

HIGHER LEARNING IN KOREA UNDER JAPANESE RULE

— Keijō Imperial University and the “People’s University” Campaign —

HIROSHI ABE

INTRODUCTION

IT IS NOT NECESSARILY WELL KNOWN that our neighboring country of the Republic of Korea is one of the most advanced countries in Asia, after Japan, with respect to educational institutions of higher learning and that there are as many as 71 four-year universities and a total of 127 institutions of higher learning, including junior colleges and junior technical colleges, enrolling 187,000 students. When one considers that Korea under Japanese rule before the end of the war had only nineteen such institutions of higher learning, including Keijō¹ Imperial University and other various professional schools (*senmon gakkō*), enrolling only 7,800 students (as of 1945), it can easily be seen how rapidly higher education has spread since Korean liberation.² Quantitative growth is seen in all phases of education in Korea, but the trend is most marked in the realm of higher education. Among the many reasons for this rapid post-liberation growth of Korean higher education,³ the greatest of all is thought to be the sudden burst of educational energy which had hitherto been suppressed under the long colonial rule by Japan. This article is to deal with the realities of higher learning under the Japanese rule and its characteristics as historical pre-conditions for Korea’s rapid post-liberation growth of higher education, focusing upon an analysis of the establishment, development, and character of Keijō Imperial University and its relation to the persistent campaign during the 1920s by the Korean people for a “People’s University.”

The People’s University Campaign is very little known. It is only recently that a bound-volume edition of *Dong-a-ilbo* [Oriental daily news] has become

¹ Keijō was the name of the city of Seoul under Japanese rule.

² [18]. Institutions of higher learning have also showed a marked growth in the post-liberation era in the People’s Democratic Republic of Korea. According to 1965 statistics, the Kim Il Sung University and other ninety-seven various colleges have a student enrollment of 156,000 [17].

³ Among the conditions contributing to the rapid growth of the Republic of Korea’s higher education after liberation are: (1) effects of the land reform carried out during the American occupation (1945–48), (2) implementation of a policy of draft exemptions for college and university students, (3) looser standard for the establishment of new colleges and universities, (4) the commercialization of college operations, (5) colleges serving as shelters for the jobless, and (6) the ban on overseas study.

available, removing the obstacles posed by the lack of basic materials, and a number of studies have begun to appear on this subject in Korea (see, for example, [22, 23], and [14]). While this report is indebted to those studies, it is also an attempt based upon self-criticism of the fact that studies of the educational history of modern Korea, particularly under Japanese rule, have traditionally tended to focus too closely upon the analysis of the educational policy carried out by the colonial Government-General, leaving the central educational activities of Koreans themselves inadequately uncovered and portraying Koreans only as passive existences.⁴

I. HIGHER EDUCATION UNDER THE "EDUCATIONAL ORDINANCE IN KOREA"

A. The principles of Japanese policy on education practiced in Korea for thirty-six years since the annexation of Korea in 1910 are clearly stated as follows in the Educational Ordinance in Korea enacted and promulgated in August 1911.

Article II: The first principle of education is to cultivate loyal subjects in accordance with the Imperial Rescript on Education.

Article III: Education should be as best suits the trends of the times and the standards of the people.

In colonial Korea, the educational principle of assimilation was to be thoroughly adhered to, suppressing the nationalistic feelings of Koreans and turning them into "loyal subjects" of the Emperor and of the Japanese Empire. At the same time, simple and practical education suitable for a colonial political and economic system was to be conducted.

This policy of the Government-General for carrying on simple and practical education is well expressed in the instructions by Governor-General Terauchi to the Home Affairs Ministers in the provincial governments in February of 1913.

People in Korea today are not quite ready for noble learning yet. We must therefore place the emphasis on *giving common education on matters familiar to them to make people capable of performing their allotted work well.* [24, p. 365] (Italics added, throughout this paper.)

Such a way of thinking was already seen in the school system. The Educational Ordinance in Korea provided for a school system for Koreans entirely separate from that for Japanese and for a shorter period of schooling than for Japanese. The term of schooling for common schools, equivalent to Japanese primary schools, was four years (or even three years depending upon local conditions);

⁴ When considering Korea's modern education, especially during the Japanese occupation, it seems necessary to analyze the total structure of education in the dynamic relations of not only such elements as (1) the development of educational policy by the Governor-General and (2) the Koreans' resistance activities but also such elements as (3) the independent and original educational activities of the Koreans which, while closely related to their resistance activities were carried out and supported from below by voluntary efforts of the people motivated by their demand for education itself and finally (4) paralleling and intersecting Christian activities in education.

that for higher common schools, which were equivalent to Japanese junior high schools, four years (three years for girls); and that for the succeeding level of schooling, i.e., professional schools, three or four years. The total number of school years for Korean therefore was only eleven to twelve years from entry into the common school until graduation from the professional schools, which were the highest level of education. This was about the same as that for graduation from middle schools for Japanese. It goes without saying that the level of education in Korean schools was considerably lower than that in Japanese schools.

As was only natural, the Government-General had no intention of positively promoting higher education for Koreans. As Education Bureau Director Sekiya said, "education for undue nobleness and aloofness from the conditions of society would *only produce educated idlers*. and should be strongly cautioned against. The important thing is to have practical people. . . ."⁵ In fact the Educational Ordinance in Korea had no clause pertaining to universities and colleges. On higher education, Article VII did prescribe that "professional education aims at teaching arts and technologies at a high level," but actual professional schools created for this purpose had terms of only three to four years of school, their admission levels were lower than that of their counterparts in Japan, it was decreed that "for facilities for schools of this nature to be furnished after the common school system has been well developed is recognized as the natural order,"⁶ and the enactment of the regulations for their operation was postponed.

The Regulations for the Professional Schools was enacted and promulgated as late as in 1915. In giving permission for such schools under the Regulations, however, stiff conditions were applied. As a result of such practices, only four public professional schools were given permission immediately after the Regulations were issued, and these were not new creations of the Government-General but were only new names for public schools established and operated by the old Government of the Korean Kingdom before the annexation. The four schools were:

- (1) Keijō Professional School of Law—Originally the Training School for Public Officers established in 1902, this was renamed the Keijō Professional School in 1907.
- (2) Keijō Professional School of Medicine—Originally the Public Medical School established in 1899, this was subsequently renamed the Educational Department of the Medical Institute of Great Korea in 1907, the School of the Medical Institute of Great Korea in 1909, and the Medical Training School of the Korean Government-General Hospital at the time of annexation.
- (3) Keijō Professional School of Industry—This was originally the Industrial School founded in 1906.

⁵ Address by the Education Bureau Director at the Training Course for Common School Teachers in August 1911 [24, p. 408].

⁶ Ordinance No. 16 issued by the Governor-General on March 24, 1915. Quoted from *Meiji ikō kyōiku seido hattatsu-shi* [A history of the educational system since Meiji] (1939), p. 301. Unless otherwise noted all Regulations and Ordinances are quoted from this source.

(4) Suwon Professional School of Agriculture and Forestry—Originally the Agricultural, Commercial, and Industrial School established in 1904, this was re-organized to become the Suwon Agricultural and Forestry School in 1906.

In contrast to these public schools which were transformed into professional schools, private schools encountered more difficulties in being elevated to the same level since, as Governor-General Terauchi stated on the occasion of the promulgation of the Regulations, the Regulations were laid down to the effect that only financial foundations could operate professional schools and financially difficult conditions to meet were stipulated. Elevation of private schools to the level of professional schools was therefore delayed considerably.

We must note that many mission schools had been established and operated in Korea before public schools came into existence. Such protestant missionaries as Messrs. H. G. Appenzeller, F. M. Scranton, and H. G. Underwood, among others, contributed much to modernizing Korean education as the founders of modern schools in Korea. Schools had also been established by some Koreans stimulated by those missionary activities. Among the schools founded by these pioneers were some already engaged in higher level academic training around the time of the annexation. The Sungsil School, established by the American North Presbyterian missionary W. Baird in Pyongyang in 1897, had a college section already in 1907, authorized as the Sungsil University by the Kingdom Government. The Kyungsin School in Seoul, built by missionary Underwood of the same sect as an orphanage in 1886, came to have a college section in 1915 as the result of cooperative efforts by the Methodist and the Canadian Presbyterian Church. With Mr. O. R. Avison as President, the Severance Medical School in Seoul, run cooperatively by the Presbyterians, Methodists, and the Anglicans, graduated its first class as early as 1908. The Ewha School for Girls, established in Seoul in 1886 as Korea's first women's school, had opened its college section in April 1904. Among other private institutions of higher learning voluntarily established by Koreans on the basis of their national consciousness, the Bosung Professional School, founded by Lee Yong-ik 李容翊 in Seoul in 1905, had already begun its campaign to raise itself to Bosung College in March of 1910. Faced with such activities by private institutions of higher learning, the Government-General of Korea on its part refused to authorize new college sections on the grounds that there were no provisions concerning colleges and universities in the Educational Ordinance in Korea and demanded that they obtain fresh authorization from the Government-General to call themselves Professional Schools, citing Regulation VII of the Regulations for the Professional Schools which read "unless established as a Professional School under these Regulations, no school may call itself a Professional School."

This harsh attitude on the part of the Government-General toward the authorization of private professional schools was based upon clear-cut reasons in that private schools posed grave obstacles to the promotion of the Government-General's colonial policy, thus forcing the Government-General to adopt a harsh policy toward all private educational institutions. As has been noted, the development of modern education in Korea owes much to the efforts of these missionaries

and concerned Korean citizens and, in contrast to the failure of the Government's efforts for the introduction of modern educational system, these private educational institutions showed steady progress after their establishment. The Korean reaction to such Japanese aggression as Protectorate Treaty of 1905 and the awakening of Korean nationalism gave further impetus to the development of these private educational institutions, especially those based on their national consciousness. They conducted armed resistance, the so-called voluntary armed campaign, in many localities against Japanese aggression and promoted actively nationalistic cultural enlightenment movements, opening up numerous schools and associations under such slogans as "To learn is to accumulate strength" and "We must first nurture nationalistic thought within ourselves, absorb civilization's advanced arts and technologies from outside, and unwaveringly work as one to restore our national rights"⁷ [5, p. 160]. People in general held the public schools, established by the Ministry of Education, to be only "for the interests of the government" and "most inappropriate for bringing about Korea's independence and prosperity" and boycotted them. Instead, they went to private schools which were "schools for the people and educate for the people's good" [24, pp. 219-20]. There were said to be several thousand private schools established throughout the nation, including the mission schools, and there were 2,250 authorized schools alone in 1910 [16, pp. 50, 60]. Both the Resident-General and the Korean Government tried to suppress them, holding private schools as "under the guise of education, . . . mixing education with politics and instilling dangerous thoughts into the Korean youth to misguide them" [16, p. 44] and as hot-beds of anti-Japanese thought attempting ultimately to "become free from Japanese protectorate and become independent" [21, p. 420] whether they were religious schools or general private schools and regardless of the motives for their founding. It goes without saying that the Government-General after the annexation followed and strengthened the oppressive policies of the Resident-General and the Korean Ministry of Education during the protectorate period [9, pp. 10-11]. The Regulations for Private Schools, promulgated simultaneously with the Regulations for the Professional Schools in 1915, embodied stricter supervision of private schools through attaching strict conditions concerning the teachers to be employed and the courses to be taught.⁸ As a result, the once-thriving private schools diminished rapidly after annexation. According to statistics of the Government-General, the number of private schools in 1910, the year of the annexation, was 1,973 (1,227 general private schools and 746 religious schools), but this had been reduced to 689, or approximately one-third, ten years later (410 general and 279 religious) [3, pp. 151-52].

⁷ Among representative associations established at this time are: Subuk 西北 Association, Kiho 畿湖 Association, Kyonam 嶠南 Association, Honam 湖南 Association, and Kwandong 關東 Association. They published various papers and magazines for the enlightenment of the people, and also established schools, including Subuk School (1907), Kiho School (1908), Taesung 大成 School (1907), Ohsan 五山 School (1907), Bongmaung 鳳鳴 School (1907), and Ryonghhee 隆熙 School (1908).

⁸ For more detailed study of the Government-General's policy toward private schools see, [1].

B. It can easily be understood how harsh an attitude the Government-General actually took towards private schools by considering the strict policy of controlling all private educational efforts, as surveyed above, in combination with the policy of giving simple and practical education suitable for "the trends of the times and the standards of the people." Education Bureau Director Sekiya criticized the general situation of traditional Korean education, including the private institutions of higher education, as follows.

Viewing the educational world of Korea we note two opposing trends, *one conservative and the other extravagant*. . . . Like certain private schools, to offer recklessly elevated courses to render them even more complicated and long lasting, and think proudly that such is genuine higher education is the latter. . . . The Government-General cannot but intervene, even at the risk of being criticized and condemned by pseudo-educationists, to prevent further contests for superficial beauty and formal completeness and to prevent them from giving education that goes against the trends of the times and the standards of the people, thus misguiding the people. [24, pp. 395-96]

From the viewpoint of the Government-General, it was inconceivable that such private institutions of higher learning would be authorized as legal professional schools under the Educational Ordinance in Korea. The application by Bosung Professional School, only Korean institution of higher learning, for recognition under the Regulations for Professional Schools was turned down, obliging the school to change its name to the Private Bosung Legal and Commercial School under Regulation VII of the Regulations for Professional Schools, reading "unless established as a Professional School under these Regulations, no school may call itself a Professional School." The reason for refusing the application and thus downgrading the school from professional school to general school was that it lacked the financial basis necessary to conduct professional education. In order to raise its status, an association for the attainment of a financial foundation was organized by such people as Sung Sang-kwon 徐相權 and Kim Byung-ro 金炳魯, and it was only in 1922 after seven years of persistent campaigning that the school was formally recognized as a Professional School.

The same financial problem was raised in recognizing Christian schools of higher learning as Professional Schools. Since private schools of the time, whether missionary or nationalistic, had been founded when no government regulations concerning authorization for schools existed, they undeniably did have certain inadequacies in their basic financial positions and educational facilities. But the schools operated by missionaries had been left virtually untouched by the Korean government under the protection of the extraterritorial privileges and were dealt with rather leniently by the Government-General with respect to permission to open institutions of higher learning, probably because it was thought ill-advised to suppress those missionaries who were "the driving force directing foreign opinion on Japan's colonial rule" [2, p. 33]. In March 1917, permission was given to establish the United Christian Foundation for the Private Yoenhee Professional School and the college section of Kyungsin School was raised in status to become Yoenhee Professional School. This school had the six divisions of Literature;

TABLE I
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS (*Semmon Gakkō*) DURING JAPANESE RULE

Name	Year Founded	Remarks
Public		
Keijō Professional School of Law 京城専修学校	1916	
Keijō Professional School of Medicine 京城医学専門学校	1916	
Keijō Professional School of Industry 京城工業専門学校	1916	
Suwoon Professional School of Agriculture and Forestry 水原農林専門学校	1917	
Keijō Higher Commercial School 京城高等商業学校	1922	With the change to public operation of the Private Keijō Higher Commercial School (founded in 1918 by the Oriental Association). Name changed to Keijō Professional School of Management in 1944.
Taekoo Professional School of Medicine (公) 大邱医学専門学校	1933	
Pyongyang Professional School of Medicine (公) 平壤医学専門学校	1933	
Keijō Professional School of Mining 京城鉱山専門学校	1939	With the independence of the Mining Dept. of Keijō Professional School of Industry.
Pusan Professional School of Fishery 釜山水産専門学校	1941	
Pyongyang Professional School of Industry 平壤工業専門学校	1944	
Taekoo Professional School of Agriculture 大邱農業専門学校	1944	
Private		
Yoenhee Professional School 延禧専門学校	1917	Name change to Keijō School of Industry and Management in 1944.
Severance Professional School of Medicine ゼフランス連合医学専門学校	1917	Name changed to Asahi Professional School of Medicine in 1942.
Bosung Professional School 普成専門学校	1922	Name changed to Keijō Professional School of Settlement and Economics in 1944.
Ewha Professional School for Women 梨花女子専門学校	1925	Name changed to Keijō Professional School for Women in April 1945.
Sungsil Professional School 崇実専門学校	1925	Abolished in 1938.
Keijō Professional School of Dentistry 京城齒科医学専門学校	1929	
Keijō Professional School of Pharmacy 京城薬学専門学校	1930	
Haewha Professional School 惠化専門学校	1930	Abolished in 1944.
Keijō Women's Professional School of Medicine 京城女子医学専門学校	1938	
Taedong Professional School of Industry 大同工業専門学校	1938	Abolished in 1944.
Sukmyung Professional School for Women 淑明女子専門学校	1939	
Myungrun Professional School 明倫専門学校	1942	Abolished in 1944.

Source: Compiled from Ministry of Education, Higher Education and Science Bureau, Technical Education Section, *Semmon gakkō shiryō* (2) [Reference data on professional schools], 1956, pp. 219-24.

Commerce; Agriculture; Theology; Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry; and Applied Studies. At this same time, the Foundation for the Severance United Professional School of Medicine was also authorized. Both of these missionary institutions, however, had difficulty attaining sufficient financial bases, forcing such churches as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican to federate. Among the religious schools, at the same time, Sungsil Professional School and Ewha Women's Professional School were not granted permission to call themselves Professional Schools until 1925 on the grounds that their financial bases were instable. For other public professional schools founded during the period of Japanese rule (see Table I).

II. ESTABLISHMENT OF KEIJŌ IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY AND THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY CAMPAIGN

A. It was after the March 1 Independence Movement that the Government-General's policy on higher education changed. The Independence Movement, starting on March 1, 1919, spread throughout Korea, and came to possess epoch-making significance in the history of modern Korea as the independence movement against colonial rule by Japan. It was literally a unified resistance movement against Japan, participated in by people from all walks of Korean life. Although it was finally crushed by superior colonial power, it forced the Government-General to abandon its oppressive "military" rule and to adopt a more lenient "cultured" rule. Governor-General Makoto Saitō, succeeding Governor-General Yoshimichi Hasegawa, was to implement various reforms in both internal and external affairs. Among these were the abolition of the system of having a military officer serve as Governor-General, the abolition of the practice of having military police serve as the police force and the establishment of an ordinary police force, the ban on the wearing of uniforms and swords by public officers and teachers, permission for publication to such Korean-language newspapers and magazines as *Dong-a ilbo*, and permission to influential Koreans to participate in national and local politics. Educational reforms were also among the more important items. Educational reform took part in two phases: the first being the provisional reforms immediately after the March 1 Independence Movement during the period from the end of 1919 to 1920 and the second being the sweeping reforms starting in February of 1922 (with the promulgation of the Amended Educational Ordinance in Korea).

In the partial reforms of the educational system, begun toward the end of 1919, reforms were undertaken regarding the several points to which the severest criticisms had been addressed, including the reform of common schools, higher common schools which had their lesser number of school years increased. Their lower educational level was raised, and supplementary courses were established to put them on about the same educational level as their counterparts in Japan; and a loosening of the restrictive conditions was made on hiring teachers and course offerings for private general schools. Along with these measures, and to deal with the sudden burst of enthusiasm for education among Koreans, the program

for increasing the number of public common schools (the three-myoun-one-school program) was moved up (the original eight-year implementation period was shortened to four years). Common in all of these measures is "the principle of an extended homeland," which aimed at closing the gap between schools in Japan proper and those in Korea, in terms of both form and contents. This principle was also followed in the Amended Educational Ordinance in Korea of 1922. The new school system under the amended ordinance had the following characteristics. (1) The number of school years and educational level of all schools, from common schools to professional schools, were improved to make them comparable with their Japanese counterparts. (2) Provision was made for universities and university preparatory schools, and teacher training schools were newly established. (3) The period of eleven to twelve years needed to complete all levels of education from common school through the highest level was lengthened to sixteen to seventeen years, as in Japan. (4) Legal distinctions between Japanese and Koreans were abolished (although the distinctions were maintained as between "those who speak Japanese all the time" and "those who do not").

At any rate, the Government-General's policy on higher education was changed considerably with the promulgation of the Amended Educational Ordinance in Korea of 1922, as universities could now be allowed, higher admission standards for professional schools were set, and longer terms of schooling were to be attained. Article XII of the Ordinance reads as follows:

Professional education is to be based upon the Ordinance for the Professional Schools, and university and university preparatory education upon the Ordinance for Universities. The duties assigned the Minister of Education in the above Ordinances are to be carried out by the Governor-General. The Governor-General is to decide matters pertaining to the establishment of Professional Schools and the employment of teaching staff in preparatory schools.

Keijō Imperial University was started with the promulgation of the Official Decree on Keijō Imperial University, 1924, which was based upon this Amended Educational Ordinance in Korea. The process leading to its establishment is summarized below.

December 1920	Temporary Committee for Educational Investigation established
February 1922	Amended Educational Ordinance in Korea promulgated
December 1923	Committee for Keijō Imperial University Establishment formed
May 1924	Official Decree on Keijō Imperial University promulgated, and the preparatory department of Keijō Imperial University opened
April 1926	Faculty of Law and Arts and Faculty of Medicine of Keijō Imperial University opened

As to the conditions leading to the establishment of Keijō Imperial University, the first to be noted is the change of policy on the part of the Government-General as a direct result of the March 1 Movement. Korean discontent over the discriminatory practices in education based upon the Educational Ordinance in Korea

was one of the important contributing elements in the nationalistic movement, and the Government-General had to answer their demands with the new slogan of "the principle of an extended homeland" in education. At the same time, one must not overlook the campaign for the expansion of higher education carried out in Japan at the time. In 1917 the Temporary Education Council issued a report which brought forth a wave of reforms and improvements covering the entire spectrum of higher education in Japan, changing the system of allowing only national universities to permit municipal and private universities and causing a rapid increase in the number of universities and other institutions of higher learning. The most notable cause leading to the establishment of Keijō Imperial University, however, may be said to be the increased Korean demands for better education, and in particular the People's University Campaign carried on powerfully by concerned Koreans. The conspicuous trend in Korean education after the March 1 Movement was the aroused enthusiasm for education among Koreans, even prompting one educational administrator in the Government-General to call it a "golden age of Korean education" [20, p. 398]. During the short period of six years between 1920 and 1926, the number of common schools increased from 595 to 1,336 (up 2.5 times), and the number of pupils enrolled increased approximately fourfold from 107,200 (enrolling 4.6 per cent of the age group) to 438,990 (17.6 per cent) [20, p. 398]. Koreans not only demanded improved facilities from the Government-General but also made great efforts for the expansion and improvement of private schools. Although private schools waned following the annexation, their decline levelled out in the 1920s and they even increased their enrollment to surpass pre-annexation levels. Frequent student strikes at this time also pressed demands that school administrations improve educational contents, teaching staff, and facilities, illustrating the rising demand for more education among Koreans.⁹

It was in this context of increasing demands for education that the campaign to establish and operate a People's University was launched and strongly promoted. The Government-General could not afford to disregard so powerful a campaign. As Ken'ichi Ono, who served as Section Chief for School Affairs at the time, states that the demand for university education was so strong that the Government-General could not but decide for the establishment of an Imperial University in spite of fairly strong opposition and arguments for procrastination from some quarters [20, pp. 180-81]. It is interesting here to make a passing comparison to the case of the Taipei Imperial University. In spite of the fact that Taiwan was also a colony of Japan, and an older colony than Korea at that, Taiwan did not get its Imperial University until as late as 1928, four years later than Korea. One of the big reasons for this delay was the less enthusiastic demand for higher

⁹ Let us list some examples. The Yoenhee Professional School lost its accreditation in May of 1920 for the following reasons: (1) poor facilities for a professional school, (2) inadequate standards for instructors, and (3) lack of dormitories. In June of the same year, the Huimun Higher Common School also lost its accreditation for (1) poor faculty, (2) lack of library and an auditorium, (3) lack of dormitories, (4) insufficient classrooms, (5) lack of experiment rooms for science courses and of rooms for exhibiting specimens, and (6) not encouraging gymnastics [15, pp. 242-43].

education on the part of the residents of Taiwan.¹⁰

B. There was already a discernible movement aimed at establishing and operating universities among private citizens in Korea immediately after the annexation. The first People's University Campaign developed from the nationwide Government Bond Remuneration Movement toward the end of the Korean Kingdom. This was a fund drive on a national scale in 1909 to repay the loan of ¥13 million from the Japanese Government, and was characterized by strong elements enhancing nationalistic feelings. When this bond drive was abandoned and was about to dissolve itself as the country was annexed in 1910, the movement adopted the proposal of such leaders as Yoon Chi-ho 伊致昊, Nam Kung-ouk 南宮憶, Pak Un-sik 朴殷植, and Yang Ki-taek 梁起鐸 that an Organizing Committee for a People's University to be privately operated be called into existence with the financial basis of ¥6 million thus far collected, and an application was filed with Governor-General Terauchi for permission to establish such a university. In view of the harshly oppressive policy of the Government-General toward higher education, it can easily be imagined that the application was turned down, as it was.

Yet it was in the 1920s that the People's University Campaign came to be a focus of attention. With the impetus of the March 1 Movement, various activities were started within Korean society, all emanating from awakening nationalism. More than a hundred organizations are said to have been formed in the first half of the 1920s, including the Youth Federation of Korea, Mutual Association of Korean Workers, Federation of Christian Youth, Produce Encouragement Association, Patriotic Ladies' Association of the Republic of Korea, and Educational Association of Korea. In this situation, the Educational Association of Korea started the campaign for the establishment of private universities. The Educational Association of Korea was formed in Seoul on June 23, 1920, with a hundred concerned persons participating, with the leading roles played by Hahn Kyu-kwa 韓圭高, who resigned as Minister of Suffrage in opposition to the Protectorate Treaty, and Lee Sang-zai 李商在, former Vice-President of the Association for Independence. Its prospectus states:

The only way through which we may rescue ourselves from the stagnation of contemporary society is to encourage and promote education suited to the times. . . . How many of the few remaining educational institutions in Korea today can we support and operate with our own financial resources and efforts? It would, after all, be useless to talk loudly of rebirth of the nation and social reforms if we were to leave basic problems unanswered. . . . We hereby form the Educational Association of Korea to spread the urgentness of education to all parents throughout the entire peninsula, to study and resolve all problems concerning education. . . . It is our duty as Koreans to build our own future through our own efforts. [6, December 12, 1922]

It thus aimed at stimulating the Korean national consciousness and at a future

¹⁰ Seiichi Izumi explains this point in [11]. Korea, being an older and more advanced country, had organized a national government and maintained its own national culture, being brought under Japanese rule quite recently. Koreans therefore offered much national resistance to foreign rule, making it more difficult for Japan to rule than in Taiwan. This is why Keijō Imperial University was rapidly promoted as a part of the Japanese policy.

restoration of national rights by nurturing the national power steadily through education, and it stood at the center of the rising campaign for better education.¹¹ Its advocacy of educational undertakings supported "purely by Korea's own financial resources and efforts" and the resolution passed at the founding meeting to the effect that a national university with literature, agriculture, commerce, industry, medicine, and other such departments should be promptly established are especially noteworthy.

Faced with such activity by the Educational Association of Korea, the Government-General refused to grant permission for such a university on the grounds that the Educational Ordinance had no clause relating to universities and that the Governor-General therefore did not have the power to authorize the establishment of a university. Instead, he suggested that the Association cooperate with the application from Tōyō University in Tokyo then under consideration by the Government-General for the establishment of a branch school in Seoul. But when it turned out that the Educational Ordinance provided no legal basis upon which such branch schools could be permitted, Governor-General Saitō and Minister of Political Affairs Mizuno on September 21 invited such Association officers as Hahn Kyu-kwa and Lee Sang-zai and notified them that, rather than establishing a branch of Tōyō University, it would be wiser to transform the existing public Medical School to the Medical College of Korea as the first step toward establishing a public university, and that the Government-General was now considering this new idea. The Educational Association of Korea at its Founding Congress on September 26 then severely criticized the steps taken by the authorities and resolved to proceed determinedly with the campaign to establish a people's university by petitioning the central Government of Japan and appealing for new members and funds. The People's University Campaign was now to be launched on the national level.

In November 1922, the Organizing Committee for the Establishment of the People's University was formed with a motion made by forty-seven people, such as Lee Sang-zai, Lee Sung-hun 李昇薰, and Yu Chin-tae 兪鎮泰. This Organizing Committee carried out a public relations campaign to explain their reasons for a people's university and sent its members to various places throughout Korea to recruit new members, thus setting out in earnest with its activities. Newspapers of nationalist leanings, such as *Dong-a ilbo* and *Chosun ilbo* (Korean daily), gave the campaign their enthusiastic support throughout. *Dong-a ilbo* encouraged the campaign in its editorial "Establishment of a Peoples University—on Dispatching Committee Members" as follows:

It is no exaggeration to say that our pride and lives as Koreans depend upon this campaign. Behold! *The People's University will be first of all a university created by the power of the people and secondly the finest epitome of the ideals of the people.* . . . As this finest epitome of the people's ideals realizes its full potential, the direc-

¹¹ *Dong-a ilbo* expressed its expectation editorially that the Committee should serve as the central organization for the promotion of education, becoming "the compass of the Korean educational world, its driving force, and an absolutely beneficial contributor to the building of Korea's future" (June 30, 1922).

tion of Korean progress will most certainly come to be based on scientific methods. This will prove to be the fundamental principle assuring us our lives and our rights. [6, December 16, 1922]

As the campaign progressed and spread throughout the entire peninsula, new applications for membership came in from Pyongyang and all over the country, thousands of members joining in less than four months.

For three days starting on March 29, 1923, the General Congress for Founding the Committee for the Establishment of the People's University was held at the Christian Central Youth Hall with over a thousand participants from throughout the country, and the Committee for the Establishment of the People's University was formed. The Central Executive Committee had thirty members, men such as Lee Sang-zai, Lee Sung-hun, Cho Byung-han 曹炳漢, Kim Teak 金澤, Ko Won-hun 高元勳, Nam Kung-ouk, Choi Lin 崔麟, Cho Man-sik 曹晚植, and Yu Sung-chun 兪星濬; seven auditors including Lee Tal-won 李達元, Choi Chi-chung 崔嶺正, and Kim Chang-chen 金定鎭; seven trustee members including Kim Sung-su 金性洙, Kim Byung-ro, and Chang Du-hyun 張斗鉞. Resolutions were passed on various committee programs, and the following "Prospectus for the Establishment of the People's University" was announced:

How shall we achieve our own destiny, through politics, through diplomacy, or through industry? All of these are needed. But it is education that is to serve as the basis and the essence, that is most urgently needed and must have the top priority, and that is most powerful and most necessary. . . . There are many kinds and many levels of education, and the people may gain common knowledge through common education. But it is obvious that deep knowledge and profound theories are in the realm of higher education. If we are to seek the highest social criticism and to nurture capable and useful character, it is essential that there exist educational institutions of the highest order. Not only that, but universities are importantly related to the progress of humanity, and cultural progress and better life can only be planned and acquired through universities. . . . If we are, therefore, to maintain our way of life along with others as a civilized nation in the world, and if we intend to create and improve our culture, we have no other means to these ends than the establishment of a university.

The ardent desire for learning observable at all places during the past years and the new schools established and facilities improved have done much toward realizing our noble ideal. . . . Yet to our regret we have no universities yet. Of course a public university will soon be opened, and we cannot claim to have no universities at all. But the cultural future of the peninsula will not be satisfied with only one such university. Also it is virtually our duty to operate such an important national enterprise directly on our own. We therefore appeal to our comrades throughout the country for the establishment of the People's University. . . . [6, March 30, 1923]

According to the "Detailed Plans for the People's University" passed at this General Congress, the Committee was, as the first phase of its activities, to open a university with the four Colleges of Law, Literature, Economics, and Science, as well as a Preparatory Department for them, to acquire various facilities such as 165 hectares of land, ten buildings, and an auditorium with the ₩4 million collected, and to train teaching staffs. The second phase called for the opening of the College of Industry and improvements of existing departments with a

budget of ¥3 million. The third phase then called for the opening of Colleges of Medicine and Agriculture with a budget of ¥3 million.

On April 2, 1923, the first meeting of the Central Committee was held, electing Lee Sang-zai as Chairman and Lee Sung-hun, Yu Sung-chun, Han Yong-won 韓龍雲, Yu Chin-tae, Ko Yong-when 高龍煥, Hong Sung-kae 洪性俠, Kang In-taek 姜仁澤, and Han In-bong 韓仁鳳 as standing members. From then on, they traveled throughout the peninsula addressing the people in order to explain the spirit of their campaign and to raise funds.¹² By the end of the year, over a hundred localities in Ahsan 牙山, Whangju 黃州, Hanhun-kun 咸興郡, Boju 普州, Ansong 安城, Kwangju-kun 光州郡, Kongju 公州, Shinueju 新義州, Chulwoon 鉄原, Sunchun 宣州, Mengson 孟山, Bosung-kun 宝城郡, Chinampo 鎮南浦, Chungju 定州, Milyang-kun 密陽郡, and Kwanju 広州 had local branches of the Committee. Fund raising campaigns were also conducted in Moukden and in Hawaii. Branch activities took various forms, including lecture tours by branch members, handing out hand bills at market, one-spoonful-of-rice campaigns, and determining the donation appropriate for each household. The People's University Campaign literally became the "pioneer mass cultural movement" and the "first of the great mass movements"¹³ and was promoted as such.

C. As has been made amply clear, the People's University Campaign was not simply a campaign for education but rather developed from the severely restricted political or nationalism movements into a campaign for the educational institution of a university.¹⁴ The Government-General, therefore, deciding that this campaign harbored political intentions and dangerous thoughts, refused to grant permission for the university and placed harsh conditions on the Committee's fund raising activities.¹⁵ Thus this energetically promoted campaign finally failed as a result of this policy, *Shisei 25 nen-shi* has the following to say.

Those rebellious Koreans and others who realized how little chance a direct mass independence movement had of success changed their policy to one of industrial

¹² The areas to which the Committee sent its members and the person in charge of each area were as follows: Pyongan-Namdo 平安南道—Cho Man-sik, Pyongan-Bukdo 平安北道—Lee Sung-kun, Chungcheng-Bukdo 忠清北道—Yu Sung-chun, Chunra-Namdo 全羅南道—Kim Hyung-ok 金衡玉, Whang hae-do 黃海道—Kim Taek, and Kyungsand-do 慶尚道—Un In-sik 柳寅植.

¹³ "The Founding Congress for the Establishment of the People's University—A Pioneer in the Mass Cultural Movement" [6, March 28, 1923].

¹⁴ Kim Ki-suk claims in [12] that Lee Sung-hun had the following four reasons for starting the People's University Campaign. (1) The educational standard of the Koreans was sufficiently high for them to have a university within their boundaries. (2) The Koreans themselves came to possess the means for its support. (3) He expected Koreans to bring up future Korean leaders through university education on their own. (4) Through this campaign, national consciousness could be enhanced and hope given to Koreans. Among them, the fourth reason is pointed out as the most important.

¹⁵ Against the fund raising campaign of the committee the Governor-General summoned each contributor to the police and interrogated him as to his motives and his associates. One of the Central Committee members, Kong In-taek, relates as follows: "If we had any rights, we would have already realized our objective (of establishing the University). Various activities were carried on in various places, and it was more than once that obstacles were put in our way" [6, September 1, 1922].

development and educational advancement to build up the basis for national independence. The result was a sudden burst of enthusiasm for education, prompting a movement for the establishment of a private university with a capital of ¥7 million. Money was raised with considerable support for that time, with nearly two thousand members helping. It ended in anticlimax however. [8, p. 337]

There were also internal reasons for the failure of the Campaign. *Dong-a ilbo* reviewed the method of campaigning after the General Congress in its editorial on November 23, 1923, and said, in effect, that in spite of such successful outward activities as holding lecture tours and establishing local branches, the most important aspect of the campaign—fund raising—did not go as smoothly.¹⁶ It is true that in certain parts of the country fund raising was successfully carried out; for instance, more than ¥1.5 million was collected in Chunra-do alone. But generally, fund raising proved rather unsuccessful,¹⁷ in great measure because of the 1922 rice crop failure in Southern Korea due to natural calamities.¹⁸ Finally, in 1925, the Committee itself was forced into virtual extinction.

Another factor contributing immensely to the failure of the campaign was the establishment of Keijō Imperial University. It goes without saying that the Government-General had to suppress thoroughly any activities of an independent nature based upon the national consciousness of the Koreans. And this is exactly what the demand for the establishment of a people's university was. At the same time, however, it could not but meet the rising demand for education, particularly for higher education, to a certain extent under its "cultured rule." It follows then that it was thought more desirable to fulfill this requirement minimally within the system of public education. Public schools were the most effective educational institutions for achieving the educational aim of cultivating "loyal subjects." The expectations of the Government-General were well expressed in the address of the first President of Keijō Imperial University, Unokichi Hattori, on the occasion of the opening ceremony for the University.

While this University has several characteristics that come naturally out of its being situated in Korea, I would like on this occasion to speak of only cultural aspects. . . . I believe that our university has a peculiar mission to investigate broadly the Korean culture in relation to Chinese culture on the one hand and to Japanese culture on the other so that our university may become an authority in the study of Oriental culture. To fulfill this mission of our university, it must be *run on the basis of the Japanese spirit clad in the armour of ever-advancing learning and skills.*

. . . The Ordinance on Universities says in Article I that

The objective of the university is to teach the principles and applications of arts

¹⁶ "Progress of Hawaii Comrades in their Preparations for the People's University—Think It Over, Comrade!" [6, November 23, 1923].

¹⁷ When in March 1926, Lee Chong-in and others planned to revive the Committee, the figure ¥6 million was written down in the book. The actual amount is said to have been much smaller [4, p. 126].

¹⁸ "Progress Temporarily Stopped due to Yearly Natural Calamities—Reports on the Interrupted People's University Campaign" [6, September 1, 1925], "Reflections on and Criticisms of the Past Year of Various National Movement" [6, January 1, 1924], and "The Progress of the People's University Campaign—from Propaganda to Realization" [6, July 28, 1923].

and sciences that are essential for the state and to carry out research activities thereof, being mindful at the same time of cultivating good character and nurturing state thought loyal to the state.

The recurring word "state" should always stay in your minds. [20, pp. 144-45]

This is why the Government-General dared to promote the scheme for the Imperial University as against the rising campaign for the People's University, even overriding stiff opposition in certain quarters. Korean scholars who called the establishment of Keijō Imperial University "*the last desperate measure in order to discourage and suppress (the campaign for) the People's University promoted by Koreans at the time*" or "*the empty skeleton of the People's University Campaign*" [10] or "*a measure soliciting the people's support after it had been lost by the refusal to allow the People's University*" [22] were not entirely off the mark.

The policy of the Government-General to train the future leaders of Korea in public institutions as much as possible was well reflected in the fact that the medical and law faculties were the first to be opened in the Imperial University. According to the explanations of the authorities, the reasons for giving priorities to the two faculties were that Koreans had been more positively interested in law, economics, and political science than in natural sciences; science and agricultural faculties would not have attracted many students; and the lack of a law faculty would have driven many Korean students to universities in Japan or elsewhere.

III. CONTINUING ACTIVITIES FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

A. Let us examine the operations of Keijō Imperial University. In 1926, the first-year students graduated from its Preparatory Department, and at the same time the Faculty of Law and Arts and the Faculty of Medicine were opened, thus taking the first step as a university. Fifteen years later, in 1941, the Faculty of Science and Technology was opened, adjusting to the wartime needs. This university was established in accordance with the Ordinance on Universities, and all of its operations from the selection of the President and Deans and the structuring of the Faculty Meeting and Board of Councillors on down to the hospital, library, and accompanying institutes were exact duplicates, albeit smaller, of the Imperial Universities in Japan proper, and its course offerings and academic standards were comparable to those of Japan's Imperial Universities [11].

The discontent of the Koreans concerning the Keijō Imperial University was that it did not reflect their desires and opinions in its daily operations,¹⁹ especially in that admission for them was extremely limited. This is illustrated in Table II. Of the 150 students admitted to the Imperial University in its first year of operation (1926), only 47 (31.3 per cent) were Koreans. The same trend is evident in the preparatory section (103 Koreans out of 338 students, making only 30.5 per cent). The percentage of Koreans in the entire student body was below the 40

¹⁹ "On the Opening of the University of Korea—Listen to the Opinion of Koreans" [6, December 6, 1924].

per cent level in all public and municipal professional schools,²⁰ and it was only in 1941 that this reached the 40 per cent level. It was the system of entrance examinations that kept the percentage of Korean students so low. There was, of course, no overt discrimination against Korean students in the examinations. "Equal treatment in examinations for Japanese and Korean students" was a principle often reiterated by the authorities. But as a result of the simple fact that the examination was held in Japanese, their "unavoidable inferiority in language abilities" created an undeniable big handicap for Korean students. No equalizing considerations were given under such conditions, and examinations conducted under the general principle of "no discrimination" resulted in unequal treatments for Korean students. This system was frequently and strongly condemned, and the following case is typical. On July 12, 1926, the "association" of principals of private junior high schools in Keijō Province passed a resolution calling for relief of the extreme difficulties in university admission by (1) establishing more educational institutions of higher learning and (2) if such proves unfeasible, setting up an appropriate ratio for entering students in order to admit as many Korean students as possible. This they presented to the Education Bureau of the Government-General. According to their presentation, educational institutions of higher learning went all the way to Japan to recruit Japanese students, limiting the admission opportunities for Korean students and making the situation even worse for Koreans, even though very few Koreans were able to qualify to start with. The Education Bureau refused the requests of the association outright, saying that the principle of "no discrimination" could not allow any special treatment for Korean students, and saying that the small number of Korean students was only a temporary phenomenon which would be resolved with the passing of time. *Dong-a ilbo* took up this issue in its editorial and argued that despite the announced "no discrimination" principle of the Government-

²⁰ Student enrollment at public professional school as of 1925 is shown in the following table.

	Students			Ratio (%)	
	Koreans	Japanese	Total	Koreans	Japanese
Keijō Professional School of Law	143	47	190	74.61	25.39
Keijō Professional School of Medicine	76	256	332	22.90	77.10
Keijō Higher Industrial School	49	147	196	25.00	75.00
Suwon Professional School of Agriculture and Forestry	49	144	193	25.39	74.61
Keijō Higher Commercial School	58	231	289	20.07	79.91
Taekoo Professional School of Medicine	79	194	273	28.94	71.00
Pyongyang Professional School of Medicine	120	174	294	40.81	59.18
Total	574	1,193	1,767	32.48	67.51

Source: [15, pp. 226-27].

General, it did discriminate against Koreans in actual terms in its conduct of the entrance examination, and that if it kept talking of "no discrimination" it should not close its eyes to the problems of the compulsory education system, problems which should have long since been solved. The editorial thus harshly criticized the hypocrisy of the so-called "no discrimination" policy of the Government-General retorting that Koreans were "victimized under the pretense of non-discrimination."²¹

The same could be said of the teaching staff. An overwhelming number of teaching posts were occupied by Japanese, and Korean instructors were more the exception than the rule. (See Table II.) The *Keijō teikoku daigaku ichiran* [Catalogue of Keijō Imperial University], 1941, describes that situation in more

TABLE II
CONDITIONS AT KEIJŌ IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY (1926-41)

Faculty	Teaching Staff			Students				
	Koreans	Japanese	Total*	A×100		Japanese (B)	B×100	
				Koreans (A)	C (%)		C (%)	Total (C)
1926								
Law and arts	3	28 (5)	33 (5)	33	39.3	51	60.7	84
Medicine	2	22 (4)	24 (4)	14	21.2	52	78.8	66
Total	5	50	57	47	31.3	103	68.7	150
Preparatory	1(1)	19 (3)	20 (5)	103	30.5	235	69.5	338
1930								
Law and arts	13(2)	88(13)	103(16)	87	38.8	137	61.2	224
Medicine	52	216 (4)	268 (4)	98	33.1	198	66.9	296
Total	65	304	371	185	35.6	335	64.4	520
Preparatory	1	21 (3)	23 (4)	86	28.5	216	71.5	302
1935								
Law and arts	—(1)	61 (6)	63 (9)	102	43.0	135	57.0	237
Medicine	2	51 (5)	53 (5)	71	23.1	236	76.9	307
Total	2	112	116	173	31.8	371	68.2	544
Preparatory	—	23(12)	25(14)	112	36.2	197	63.8	309
1941								
Law and arts	—	49 (2)	49 (6)	126	44.7	156	55.3	282
Medicine	1(1)	55 (2)	56 (3)	162	41.6	227	58.4	389
Science and technology	—	36 (5)	36 (5)	16	41.0	23	59.0	39
Total	1	140	141	304	42.8	406	57.2	710
Preparatory	—	36(15)	38(15)	216	35.4	395	64.6	611

Source: Compiled from annual figures in *Chōsen sho-gakkō ichiran* [Outline of Korean schools] published by the Education Bureau, Government-General of Korea.

- Notes: 1. The total* number of teaching staff also includes some who were neither Korean nor Japanese.
2. Teaching staff figures in parentheses indicate part-time faculty.
3. Teaching staff figures for 1930 include both teaching staff and other employees.

²¹ "The Policy of the Education Bureau and its Explanations—A Case of Victimization under the Pretense of Non-discrimination" (1) and (2) [6, January 19 and 20, 1927].

detail. At the time, the University had no Korean professors or assistant professors in Faculties of Law, Medicine, or Science and Technology, or even in Preparatory Department, had only two Korean lecturers in the Faculty of Medicine, one Korean lecturer in the Faculty of Law and Arts (teaching the Korean version of Chinese), and one Korean instructor in the Preparatory Department. There were only fourteen Korean assistants (five in Law, eight in Medicine, and one in Science and Technology).

B. Out of their dissatisfaction with the system of public institutions of higher learning which Keijō Imperial University headed, the Koreans frequently demanded expansion or improvement of higher educational institutions and at the same time made great efforts to establish or improve private or cooperative institutions of higher learning which possessed the potential for independent and unobstructed development. On the occasion of the inauguration of the Faculty of Law and Arts and the Faculty of Medicine of Keijō Imperial University in November 1925, *Dong-a ilbo* in its editorial urgently called for "institutions of highest learning for Koreans centering on the ideas of the new age" and claimed that both the Yoenhee Professional School (already looking more like a private university under the management of the Christian missionary church) and the Bosung Professional School (the only institution of higher learning run by Koreans) should be elevated to university status.²² At this time, another campaign by private citizens for universities was also seen rising in various quarters.

There were two main lines of activity by private citizens for the establishment of universities. One was Christian missionaries and the other was by concerned Koreans. Let us take up the former first. Protestant missionaries, above all American Presbyterians and Methodists had admittedly been pioneers in modern education in Korea. They were already active in higher education at the turn of the century. After the annexation, however, the lack of university provisions in the Educational Ordinance in Korea limited their activities in higher education to only the Yoenhee Professional School and the Severance Professional School of Medicine, as has been mentioned. In the 1920s, the People's University Campaign by Koreans was intensified, and the Amended Educational Ordinance in Korea of 1922 had provisions concerning universities, giving impetus to missionary activities for a university. One such move was that which aimed at making the Ewha School for Girls, the Union Women's Christian College [7, p. 144]. About this time, similar movements for status elevation were seen in the Keijō Professional School of Medicine and the Keijō Professional School of Law. It was to deal with such activities that Education Bureau Director Nagano issued a statement "On the Activities to Elevate Professional Schools" in July 1923, and put on the brake on such activities. The statement said:

The University of Korea (i.e., Keijō Imperial University) was brought forth as an entirely separate educational institution, and was not in any way one elevated from the professional school level. The professional schools of today should make plans in order to make themselves better professional schools as such. . . . I think

²² *Chosun ilbo*, December 3, 1925, reprinted in Sohn In-soo [22].

it is fundamentally wrong to advocate their upgrading in connection with the establishment of universities. [6, July 16, 1923]

From this statement one can easily discern a complete disinclination on the part of the Government-General to grant permission for the establishment of any other universities in any form whatever other than Keijō Imperial University. This Government-General policy on higher education finally spelled defeat for the plan to raise Ewha Schools for Girls to college status, and the school then acquired permission to be the Ewha Professional School for Women under Miss Aba B. Hall, Chairman of the American Foundation of Methodist Missionaries in Korea, Women's Section.

The Yoenhee Professional School and the Severance Professional School, which had been authorized as professional schools, planned to unite with the Hyupsung Theological School to become a university. Mr. O. R. Avison, President of the first two Schools, and Mr. H. H. Underwood, Vice-President of the Yoenhee Professional School, went to the United States in 1925 and carried out a fund raising campaign with considerable success. Yet faced with the Government-General policy of not allowing any more universities, this plan to create a new university also failed.

Along with this move to elevate missionary schools to create a university, there were also attempts to revive the People's University Campaign which had waned since its peak in 1923. In March 1926, more than twenty concerned Koreans in Seoul conferred with former Committee members living in that city on practical methods of reviving the campaign, and elected Lee Chong-in 李鐘麟, Pak Sung-chul 朴勝喆, Choi Won-sun 崔元淳, Ku Za-ok 具滋玉, Hahn Ki-ak 韓基岳, An Zai-hon 安在鴻, Hon Sung-kae 洪性僕, Lee Kap-sun 李申成, and others to be their representatives. This attempt, however, did not grow to maturity due to a lack of funds. The campaign for a people's university after that was carried out not as Committee activities but rather by former leaders individually working for the same cause. Lee Sung-hun, a former member of the Central Executive Committee, managed to reopen the Ohsan School in Chungju, Pyongan-Bukdo, which he himself had built in 1907 but had been closed on the grounds that it had played a leading role in the March 1 Movement. In 1925, he successfully formed a foundation and had the same school raised in status to a higher common school. He further wanted to open an agricultural school in affiliation with this school, and filed an application with the Government-General to this effect in 1926 with the aid of Lee Hun-ku 李勲求, a professor at the Sungsil Professional School. One of the Committee's trustees, Kim Sung-su, attempting to establish a university of his own, conducted an inspection tour of the facilities and operations of colleges and universities in Europe and the United States for over a year from 1931, but he abandoned his plan to establish a new university and instead became involved in the operations of the Bosung Professional School upon seeing the prohibitive policy of the Government-General. This school had been in grave trouble financially, but became solvent thanks to his strong financial assistance and his efforts to improve education there, building a solid foundation as a nation-

alistic institution of higher learning. Later attempting again to achieve his original objective, he planned to have this Professional School raised to university status in 1940, but again in vain. Every attempt by Christian missionaries and concerned Koreans to establish universities was crushed by the Government-General, and Korea had no colleges or universities other than Keijō Imperial University until 1945.

C. A few comments on the situation as it relates to higher education in Korea after the 1930s are in order here to bring this paper to a close. Once the Sino-Japanese War started, the Government-General, adjusting policy to wartime requirements, conducted a strong-arm policy of making Koreans into loyal Imperial subjects and demanded that they discharge all of the duties of loyal subjects. Several measures were also pushed in the field of higher education to intensify this campaign even more. For example, the Regulations for Universities were amended in April 1940, affixing the following clause to Article I:

The objective of the university is to teach the principles and applications of arts and sciences that are essential for the state and to carry out research activities thereof, *being mindful at the same time of cultivating good character and nurturing thought loyal to the state. The University should thus endeavor to educate to produce loyal and useful subjects capable of serving as pillars of the Imperial state.* [13, Vol. 8, p. 288]

The Regulations were thus made far more nationalistic than the Ordinance for Universities. At the same time, the Regulations for Keijō Imperial University Preparatory Department and the Regulations for the Professional Schools were amended in the same way. As was only natural, restrictive regulations were enforced from many quarters against those private educational institutions which were regarded as detrimental to the promotion of education for Imperial subjects. The refusal at the Professional School to worship the Shinto shrine in 1938 led to the withdrawal of the missionary faculty and ultimately to the closing of the school itself. The practice of changing all names to Japanese-style names was also enforced with regarding to schools, even changing names of the private professional schools with long traditions. The Severance Professional School of Medicine became the Asahi Professional School of Medicine, the Yoenhee Professional School the Keijō Professional School of Industry and Management, the Bosung Professional School the Keijō Professional School of Settlement and Economics, and the Ewha Professional School for Women the Keijō Women's Professional School. Private institutions of higher learning were thoroughly suppressed, and further attempts were made to abolish the nationalistic taint in education and to bring up loyal Imperial subjects.

CONCLUSION

We have dealt with higher education in Korea under Japanese rule and its characteristics, focusing upon the People's University Campaign in the 1920s and the processes leading to the establishment of Keijō Imperial University, as well as upon their inter-relationships. Keijō Imperial University, the most advanced

academic institution of the time, has been shown to have been established by the Government-General in order to help strengthen the colonial educational system, although it corresponded in part to the rising demand for education for Koreans, which in turn was supported by the rising tide of nationalism after the March 1 Movement. The two colonial principles of assimilation and discrimination were seen to have been ever-present as Koreans exerted great independent and separate efforts for their own education in difficult conditions, even initiating the People's University Campaign, but having all their efforts fail in the face of the Government-General's educational policy. The built-up Korean energies for education, especially higher education, under Japanese rule served as a powerful factor bringing about the explosive development of education in the post-liberation era. The educational activities of Koreans and missionaries for modern education of their own under Japanese rule should be further studied, and it has only been possible to present here a general sketch of the People's University Campaign itself, these insufficiently covered points necessarily being held for further study.

REFERENCES

1. ABE, H. "Heigō shoki niokeru chōsen sōtokufu to kirisutokyō-shugi—shokuminchi kyōiku seisaku no ichi-sokumen" [Government-General in Korea and Christian schools following the annexation—an aspect of colonial educational policy], *Kyōiku kenkyū*, Vol. 27, No. 2 (1960).
2. ASAMI, N. *Nihon shokuminchi tōchiron* [On colonial rule by Japan] (Tokyo: Ganshōdō shoten, 1928).
3. Bureau of Education, Government-General (in Korea). *Chōsen kyōiku yōran* [Outline of Korean education] (1928).
4. CHO YONG-MAN 植客万, et al. *Ilche-ha-ui munhua undong* [A history of cultural movement under the Japanese Empire] (Seoul, 1970).
5. Chōsen Rekishi Hensan Kai. *Chōsen minzoku kaihō tōsō-shi* [A history of Korea's struggle for liberation], trans. Chōsen Rekishi Kenkyū-kai (Kyōto: San'ichi-shobō, 1952).
6. *Dong-a ilbo*.
7. Ewha Women's University. *Ewha pal-sip-nyon sa* [Eighty years of Ewha] (Seoul, 1967).
8. Government-General (in Korea). *Shisei 25 nen-shi* [Twenty-five years of the Government-General] (Keijō, 1935).
9. Governor-General's Office. *Kaku-dōchōkan ni taisuru sōtoku kunji yōroku* [Essentials of instructions by Governor-General to provincial governors] (October 5, 1910).
10. HAHN KI-UN 韓基彩. "Sahak ui palchon gwa sanil-undong" [Development of private educational institutions and the March 1 Independence Movement], *Asia yongu*, Asiatic Research Centre, University of Korea, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1969).
11. IZUMI, S. "Kyū-shokuminchi teikoku daigaku-kō" [A reflection on imperial universities in former colonies of Japan], *Chūōkōron* (July 1970).
12. KIM KI-SUK 金基錫. *Nam Gang: Lee Sung-hun jon* [Biography of Nam Gang Lee Sung-hun] (1964).
13. Kindai Nihon Seido Shiryō Hensan Kai. *Kindai Nihon kyōiku seido shiryō* [Documents on the educational system in modern Japan] (1956).
14. LEE IN 李仁. "Sinmin-kyoyuk e-masson mil-lip taehok undong" [The People's University Campaign opposing colonial education], *Shin-dong a* (October 1969).
15. LEE MAN-KYU 李万桂. *Chosun kyoyuk-sa* [A history of Korean education] (1949).
16. Ministry of Education (Korea). *Kankoku kyōiku no genjō* [Present educational conditions in Korea] (1910).
17. Ministry of Education (People's Democratic Republic of Korea). *Yearbook of United Korea, 1967-68*.

18. Ministry of Education (Republic of Korea). *Statistics Year Book of Education*, 1970.
19. OH CHUN-SUK 吳天錫. *Hanguk shin kyoyuk-sa* [A history of new education in the Republic of Korea] (Seoul, 1964).
20. ONO, K. *Chōsen kyōiku mondai kanken* [Opinions on educational affairs in Korea] (Tokyo, 1936).
21. SHIDEHARA, T. *Chōsen kyōiku kō* [On education in Korea] (Tokyo, 1919).
22. SOHN IN-SOO 孫仁銖. "1920 nyondai 'Chosun Mil-lip Taehak' solchi e kean-han yongu" [A study on the establishment of Korea's People's University in 1920s], *Kyoyuk-hak yongu* (Korean Society for the Study of Education), Vol. 5, No. 1 (1967).
23. ————. "Salak sunan palsip-nyon-sa (3)—shinminchi-kyouuk-chongchaeh ui chon-hwan gwa sahak" [Eighty years of hardship of private educational institutions (3)—change of colonial policy and private educational institutions], *Hayondae kyoyuk* (December 1968).
24. TAKAHASHI, H. *Chōsen kyōikushi kō* [A study on the history of Korean education] (Tokyo, 1927).