A consonant between two vowels is transcribed with its initial value except that ㄱ is G, ㄷ is D, ㅂ is B, and ㅈ is J.
2. ㅢ is romanized SHWI.

ㅏ	ㅑ	ㅓ	ㅕ	ㅗ	ㅛ	ㅜ	ㅠ	ㅡ	ㅣ	ㅘ	ㅝ	ㅐ	ㅔ	ㅚ	ㅟ	ㅢ	ㅙ	ㅞ	ㅒ	ㅖ
a	ya	ŏ	yŏ	o	yo	u	yu	ŭ	i	wa	wŏ	ae	e	oe	wi	ŭi	wae	we	yae	ye

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For further details see the original article by G.M. McCune and E.O. Reischauer, "The Romanization of the Korean Language," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1939): 1-55.

For a scholarly discussion on transcription and transliteration systems of Korean see Robert Austerlitz, et al., "Report of the Workshop Conference on Korean Romanization," *Korean Studies* 4 (1980): 111-125.

Appendix 3-A: Map of Korea in the Early Twentieth Century[498]

[498] (Cumings 1997, 144).


0 50 100 150 200 250 300 km
0 50 100 150 200 miles
N. HAMGYŎNG
Ch'ŏngjin
Sŏngjin
N. PYŎNGAN
S. HAMGYŎNG
Ŭiju
Sinŭiju
S. PYŎNGAN
EAST SEA
(Sea of Japan)
Wŏnsan
P'yŏngyang
Chinnamp'o
HWANGHAE
KANGWŎN
Haeju
Kaesŏng
KYŎNGGI
Ch'unch'ŏn
Kangwha Island
Seoul
Inch'ŏn
Ullŭng-do
N. CH'UNG CH'ŎNG
YELLOW SEA
S. CH'UNG CH'ŎNG
Ch'ŏngju
Kongju
N. KYŎNGSANG
Kunsan
Chŏnju
Taegu
N. CHŎLLA
S. KYŎNGSANG
Kwangju
Masan
Pusan
S. CHŎLLA
Mokp'o
KOREA STRAIT

Appendix 4-A: Educational Regulations and Rules, 1883-1905[499]

Government Regulations of Hansŏng Normal School, April 16, 1895
Government Regulations of Foreign Language School, May 10, 1895
Government Regulations of Sŏnggyun'gwan, July 2, 1895
Ordinance for Elementary School, July 19, 1895
Hansŏng Normal School Regulations, July 23, 1895
Sŏnggyun'gwan Kyŏnghak Department Regulations, August 9, 1895
Elementary School Regulations, August 12, 1895
Supplementary Public Elementary School Regulations, February 20, 1896
Government Regulations of Medical School, March 24, 1899
Government Regulations of Middle School, April 4, 1899
Government Regulations of Commercial and Industrial School, June 24, 1899
Foreign Language School Regulations, June 27, 1900
Government Regulations of Agricultural, Commercial, and Industrial School, June 8, 1904
Government Regulations of the Ministry of Education (March 25, 1895 and enforced on April 1),
Government Regulations for Hansŏng Normal School (April 16, 1895 and enforced on May 1),
Government Regulations for Foreign Language School (May 10, 1895 and enforced on the same date),
Ordinance for Elementary Schools (July 19, 1895 and enforced on August 1),
Hansŏng Normal School Regulations (July 23, 1895),
Outline of Elementary School Regulations (August 12, 1895),
Supplementary Public Elementary school Regulations (February 20, 1896), Government Regulations of Medical School (March 24, 1899),
Government Regulations of Middle School (April 4, 1899),
Government Regulations of Commercial and Industrial school (June 24, 1899), Medical School Regulations (July 5, 1899),
Foreign Language School Regulations (September 4, 1900),
Middle School Regulations (September 4, 1900),
Agricultural, Commercial, and Industrial School Regulations (June 8, 1904), and 2nd Government Regulations of the Ministry of Education (February 26, 1905).

Appendix 4-B: Government Regulations of Foreign Language School, May 10, 1895

Foreign Language School recruits students extensively and teaches a variety of foreign languages (Article 1).
The types of foreign languages that Foreign Language School instructs are decided by the Minister of Education under right circumstances (2).
The Minister of Education can install foreign language school branches in different regions (3).
The staff of Foreign Language School consists of a principal, four or fewer instructors, five or fewer assistant instructors, and three or fewer clerks (4).
The principal manages all school affairs and supervises the employees, following the orders of the Minister of Education (5).
The instructor is in charge of instruction of the students and the assistant instructor assists the instructor's duties (6).
The clerk is responsible for general affairs and accounting, following the orders of his superior (7).

[499] (Son 1992, 28).

When a branch is installed, the staff consists of a principal, two or fewer instructors, three or fewer assistant instructors, and two or fewer clerks (8).
The duties of the branch staff are the same as specified in Article 5,6, and 7 (9).
Officials (*Chuimkwan* and *P'animkwan*) in the Ministry of Education can be appointed as the principal and clerks, and local officials as the branch principal and clerks (10).
Foreigners can be employed as instructors or assistant instructors, but the numbers are appropriately decided by the Minister of Education according to the needs. Foreign instructors are given the same rank as *Chuimkwan* and foreign assistant instructors as *P'animkwan* (11).

Appendix 4-C: Foreign Language School Regulations, June 27, 1900

Foreign Language School teaches foreign languages in accordance with Article 1 of the Government Regulations for Foreign Language School of May 10, 1895 (Decree 88), provided that regular subjects are taught depending on the language and Chinese reading and writing and national history and topography are also taught (Section 1 General Provisions, Article 1).

Japanese, English, French, Russian, Chinese, and German school branches are installed (Article 2).

The number of years required for the completion of program is three for Japanese and Chinese and five for English, French, Russian, and German (3).

Textbooks are loaned to the students while in school, and pens, ink, and papers are provided (4).

The instructor and the assistant instructor are responsible for instruction and supervise the students and engage in the school's general affairs following the order of the principal (5).

When a foreign teacher is employed in accordance with Article 11 of the Government Regulations for Foreign Language School, student supervision takes effect after the teacher, the instructor, and the assistant instructor have consent, and the instructor or assistant instructor reports it to the principal and receives the principal's approval (6).

Classes are assigned after the consent among the principal, the instructor and the assistant instructor, provided that the classes are organized according to the number of students and their scholastic abilities (Section 2 Class and Semester, Article 1).

There are two semesters, spring and fall semesters, within a year. The spring semester lasts from January 4th to the summer vacation and the fall semester from the opening day of school in the fall to December 30th (Article 2).

Instruction is given five hours a day, provided that the hours vary in conformity with season (Section 3 Instructional Hours and Absence/School Break, Article 1).

Students are admitted twice a year, in the beginning of the spring and the fall semester (Section 4 Admittance, Attendance, Withdrawal, Expulsion, Punishment, and Award, Article 1).

Applicants…should be between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three and be healthy (Article 2).

After an applicant submits application to the principal…, his admittance is approved by the consent among the principal, the instructor, and the assistant instructor and the entrance exams.

The subjects on the entrance exams are Korean reading and writing and Chinese reading and writing (3).

A transfer student is not admitted even if he passes the entrance exams (4).

Once admitted, students cannot withdraw, except for an illness or unavoidable accident…(7).

When a student violates one of the followings, he is expelled from school and it is announced in the official gazette after the teacher, instructor, and assistant instructor discuss the matter and report it to the principal:
those who transfer to another school before graduation
those who are poorly-behaved and warned repeatedly but do not change
those who violate the school rules
those who have poor grades and fail to move up to the next level for three consecutive semesters
those who are irresponsible in school work and participate in improper matters and express absurd opinions
those who are absent from school more than a week without due notice (8).

Expelled students cannot attend a variety of other schools, i.e., government, public, or private school and his expulsion is notified to each government office to prevent him from being employed (9).

An exam is given at the end of each month to evaluate monthly scholastic achievement. Drill is held twice in the summer and winter, and in the winter drill, the students' scholastic achievement during the first semester is evaluated and in the summer drill, annual scholastic achievement is evaluated (Section 5 Exams, Drill, Graduation, Article 1).

The graduation exams are held in the final year of school and scholastic achievement is evaluated on all subjects (7).

Appendix 5-A: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Common School[500]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Korean)-Chinese classics	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**
Japanese	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6
Science			2	2
Drawing-painting	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Singing				
Manual work				
Agriculture				
Business				
Total hours	28	28	30	30

[500] (Son 1992, 50-1).

Appendix 5-B: Weekly Instructional Hours of the Regular Course of High School, 1906[501]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Korean) & Chinese classics	**7**	**7**	**7**	**7**
Japanese	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**
History-geography (Korean, Orient, West)	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	4	4
Study of nature	2	2	2	2
Physics, Chemistry	2	2	2	2
Legislation, Economy				3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1
Music	1	1	1	
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Total hours	30	30	30	30

Appendix 5-C: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of the Prep Course, 1906

Ethics	1
National language (Korean), Chinese classics	**5**
Japanese	**7**
History-geography (Korean, Orient, West)	3
Arithmetic	5
Study of nature	1
Physics-chemistry	2
Drawing-painting	2
Music	1
Gymnastics	3
Total hours	30

501 (Kyonggi 90nyonsa P'yonjipwiwonhoe 1990, 82).

Appendix 5-D: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Girls' High School, 1909[502]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
Ethics	1	1	1
National language (Korean)-Chinese classics	**5**	**4**	**4**
Japanese	**5**	**4**	**4**
History-geography (Korean & foreign)	2	2	1
Arithmetic	2	2	2
Science	2	2	2
Homemaking	1	2	2
Drawing-painting	1	1	1
Sewing	4	5	5
Music	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2
Handicraft			
Foreign Language			
Education			
Total hours	27	27	26

Appendix 5-E: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of High School, 1909[503]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Korean)-Chinese classics	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**
Japanese	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**
History (Korean & foreign)	3	3	3	
Geography (Korean & foreign)	3	3	3	1
Mathematics	6	5	4	4
Study of nature	4	2	2	
Physics-chemistry			3	4
Vocation	1	3	3	5
Drawing-painting	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	2	2
Legislation-economy				(2)
Singing	(1)	(1)		
Foreign language/English	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(3)**	**(3)**
Total hours	35(3)	33(4)	34(3)	30(5)

[502] (O 1980, 52).
[503] (O 1980, 51).

Appendix 5-F: Number of Graduates of Foreign Language School[504]

Language Type	Established Year	First Year of Graduation	Graduation Frequency	Total Number of graduates
Japanese				
Seoul	5/1891	1/1898	Regular course 11	190
		5/1909	Intensive 2	71
Inch'ŏn	6/1895	6/1901	9	63
P'yŏngyang	3/1907	5/1908	2	25
English	**2/1894**	**2/1903**	**8**	**79**
French	10/1895	1/1906	6	26
Russian	5/1895	-	-	-
Chinese	5/1897	7/1901	9	59
German	9/1898	5/1908	3	5

Appendix 5-G: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Posŏng Middle School, 1906

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Korean)	**1**	**1**		
Chinese classics	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Composition	3	3	2	3
History	3	3	2	3
Topography	3	2	2	
Physical geography				2
Physics-chemistry	6	4	4	
Study of nature		4	4	4
Law			2	3
Mathematics	3	3	3	3
Drawing-painting			2	2
Singing	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3

[504] (O 1980, 42).

Foreign language (English)	[ ][505]	[ ]	[ ]	3
1st year – pronunciation, penmanship, spelling, vocabulary				
2nd – vocabulary, reading, grammar, dictation				
3rd – conversation, reading, grammar, translation, dictation				
4th – conversation, reading, grammar, translation, dictation, composition				
Agriculture and/ Commerce[506]				
Total	30	30	30	30

Appendix 5-H: Curriculum and Weekly Instruction Hours of Paejae, March 1908[507]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Bible	3	2	3	3
Korean (reading)	**4**	**4**	**3**	**3**
Chinese classics	**5**	**4**	**4**	**4**
History (Korean, world)	2	2	2	2
Geography (“)	2	2	2	2
Mathematics	2	2	3	3
English	**5**	**5**	**6**	**6**
Japanese	**2**	**2**	**3**	**3**
Physics		2	2	2
Chemistry			2	2
Biology	2	2	2	2
Music	1	1	1	1
Art	1	1		
Drill (gymnastics)	1	1	1	1
Total	30	30	34	34

Appendix 6-A: Japanese Governor-Generals and Duration in Office[508]

Terauchi Masatake (October 1910-October 1916)
Hasegawa Yoshimichi (October 1916-August 1919)
Saitō Makoto (August 1919-December 1927)
Yamanashi Hanzō (December 1927-August 1929)
Saitō Makoto (August 1929-June 1931)
Ugaki Kazushige (July 1931-August 1936)
Minami Jirō (August 1936-May 1942)
Koiso Kuniaki (May 1942-July 1944)
Abe Nobuyuki (July 1944-August 1945)

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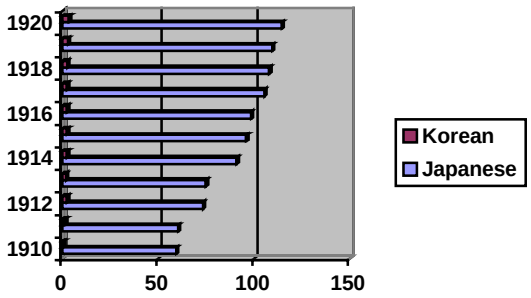
505 [ ] indicates unidentified instructional hours.
506 In each grade, Agriculture and/or Commerce could be added.
507 (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 159).
508 (Grajdanzev 1944, 59; Son 1992, 97).

Appendix 6-B: Schools in Korea, 1915[509]

Type of Schools	Number of Schools	Number of Students	
		M	F
Common school (for Korean)	399	56,253	5,976
Primary school (for Japanese)	291	31,442	28,206
Higher common school (for Korean)	2	822	
Middle school (for Japanese)	2	1,034	
Girls' higher common school (for Korean)	2		250
Girls' high school (for Japanese)	7		1,191

Appendix 6-C: Number of Schools for Koreans and Japanese per 100,000 of Korean and Japanese Population, 1910-1920[510]



	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
Japanese	59.5	60.5	73.5	75	91	96	98.5	105.5	108	109.5	114.5
Korean	0.5	1.5	2.5	2	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.75	3	3.5

[509] (Yi 1994, 11).
[510] (Underwood 1926, 230).

Appendix 6-D: First Ordinance for Chosŏn's Education, August 23, 1911[511]

Section 1. General Plan

Article I. Education for Koreans in Chosŏn shall be in accordance with this ordinance.

Article II. The essential principles of education in Chosŏn shall be the making of loyal and good subjects by giving instruction on the basis of the Imperial Rescript concerning education.

Article III. Education in Chosŏn shall be adapted to the need of the times and the condition of the people.

Article IV. Education in Chosŏn is roughly classified into three kinds, i.e., common, industrial (or vocational) and special (or professional) education.

Article 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.

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

Article VII. Professional education shall aim at imparting knowledge and art of higher branches of science and art.

Appendix 6-E: Revisions in Private School Regulations, 1915[512]

Article 6 (2). The subjects of study and their standard in a private school other than a common school, a higher common school, girls' higher common school, a vocational school or a professional school, but giving common, vocational or professional education shall be fixed after the model of the regulations for common schools, higher common schools, girls' higher common schools, vocational schools or professional 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, girls' higher common schools, vocational schools or professional schools.

Article 10 (2). Teachers of a private school giving a common, industrial or special education shall be those well versed in the national language (Japanese), and having scholarly attainments sufficient to teach the subjects in such a school. The foregoing provision shall not be applied to teachers teaching, exclusively, a foreign language, the Korean language, Chinese literature, or to teachers of any special art.

Article 16. The director of a private school shall annually report to the governor-general of Chosŏn during the month of June names of the members of the school faculty, subjects of study

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[511] (Underwood 1926, 191).
[512] (Underwood 1926, 196).

taught by them, number of students 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.

Supplementary Rules.

These regulations shall come into force on and after April 1st of the 4th year of Taisho (1915).

With regard to teachers of private schools giving common education, or teachers giving instruction in any subject other than morals, the national language, history, geography, and physical exercises in private schools giving higher common education, vocational education or professional education they shall not be required to conform to the provisions mentioned in Article 10 (2), of the foregoing regulations till March 31 or the 9th year of Taisho (1920). Private schools, the establishment of which was permitted before and which exist at the time of the enforcement of these regulations, shall not be required to conform to the provisions mentioned in Article 3(2); Article 6 (2), and Article 10 (2), of the foregoing regulations until March 31 of the 14th year of Taisho (1925).

Appendix 6-F: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Higher Common School, 1911[513]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language	**8**	**8**	**7**	**7**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**4**	**4**	**3**	**3**
History		2		
Geography	2			
History-geography			2	2
Mathematics	4	4	4	4
Science	3	4	3	3
Vocation-economy			6	6
Penmanship	2	1		
Drawing-painting			1	1
Manual work	3	3		
Music-gymnastics	3	3	3	3
English			**(2)**	**(2)**
Total hours	30	30	30(32)	30(32)

[513] Higher Common School Regulations of October 20, 1911.

Appendix 6-G: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Girls' Higher Common School, 1911[514]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
Ethics	1	1	2
National language	**6**	**6**	**6**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**2**	**2**	**2**
History-geography	2		
History		1	
Geography			2
Arithmetic	2	2	2
Science	2		
Homemaking		4	4
Penmanship	2	1	
Drawing-painting	1	1	1
Sewing-handicraft	10	10	10
Music-gymnastics	3	3	3
Total hours	31	31	31

Appendix 6-H: Curricula and Weekly Instructional Hours of Normal-Education Programs, 1911[515]

	In Higher Common School	In Girls' Higher Common School
Ethics	1	1
Education	9	6
National language (Japanese)	**5**	**4**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**2**	**2**
Arithmetic	3	3
Science	3	
Science-homemaking		3
Vocation	3	
Penmanship	1	
Drawing-painting-manual work	4	
Penmanship-drawing-painting		2
Sewing-handicraft		7
Music	3	3
Gymnastics	2	2
Total hours	36	33

[514] Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of October 20, 1911.

[515] Higher Common School Regulations and Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of October 20, 1911.

Appendix 6-I: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Literature Department, Yŏnhi Professional School, 1921[516]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
Japanese language	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
English language	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
Reading, conversation, recitation, translation				
English literature	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
1st & 2nd years – grammar, dictation, composition				
3rd & 4th years – English literature				
History	2	2	2	3
Geography	1	1	1	
Mathematics	3			
Zoology-botany-physiology-hygienics	4	2		
Geology-astronomy	2			3
Physics-chemistry		3		
Education	3	3	5	2
Chinese classics			**2**	**3**
Logics-philosophy			3	3
Psychology-moral philosophy	2	3		3
Bookkeeping-economy-sociology	2	2	1	1
Music	2	2	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1	1	1
Total	31	28	29	30

Appendix 6-J: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Ewha, 1912

High-Level Department[517]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics (including Bible)	5	5	5	5
National language	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
Mathematics	5	5	5	5
Science	3	3	3	2
History-geography (Japanese?)	2	2	2	2
Homemaking	5	5	5	5
Music	1	1	1	1
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1

516 Yŏnhi Professional School Regulations of 1921, quoted in (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 163).

517 (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 24).

Gymnastics	1	1	1	1
English	**5**	**5**	**5**	**7**

1st: pronunciation, reading, translation, spelling, conversation, dictation & penmanship
2nd: reading, dictation, conversation, composition & translation
3rd & 4th: reading, dictation, conversation, composition, translation & grammar.

Total	39	39	39	40

Middle-Level (College Preparatory) Department[518]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
Ethics (Bible)	5	5	
National language	**6**	**6**	
Chinese classics	**5**	**5**	
Mathematics	3	4	
Science	3	3	
History-geography (world)	2	2	
Education	3	5	
Homemaking	5	5	
Music	1	1	
Drawing-painting	1	1	
Gymnastics	1	1	
English	**5**	**5**	
Total	40	43	

Appendix 6-K: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Paejae Higher Common School, 1916[519]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
Korean	**3**	**3**	**3**	**2**
Japanese	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Foreign language (English)	**3**	**4**	**4**	**3**

1st Spelling, pronunciation, translation, penmanship
2nd Reading, translation, composition, conversation
3rd Reading, translation, composition, conversation
4th Reading, grammar, translation, conversation

History-geography	3	3	3	4
Mathematics	3	3	3	3

518 (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 25). The third-year curriculum was incomplete.
519 (Paejae 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1989, 199).

Science	3	3	3	3
Drawing-painting	1	1		
Music	2	2	2	
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Legislation				2
Vocation	2	3	3	5
Bible	1	1	1	1
Education			1	2
Total	31	33	33	34

Appendix 7-A: Japanese-Korean Ratios in Primary Schools[520]

Year	School for Japanese			School for Koreans		
	Japanese	Korean	K/J	Japanese	Korean	J/K
1922	51,588	328	0.64%	140	236,032	0.06%
1936	84,714	2,061	2.43%	617	798,224	0.08%
1940	92,554	4,609	4.98%	896	1,380,769	0.06%
1943	96,548	5,557	5.76%	993	1,927,789	0.05%

Appendix 7-B: Acceptance Ratios of Japanese-Koreans in Secondary Schools[521]

	Japanese Applicants	Accepted	Korean Applicants	Accepted
1935	3,049	1,441 (47,26%)	15,020	3,227 (21.48%)
1936	3,422	1,688 (49.33%)	19,542	3,381 (17.30%)
1937	3,549	1,925 (54.24%)	20,338	3,609 (17.75%)
1938	3,620	1,892 (52.27%)	26,564	4,137 (15.57%)
1939	3,732	2,125 (56.94%)	29,071	4,608 (15.85%)

Appendix 7-C: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Six-Year Common School, 1921[522]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Ethic	1	1	1	1	1	1
National language	**10**	**10**	**10**	**10**	**9**	**9**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**	**4**	**4**

[520] (Zeng 1996, 48).
[521] (Zeng 1996, 51).
[522] Common School Regulations of November 12, 1920.

Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	5	5
National history					2	2
Geography					2	2
Science			2	2	2	2
Singing						
Gymnastics	3	3	3	2	3	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1	1
Manual work						
Sewing-handicraft						
Elementary commerce						
Elementary agriculture						
Total hours	27	27	28	28	29	29

Appendix 7-D: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Six-Year Common School, 1922[523]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Ethic	1	1	1	1	1	1
National language (Japanese)	**10**	**12**	**12**	**12**	**9**	**9**
Chosŏn language	**4**	**4**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Arithmetic	5	5	6	6	4	4
National history					2	2
Geography					2	2
Science				2	2	2
Drawing-painting			1	1		
(male)					2	2
(female)					1	1
Singing-gymnastics	3	3				
Singing			1	1	1	1
Gymnastics			3			
(M)				3	3	3
(F)				2	2	2
Sewing				1	3	3
Manual work						
Electives: Chinese classics, agriculture, and commerce						
Total hours	23	25	27			
(M)				29	29	29
(F)				29	30	30

[523] Common School Regulations of February 15, 1922.

Appendix 7-E: Curriculum and Weekly Instructional Hours of Six-Year Common School, 1929[524]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Ethic	1	1	1	1	1	1
National language	**10**	**12**	**12**	**12**	**9**	**9**
Chosŏn language	**5**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**
Arithmetic	5	5	6	6	4	4
National history					2	2
Geography					2	2
Science				2	2	2
Occupation						
(M)				2	3	3
(F)				1	1	1
Drawing-painting			1	1		
(M)					2	2
(F)					1	1
Singing-gymnastics	3	3				
Singing			1	1	1	1
Gymnastics			3			
(M)				3	3	3
(F)				2	2	2
Homemaking-sewing				2	4	4
Manual work						
Total hours	24	26	27			
(M)				31	31	31
(F)				31	31	31

Appendix 7-F: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Higher Common School, 1920[525]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language	**7**	**7**	**6**	**6**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Foreign language	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
History		2	3	2
Geography	2		3	2
Mathematics	4	4	5	4
Study of nature	4	2		
Physics-chemistry		2	2	4
Vocation	2	2	2	2

[524] Common School Regulations of June 20, 1929.
[525] Higher Common School Regulations of December 1, 1919.

Legislation-economy				2
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1
Singing	1	1		
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2
Total hours	32	32	32	32

Appendix 7-G: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Girls' Higher Common School, 1920[526]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
Ethics	1	1	2
National language	**8**	**7**	**6**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**3**	**3**	**3**
History			2
Geography	2		1
Mathematics	2	2	3
Science	3		
Homemaking		4	4
Drawing-painting	1	1	1
Sewing-handicraft	7	7	7
Music	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2
Total hours	31	31	31

Appendix 7-H: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Higher Common School, 1922[527]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1
National language-Chinese classics	**8**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Foreign language	**6**	**7**	**7**	**5**	**5**
History-geography	3	3	3	3	
Mathematics	4	4	5	4	4
Study of nature	2	2	2	2	1
Physics-chemistry			2	4	4
Legislation-economy			1		2

[526] Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of December 1, 1919.
[527] Higher Common School Regulations of February 20, 1922.

Vocation				2	2
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1
Singing	1				
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

Appendix 7-I: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Girls' Higher Common School, 1922[528]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1
National language	**6**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Foreign language	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
History-geography	3	3	2	2	2
Mathematics	2	2	3	3	3
Science	2	2	3	3	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	
Homemaking				2	4
Sewing	4	4	4	4	4
Singing	2	2	2	1	
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
Total hours	30	30	30	30	30

Appendix 7-J: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Higher Common School, 1931[529]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1
National language-Chinese classics	**7**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**2**	**2**	**2**	**3**	**3**
Foreign language	**6**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
History-geography	3	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4
Study of nature	2	2	2	1	
Physics-chemistry			2	4	3
Legislation-economy					1
Vocation	2	2	2	3	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1
Singing	1	1			
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

528 Girls' Higher Common School Regulations of February 17, 1922.
529 Higher Common School Regulations of January 7, 1931.

Appendix 7-K: Curriculum of Normal-School Common Course for Men, 1922[530]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1
Education				2	3
National language-Chinese classics	**8**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language or	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**(3)**	**(3)**	**(3)**	**(3)**	**(3)**
English	**5**	**5**	**6**	**4**	**4**
History-geography	3	3	3	3	3
Mathematics	4	4	5	4	4
Study of nature	2	2	2	2	
Physics-chemistry			2	4	4
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1
Vocation	1	1	1	1	2
Music	1	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
Total hours	31(32)	31(32)	33(34)	33(34)	33(34)

Appendix 7-L: Curriculum of Normal-School Common Course for Women, 1922[531]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
Education			2	2
National language-Chinese classics	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language or	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Chosŏn language-Chinese classics	**(3)**	**(3)**	**(3)**	**(3)**
English	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**
History-geography	3	3	2	2
Mathematics	2	2	3	3
Science	2	2	3	3
Drawing-painting-manual work	3	3	2	2
Homemaking			2	4
Sewing	4	4	4(5)	4(3)
Music	2	2	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Total hours	31(32)	31(32)	32(34)	34(34)

[530] Normal School Regulations of February 23, 1922.
[531] Normal School Regulations of February 23, 1922.

Appendix 7-M: Curriculum of Common-School Department at Paehwa, 1922[532]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Bible	4	4	4	4	4	4
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1	1
National language (Korean)	**6**	**6**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Japanese	**8**	**8**	**8**	**8**	**8**	**8**
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	5	5
Geography (Japanese & foreign)					2	2
History (Japanese & foreign)					2	2
Science				2	2	2
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1	1
Singing	2	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics	2	2	2	1	1	1
Sewing			1	1	1	1
Handicraft			1	1	1	1
Total	30	30	32	32	34	34

Appendix 7-N: Curriculum of Paehwa Girls' Higher Common School, 1925[533]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language (Korean)	**3**	**3**	**3**	**2**
Japanese	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Foreign language (English)	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
1st year: spelling, pronunciation, translation, penmanship				
2nd & 3rd: reading, translation, composition, conversation				
4th: reading, grammar, translation, conversation				
History-geography (Japanese & foreign)	3	3	2	3
Mathematics	3	3	3	3
Science	2	3	3	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	
Homemaking			2	2
Sewing-handicraft	4	4	4	3
Music	2	2	2	
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Vocation				2
Bible	1	1	1	1
Education				2

532 (Kim 1958, 209).
533 (Kim 1958, 261).

Total hours	32	33	33	33

Appendix 7-O: Curricula of Prep Courses of Liberal Arts and Science at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, 1933[534]

	Liberal Arts		Science	
	1st year	2nd	1st	2nd
Ethics	1	1	1	1
National language-Chinese classics	**5**	**5**	**2**	
First foreign language	**8**	**10**	**10**	**10**
Second foreign language	**4**	**4**	**2**	**2**
History	4	4		
Introduction to philosophy		3		
Psychology-logic	2	2		
Legislation-economy	2	2		
Latin				**1**
Mathematics	2		4	3
Physics			3	5
Chemistry			3	5
Zoology-botany			3	4
Natural science	2			
Psychology			2	
Drawing-painting			1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Total	33	34	33	34

Appendix 7-P: Curriculum of Liberal Arts at Ewha, 1925[535]

	Prep	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1
Bible	2	2	2	2	2
Japanese	**5**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Chinese classics (elective)	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**
English					
Composition, conversation	**2**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**
Grammar, translation	**3**	**2**	**2**		
Literature	**3**	**5**	**5**	**3**	**3**

534 (Yi, Yun, and Ryu 1997, 193).
535 (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 346).

Mathematics	3				
Physical geography	3				
History	3	5	5		
Legislation-economy		3			
Geology-astronomy			3		
Fine arts			3		
Philosophy					3
Biology				3	
Psychology				3	
Moral philosophy				3	
Social science					3
Education					3
History of education				3	
Teaching methodology					2
Homemaking				2	
Hygiene		1			
Singing	2	2	2	2	2
Gymnastics	2	2	2	2	2
Total	31	30	32	30	27

Appendix 7-Q: Curriculum of Liberal Arts at Ewha, 1930[536]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Biology			2	
Japanese	**5**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Education				
History of education			2	
Introduction to education				2
Educational psychology				1
English teaching methods				**1**
Internship				
English				
Reading	**5**			
Introduction to literature			**2**	
Literature		**3**	**5**	**3**
Play				**3**
Korean literature				**1**
Composition-grammar	**3**			
Grammar		**2**		
Composition		**3**	**3**	
Journalism(?)				**2**
Conversation	**2**	**2**		
Translation (to Japanese)			**1**	**1**
(to Korean)				**1**
Psychology of learning	**2**			
Ethics	1	1	1	1

536 (Ewha 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1994b, 346-47).

Homemaking	1	1	2	
Korean-Chinese classics				
Korean grammar		**1**		
Korean composition	**1**	**1**	**1**	
History of Korean literature	**1**			
Chinese classics	**1**		**1**	**1**
Mathematics	3			
Music	2	1	1	1
Philosophy-psychology			2	3
Religion	2	2	2	2
Social science	2	8	3	
Physical education	2	2	2	2
Total	32	31	31	28

Appendix 7-R: Curriculum of Liberal Arts at Yŏnhi, 1924[537]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	1	1	1	1
Bible	2	2	2	2
Japanese	**2**			
Japanese literature		**2**	**2**	**2**
Chinese literature	**3**	**2**	**2**	
Introduction to literature	**2**			
English studies				
English language	**5**	**5**	**2**	**2**
English literature	**5**	**5**	**3**	**3**
(grammar, composition, conversation)				
History	5	5	4	5
Sociology				3
Legislation-economy	2	3		
Philosophy			3	3
Psychology		3		
Moral philosophy				3
Logics			2	
Education			6	3
Natural science	3	2		
Music	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	1	1	1	1
Total	32	32	29	29

537 (Yonsei Taehakkyo 100nyonsa P'yonch'anwiwonhoe 1985, 174).

Appendix 7-S: Curriculum of Liberal Arts Prep Course at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University, 1934[538]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
Ethics	1	1	1
National language-Chinese classics			
Japanese reading, composition & grammar & Chinese reading	**5**		
Jpn. reading & comp, history of Jpn. literature, Chn. reading	**5**	**6**	
English			
reading, translation, conversation, composition, grammar	**10**	**9**	**9**
German			
pronunciation, spelling, reading, trans., conv., dict., grammar	**4**		
reading, translation, conversation, composition, grammar	**4**	**4**	
History	3	5	4
Geography	2		
Introduction to philosophy			3
Psychology-logics		2	2
Legislation-economy		2	2
Mathematics	3		
Natural science	2	3	
Gymnastics	3	3	3
Total hours	33	34	34

Appendix 8-A: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Six-Year Primary School, 1938[539]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Ethics	2	2	2	2	2	2
National language	**10**	**12**	**12**	**12**	**9**	**9**
Chosŏn language	**4**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Arithmetic	5	5	6	6	4	4
National history					2	2
Geography					2	2
Science				2	2	2
Occupation						
Male				2	3	3
Female				1	1	1
Drawing-painting			1	1		
M					2	2
F					1	1

538 (O 1980, 73; Yi 1969, 75).

539 Primary School Regulations of March 15, 1938.

Singing-Gymnastics	4	4				
Singing			1	1	1	
Gymnastics			3			
M				3	3	3
F				2	2	2
Homemaking-sewing				3	4	4
Manual work	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	26	27	29			
M				32	32	34
F				34	34	34

Appendix 8-B: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of National School, 1941[540]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Civil education						
Ethics-national language	**11**	**12**				
Ethics			2	2	2	2
National language			**9**	**8**	**7**	**7**
National history					2	2
Geography				1	2	2
Science-Arithmetic						
Arithmetic-science	5					
Arithmetic		5	5	5	5	5
Science		6	1	2	2	2
Gymnastics-drills						
Gymnastics	5		5	5		
Military arts					5	5
Arts						
Music			2	2	2	2
Penmanship			1	1	1	1
Drawing-painting-handicraft	2	2	2			
M				4	4	4
F				2	2	2
Homemaking-sewing				3	3	3
Occupation						
Agriculture, commerce, industry, fisheries						
M				2	2	2
F				1	1	1
Total	23	25	27	32	34	34

[540] National School Regulations of March 31, 1941.

Appendix 8-C: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Middle School, 1938[541]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	2	2	2	1	1
Civil education				2	2
Education				1	1
National language-Chinese classics	**7**	**7**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**
History-geography	3	3	3	3	3
Foreign language	**5**	**5**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Mathematics	3	3	5	5	4
Science	3	2	3	4	4
Vocation	2	2	2	2	3
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1
Music	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics	5	5	5	5	5
Total hours	34	34	35	35	35

Appendix 8-D: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Five-year Girls' High School, 1938[542]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	2	2	2	1	1
Civil education				1	1
Education				1	1
National language	**6**	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**
History-geography	3	3	2	2	2
Foreign language	**3**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**
Mathematics	2	2	3	3	2
Science	2	2	3	3	3
Vocation	1	1	1	1	1
Drawing-painting	1	1	1	1	1
Homemaking	1	1	2	3	4
Sewing	4	4	4	4	4
Music	2	2	1	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3
Total hours	32	32	32	32	32

[541] Middle School Regulations of March 15, 1938.
[542] Girls' High School Regulations of March 15, 1938.

Appendix 8-E: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Middle School, 1943[543]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Civil education				
Ethics	1	1	2	2
National language	**5**	**5**	**5**	**5**
History-geography	3	3	3	3
Science-mathematics				
Mathematics	4	4	4	5
Biology-inanimate nature	4	4	6	5
Gymnastics-drill				
Drill	3	3	3	3
Gymnastics-military arts	4	4	3	3
Arts				
Music	1	1		
Calligraphy	1	1		
Drawing-painting-handicraft	2	2		
Vocation	2	2	2(2)	2(2)
Foreign language	**4**	**4**	**(4)**	**(4)**
Practice	3	3	3(2)	3(2)
Total hours	37	37	38	38

Appendix 8-F: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Two-year Girls' High School, 1943[544]

	1st year	2nd
Civil education		
Ethics	2	2
National language	**4**	**4**
History-geography	2	2
Science-mathematics		
Mathematics	2	2
Biology-inanimate nature	3	4
Homemaking	4	4
Homemaking		
Childcare		
Health		
Clothing		
Gymnastics-drill	4	4
Drill-gymnastics-military arts		
Arts		

543 Middle School Regulations of March 3, 1943.
544 (O 1980, 82).

Music	1	
Calligraphy	1	
Drawing-painting-handicraft	2	
Arts-music-call.-drawing-hndcrft.		3
Vocation	1	1
Total hours for basic subjects	30	30
Additional subjects	**4**	**4**
Practice	3	3
Total hours	37	37

Appendix 8-G: Weekly Instructional Hours of Regular Course for Women in Normal School, 1938[545]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th
Ethics	2	2	1	1
Civil education			1	1
Education			1	2
National language-Chinese classics	**6**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**
History-geography	3	3	2	2
Foreign language	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**
Mathematics	2	3	3	3
Science	3	2	3	2
Drawing-painting-manual work	2	2	2	2
Homemaking	1	1	3	4
Sewing	4	4	4	4
Music	2	2	1	1
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3
Total hours	34	34	34	34

Appendix 8-H: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Regular Course for Men in Normal School, 1938[546]

	1st year	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Ethics	2	2	2	1	1
Civil education				2	2

[545] Normal School Regulations of March 3, 1938.
[546] Normal School Regulations of March 3, 1938.

Education				1	3
National language-Chinese classics	**8**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**5**
Chosŏn language	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**1**
History-geography	3	3	3	2	2
Foreign language	**3**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**2**
Mathematics	4	4	5	4	4
Science	2	2	4	6	4
Vocation	2	2	2	3	3
Drawing-painting-manual work	2	2	2	1	1
Music	1	1	1	1	1
Gymnastics	5	5	5	5	5
Total hours	34	34	34	34	34

Appendix 8-I: Subjects and Weekly Instructional Hours of Regular Course for Men in Normal School, 1943[547]

	1st year	2nd	3rd
REQUIRED SUBJECTS			
Civil education			
Ethics-civil education-philosophy	2	2	4
National language-Chinese classics	**4**	**2**	**2**
History-geography	3	2	2
Education			
Education	2	2	3
Psychology-hygiene	3	2	1
Science-mathematics			
Mathematics	2	2	1
Science of inanimate nature-biology	5	3	3
Occupation			
Agriculture, industry, commerce, fisheries	3	3	3
Gymnastics-drill			
Drill	2	2	2
Gymnastics-martial arts	4	4	4
Arts			
Music	2	2	2
Calligraphy	1	1	
Drawing-painting-handicraft	3	3	3
Hours for requirements	36	30	30
ELECTIVES			
Civil education		3-6	3-6
Education		3-6	3-6
Science-mathematics		3-6	3-6

[547] Normal School Regulations of March 27, 1943.

Occupation		3-6	3-6
Gymnastics-drill		3-6	3-6
Arts		3-6	3-6
Foreign language		**3-6**	**3-6**
Hours for electives		6	6
PRACTICE	4	4	4
Total hours	40	40	40

Appendix 8-J: Korean and Japanese Population in Korea (in thousands)[548]

	1910	1915	1917	1920	1925	1930	1935	1939	1940
Korean	13,313	16,278	16,669		19,523	21,058	22,899		24,326
Japanese	171.5	303.7		347.9	424.7	501.9	583.4	650.1	

[548] (Grajdanzev 1944, 72-6).

Glossary

C

Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910)

Chosŏn Ilbo ("Korea Daily News")

chungin ("middle people")

E

Ewha Haktang ("Pearl Blossom Institute")

H

haktang ("learning hall" or "institute")

han'gul ("great writing" or "Korean writing"): Korean alphabet

Hansŏng (Seoul)

Hansŏng Sunbo ("Seoul Ten-day Report")

Hwangsŏng Sinmun ("Capital Gazette")

hyanggyo (County School) : Confucian school run by local administration

I

Imo Revolt (soldiers' revolt in 1882)

Independent or *Tongnip Sinmun* (newspaper found on April 7, 1896)

K

Kabo reforms (reforms in the year of horse, 1894)

Kapsin coup (coup in the year of ape, 1884)

Keijō (Seoul) known as Hansŏng before Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910

Kojong (Chosŏn king, 1864-1907)

kwagŏ (state examinations)

Kwangmu ("Martial Brilliance") reforms (reforms in 1897)

Kyŏngsŏng (Seoul): Korean translation of Keijō

O

ŏnmun ("Vernacular/vulgar Script") perjoratized term for *han'gul*

P

Paejae Haktang ("Hall/institute for the rearing of the useful men")

R

Russo-Japanese War (1904)

S

sahak (Four Schools): four Confucian schools the Chosŏn government established in Seoul

Sejong (Chosŏn king, 1418-1450) invented the Korean alphabet, *han'gul*

Sino-Japanese War (1894 & 1937)

sinsa yuramdan ("gentlemen's sightseeing group")

sŏdang (village study halls): local private Confucian schools

Sŏnggyun'gwan (House of Higher Education or National Confucian Academy): highest-level Confucian school in Chosŏn

T

taego (graduation examination)

taegwa (great state examination)

Taewŏn'gun (Yi Ha-ung, 1821-1898): King Kojong's father

Tonghak ("Eastern Learning")

Tongmunhak ("Common Script Learning")

Tongnip Sinmun or *Independent*

Y

Yangban (aristocratic class)

Yugyŏng Kongwŏn ("Public Institute of Education")

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Vita

EunGyong (E.G.) Kim-Rivera was born in Taejon, South Korea, on March 15, 1965, as the first daughter of Soung-soo Kim and Eui-young Hwang. She graduated from Holston Girls' High School in Taejon in 1983 and received a degree of Bachelor of Arts in English Language and Literature from Ewha Women's University in Seoul, South Korea, in 1987. She was awarded a degree of Master of Science in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) by Florida International University in Miami, Florida, in 1992.

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