의 내적 세계 속으로 후퇴함으로써 역사비평의 정밀조사에 의한 평결로 부터 안전하게 보호하려고 한 것이다. 이렇게 함으로써 그는 역사적 탐구와 실존적 신앙사이의 불가피한 충돌을 피하고 각자가 그 정당한 권리를 인정받을 수 있을 것으로 생각한 것이다. 다시 말하자면 역사와 신앙이 각기 그들의 고유한 영역을 가지는 평화로운 공존을 확보하기 위하여 역사비평과의 타협을 모색한 것이다. 그러나 불트만의 과격한 역사비평은 결국 성경 그 자체의 권위와 정확무오성을 부정하게 하였다. 특히 그는 그 자신의 양식비평적 연구속에서 복음서는 초기 기독교 공동체의 한 신학적 창작물로서 그 역사적 사실성과 신뢰성을 인정할 수 없다고 하였다. 그리고 불트만에게 있어 성경 그 자체는 어떤 객관적 의미에서의 영감된 하나님의 말씀이 아니요 다만 계시사건이 발생할 수 있는 근거로서만 간주하였을 뿐이다. 따라서 성경권위의 근거는 영감된 정경 그 자체에 있지 않고 그리스도 자신이신 그 말씀을 강조하는 한에서만 권위있는 것이 된다고 하였다.

결론적으로 발트와 불트만은 기독교 신앙과 근대 역사학의 새로운 과학적 지식과의 부조화성에 대한 두려움 때문에 당시 성경주석의 황제와도 같이 군림하였던 역사비평방법을 수용해야만 하였고, 그로 인하여 마침내 성경의 역사적 사실성에 대한 포기와 더불어 전통적 성경 권위관의 붕괴를 초래할 수 밖에 없었던 것이다.

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A Study of the Christian Education under the Japanese Occupation

(일제하에서의 기독교 교육 활동에 관한 연구)

—Especially concerned with the Educational Work of the Australian Presbyterian Mission —

Lee, Sang Gyoo (이 상 규)*

This essay focuses upon the educational work of the mission and the Japanese suppression of the mission schools. Educational work was prominent from the beginning of the Australian Presbyterian Mission (hereafter APM) as well as with other missions in Korea. The early Australian missionaries attracted the women and young children of Korea eagerly opening their homes as Christian schools. These small beginnings later developed into girls and boys school in the South Kyungsang Province.

Along with it' s emphasis on women' s social position, the equal rights of women with men, and the liberty of women, Christian mission was very influential in women's education.

In the 19th century Korea the fact that the Christian missionary work in the field of education achieved unusual success is widely acknowledged.[1] This was true also in the case of the territory of the APM. Before we proceed

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1 There have been various discussions on the cause of the unusual success of educational work in Korea. Why did educational activities flourish in Korea to a greater extent than else where on the Asian mainland? What was the historical basis for this uniqueness? Prof. Lee Kwang Rin has argued that Korea' s indigenous enthusiasm for learning might have been the major factor behind the missionary' s success. See Lee Kwang Rin, *Han Kuk Ke Wha Sa Sang (Studies on the Ideas of Enlightenment of the Later Yi-Dynasty)* (Seoul: Iljokak, 1979), pp. 249ff; Shon In Soo makes a similar case. See Shon In Soo, *History of Modern Education in Korea* (Seoul, 1971), p. 124.

further, it is necessary for us to consider briefly traditional education before the advent of mission schools in Korea.

1. Traditional education before the advent of Mission schools

For many centuries Koreans have set a high value on learning, having adopted both the system of, and reverence for, education from China. As early as the time of the Three Kingdoms (37 B.C. - 935 A.D.), Koreans employed the curricula in use in China. Thus for nearly fifteen centuries Korean education was dominated by the traditional Chinese model, i.e. one composed mainly of the Chinese classics. Since the reign of King Sun Dok (640 A.D.) in Silla, Korean education was largely dominated by the philosophy of Confucius.

The Koryo dynasty (918-1329) explicitly adopted the Chinese educational system. The government established the school called Guk Ja Kam (995 A.D.), later called Sung Kyun Kwan, in order to train government officials. These schools were designed mainly to prepare students for the *Kwa-go*, the civil service examinations.[2] The curriculum was based on the age old Chinese classics of Taehak, Yegi and Chunchu.[3]

The Yi dynasty (1392-1910) virtually took over the Koryo traditional school system. A number of schools scattered throughout the provinces called

2 *Kwa-go* was the national system of examination for the selection of civil servants. This was the only channel through which competent youngsters could be recruited for governmental posts. *Kwa-go* or the civil service examination was originally instituted in the Su Dynasty (589-618 A.D.), and developed more concretely in the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) in China. It was transmitted from the latter to Koryo Dynasty in 958 A.D. by a Chinese scholar named Shuang Chi.

3 To Koreans ' Chinese classics' mean the books of the Confucian canon, usually in the editions prepared and commented by the Sung scholar Chu Hsi (1130-1200). Many editions were printed in Korea, and translated into the Korean language to which sometimes more were added, either section by section or in supplementary volumes. Korea followed a Chinese tradition in grouping the Confucian texts into ' four books and three classics.' The ' classics' were the pre-Confucian writings which the sage was supposed to have edited, and the writings of his followers.
Taehak (The great learning) is a treatise on ethics and government, traditionally attributed to Confucius's disciple Tseng Tsan, but undoubtedly written much later.
Yegi (The Record of Rites)is a collection various materials, including some stories and sayings of Confucius. of which some parts may be ancient, but some are late Confucian traditions.
The only book said to have been compiled by Confucius himself is Chunchu (The spring and Autumn annals. It is a bold record of events, especially concerning matters of ritual importance teaching that a careful choice of vocabulary was supposed to indicate the apportioning of praise and blame.

Seodang and Sowon (meaning the Learning Hall) focused primarily upon the Confucian classics, though some included indigenous Korean literature.[4] Thus for many centuries Korea' s education was dominated by the Chinese model and was characterized by the latter's devotion to the study of the humanities.

Throughout the Yi dynasty, education aimed primarily at training men who were loyal to the kings and preparing them for governmental offices Thus, education during this period was chiefly for the upper class people, and the masses were by and large excluded from educational opportunities. Schools in those days were no more than instruments to prepare and equip government officials. Accordingly, the primary function and ultimate aim of education was, in short, to prepare boys for the Kwa-go or civil service examination.

H. B. Hulbert, one of the three American pioneers who came to Korea in 1886 to teach at a Korean school, observed well this trend when he wrote that, "throughout the history of this century, the aim of boy's education was to master the Confucian classics and acquire a literary style which will carry him through the national examination called Kwa-go."[5]

There was no systematic attempt to teach or study scientific issues before the eighteenth century, though King Se Jong and court scholars invented a Korean alphabet, Hangul, which would make it easier for the common people to learn, to read and to write, but it was not taught at Seodang and Sowon. With few exceptions, Korea' s traditional educational system focused primarily upon the study of the Chinese classics, neglecting in the process the study of science and technology.

The high status granted to detailed study of the classics was of little or no benefit to the illiterate masses. Women in particular suffered up to the late 1880' s when modern mission schools came into being, since classical education was reserved for men. The latter used it almost entirely as but a means for personal success rather than to improve society.

In such an atmosphere, no drastic attempt was made from inside for the renovation of the traditional patterns of education. These phenomena, however,

4 Seodang, a kind of the private elementary school, is commonly translated as the "village school" because they were in existence in every village throughout the country. These were institutions of elementary education with a dual purpose: first to prepare the boys from the noble class families for entry into the Hang-Kyo or Sa-Hak, second to provide the boys from the common class families with the elementary Chinese classics. The students came from both noble and common class families, but sons from the Chon-min, the lowest social class, were excluded. These schools were not regulated as far as their opening and operation were concerned. Any one could found and operate this institute as he pleased. (S. M. Park, *Hankuk Kyoyuksa, History of Korean Education*, Vol. I, Seoul: The Central Educational Research Institute, 1956, pp. 182-184).

5 H. B. Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea* (N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1909), p. 337.

could no longer survive the gradual and steady social changes brought about by frequent contacts with the outside world mainly through missionaries in the late 19th century.

At about the time of the Korean-American treaty of 1882 and a little afterward the Korean government began to show its awareness of the need for new learning by taking initiatives to promote modern Western education.[6]

Many far-sighted Korean leaders encouraged contact with the West primarily through the United States and held that the only way to protect Korea from imperialistic rivalry of countries such as Japan, Russia and China, was to learn the advanced knowledge of the West by revamping the country' s educational system.[7]

Eagerness for contact with the West was very obvious in the King' s attitude towards foreign visitors. When R. S. Maclay, a Methodist missionary, sought out the monarch in 1884, King Ko Jong welcomed him and granted permission for missionary educational and medical activities.[8] As the long closed doors of the ' Hermit Kingdom' opened and Western influences began to prevail over the peninsula, remarkable changes began to occur in the educational scene and a new era of modern education in Korea dawned. The APM was the mission which inspired and developed educational work in 19th century Korea and greatly influenced the field of education in Pusan and the South Kyungsang province.

2. Australian Mission Schools

6 For examples, in 1881, more than a hundred young students headed by Kim Yoon Shik were sent to China to learn Western technology and the weapons it had developed. In 1882 sixty additional observers, including Hong Young Sik were sent to Japan to familiarize themselves with Japan' s adoption of a Western system of education. Park Young Hyo and Kim Ok Kyun together with 61 students were sent to the following year. Kim Ok Kyun also approached R. S. Maclay with a request that missionary work begins in Korea. Delegates under the leadership of Min Young Ik were also sent to the United States. (Lee Kwang Rin, *op. cit.,* p. 222; L. George Paik, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83).

7 Park Young Hyo argues that the strength of the nation depended upon this new learning. Yoo Kil Joon, who was stimulated further through visiting many countries in the West, emphasized the need for modernizing education through his famous *Such Yu Kyun Mun.*

8 S. J. Gale later stated that the King always loved the people of England. D. A. Bunker observed that there has never been a moment when he was without the King' s gracious care. (Sang Ho Lee, "Native Contributions to the Success of America' s missionary educational work in Korea" in *U.S. - Korean Relations 1882-1982,* eds. by T. H. Kwak, J. Chay, S. S. Cho, and S. McCune, Kyungnam Univ. Press, 1982, p. 126).

The new era in the history of Korean education dawns with the acceptance of foreign cultural influences in the 1880' s. As L. George Paik has noted, "the Korean government had already taken the first timid steps toward the inauguration of a modern educational program."[9] Had there not been a great interest on the part of the royal family and the government, the missionaries would have never gained such an easy entry into the Korean educational system. It is significant at the very time when Korea passionately required modern education, and missionaries began opening modern schools. Protestant missions emphasized education, for education meant enlightenment without which evangelisation would be seriously handicapped. Hence for all the missionary bodies, the founding of schools was considered of paramount importance.

The first missionary school, operating under the leadership of Dr. Allen, began in the government hospital, Kwang Hye Won or Widespread Relief House. The founding of Bae Chai Hakdang (1885), Ewha (1886) and Kyung Shin (1886), and a number of other mission schools followed. Bae Chai Hakdang, the Hall for raising useful men, was the first modern general school for boys, and Ewha Hakdang, the Pear blossom institute, was the first modern school for girls. With the inception of these pioneering modern schools, many more followed, appearing in many other cities and towns across the country wherever the missionaries started evangelistic work. During 1894-1909, additional mission schools were founded. Including Chong-eui (1894), Sung-shil (1897), Kye-sung (1906), Shin-sung (1906), in Seoul, Pyungyang, Jaeryung, Kaesung, Wonsan, Haeju, Mokpo, Kwangju, Kongju, Junju, Taeku and the South Kyungsang Province.[10] These schools indeed pioneered modern general education in Korea with legitimate educational objectives, curricula, methods, etc.

In the South Kyungsang Province the first school for boys of primary grade was opened in 1891, in Pusan, by the Rev. W. Baird of PCUSA.[11] Although

9 L. George Paik. *op. cit.,* p. 125.

10 Before 1910, Mission or church schools in Korea outnumbered government schools. For girls, there were no other than mission schools. The only college was the Soongsil or the Union Christian College in Pyungyang and the only medical school was the Severance Medical College in Seoul. Dr. George Paik writes of this period, "the missionaries virtually controlled the most influential and progressive members of the village communities." (G. Paik, *op. cit.*, p. 393).

11 Mr. W. Baird later became the founder and president until March 1, 1916 of Soongsil Academy, later called Union Christian College in Pyungyang, North Korea, in which the APM was to coorperate from 1912. (H. A. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 421).

the first modern school was established by an American missionary,[12] Christian education in Pusan and the South Kyungsang Province were conducted exclusively by Australian missionaries. Since the approval of a group of five Australian missionaries as new recruits in 1891, APM planted the seed out of which mission schools in five stations across the South Kyungsang Province was to grow.

Mission Schools of the the Five Stations of the APM

Stations	Primary	Secondary	Vocational
Pusan	Il Sin Girls' School (1895)	Il Sin Girls' (Secondary) School, Tongnai (The Jane B. Harper Memorial School, 1909)	Tongnai Vocational Farm School (The A. M. Campbell Memorial School, 1935)
Chinju	Si Won Girls' School (The Nellie R. Scholes Memorial School, 1906) Kwang Rim Boys' School		
Masan	Chang Sin Boys' School (The H. Davies Memorial School, 1909) Eui Sin Girls' School (1913)	Ho Sin School (The D. M. Lyall Memorial School, 1925)	Gospel Farm School (1933)
Kuchang	Myung Duk School (1915)		
Tongyoung	Jin Myung Girls' School (1914)		Industrial School (1914)

* Dates given in the following table indicates the year when the schools were opened.

The PWMU supported a primary girls' school at each of it's stations, and a secondary school in Pusan as well as an orphanage. The FMC was responsible for a boy' s secondary school at Masan and the Margaret Whitecross Paton Memorial Hospital in Chinju. The schools in the field was under direct control

12 In 1877, Mrs. Irvin of PCUSA started a night school for girls who were occupied all day with household chores. According to a report of Mrs. Irvin the average attendence of girls were sixteen. In 1901 she was teaching twenty-five girls three times a week. She also founded a day school which by 1909 was advanced enough to be dignified with the name of 'Academy.' By 1909, according to H. A. Rhodes, the American mission in South Kyungsang Province had twenty primary schools with an attendance of one hundred and thirty eight boys, and one hundred forty two girls." (H. A. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, p. 131). But this figure, especially the number of primary school, is entirely unreliable and incorrect. There is no record or document to support this number of primary schools.

of the School Committee of the APM. The following chart shows the Australian Mission Schools.

2.1. Pusan Station

The first ministry of the Australian missionaries in Pusan was to begin an orphanage for homeless children. After 1893-4 there were not only some uncared for children as a result of the Sino-Japanese war, but, especially because of the extreme poverty at that time, there were many children without any means of support. Also because of children suffering due to the death of parents, divorce or abandonment by their parents, this orphanage was commenced in 1893 for their care and education.

This orphanage, later called the Myoora Orphanage, became the first charitable and educational establishment of the APM.[13]

The number of children in the orphanage gradually increased over the next two years to thirteen in 1895. With the number of children increasing, education became necessary. So on 15th October, 1895 at the mission home in Chwa Chon Dong, in the East district of the city of Pusan a small school, Il Sin girls' school, with a 3 year course was established.[14] It was the very first school in the south of Korea for girls. This School was the first educational institute of the APM. The orphanage was not just a charitable home but also an educational institute. The first headmistress was Miss. B. Menzies. The curriculum was the Bible and Christian discipline, together with subjects such as Ethics, Korean, Chinese, Mathematics and Physical training.

From the beginning the Australian women missionaries worked with a deep concern for two classes of Korean society, children and women. This was because they were convinced that children would become leaders in the future of the nation, and that those who subjugated women, subjugated the nation.

Miss Menzies, with the help of Mr. C. M. Shim, the first baptised convert as teacher, also started a school for boys, but this did not continued for very long. In 1900 Rev. G. Engel arrived and took charge of the school and in 1905 it was

13 The Myoora orphanage was named after the name of Mrs. Harper' s house, who helped greatly in the mission work in Korea.

14 Background events that helped the orphanage be established in 1893 to start education as Il Sin girls' school in October 1895 were influenced by the King Ko Jong' s Educational Decree of February 1985.

reported that there were about 55 students but apart from that no other information can be found.[15]

The Il Sin girls' school built in April, 1905 and facilities were later expanded. On the 9th August, 1909 a four year high school course programme was started by the authorization of the Ministry of education.[16] Miss M. Davies M.A., Dip. Ed., was appointed to take charge of the Il Sin School from 1916. Later in 1925 this department was separated and developed as the Tongnai Il Sin girls' secondary school which was called the Jane B. Harper Memorial School. Thus the Australian mission came to operate a 6 year course primary school at Pusanchin, and at Tongnai a 4 year course high school for girls. The Il Sin girls' school at Tongnai was recognized in 1933 as having equivalent qualifications to a public or state high school[17] and became a designated school authorized to teach the Bible and religious subjects.

The Il Sin school which made a great contribution to women' s education in the Pusan area was under pressure during the Japanese occupation and from 1936 onwards Shinto shrine worship was enforced. However, the APM refused to accept Shinto shrine worship and because of this on 31, July, 1939 an order was given to close the school, and finally this school which had withstood until the end was closed on 1st April, 1940. During that time the school had produced a total of 27 classes of graduates (Tongnai Il Sin school a total of 15 classes).[18]

As well as developing normal education through the Il Sin girls' school, Miss Kerr, B.A., B.D. started Vocational Farm School for Girls at Tongnai near Pusan, which was opened in June, 1935 at Bok Chun Dong, Tongnai.[19] This school which was called also the A. M. Campbell Memorial School, was

15 Cf. Edith Kerr, *op. cit.*, p.48.

16 Tongnai Hakwon, *Palsipyungi* (Eighty Years Record), (Pusan: Tongnai Hakwon, 1975), p. 17.

17 *Messenger*, June 30, 1933, p. 12.

18 After Tongnai Il Sin Girls' school was taken over by the Kusan Hakwon and today continuous as the Tongnai Girls' Middle and High school.

19 This school was generally called Tongnai Vocational Farm School for Homeless, Friendless, Destitute Women of Korea. The plan to start this school was commenced in 1933 under the leadership of Miss E. Kerr of Tongyoung station who had experience in operating the Industrial School there. The special appeal for 1,500 pounds to start this Vocational Farm School was launched in July, 1933. In 1934 the mission purchased a poultry farm at Tongnai with three and a half acres of surrounding fertile land. (Cf. Tongnai Vocational Farm School Report for 1935. Richardson Papers).

developed as an primary school aimed at giving 3 years education in an industrial course. This school was designed to offer industrial education to poor unfortunate young women.[20] Consequently there were school classes in the mornings while in the afternoon there was education concerning women' s lifestyle,training for jobs and practical training in agriculture, sewing, such as gardening, animal husbandry, needle work, etc.[21] This school was also required to participate in Shinto shrine worship, and in order to avoid closing the school it was given the title of ' charitable institute' instead of ' school.' However, the school was closed simultaneously with the departure of the missionaries in 1941.

2.2 Masan Station

Protestant mission work was commenced in the Masan area in 1894 by the Rev. A. Adamson, and in the 1890' s mission work in this area concentrated on itinerant evangelism. Then in 1900, after Rev. G. Engel arrived, mission activity became more concrete at as a result of missionaries circuit evangelism and in 1903 the first church in the Masan, the Masan Munchang church was established.

Until 1909 Masan was under the jurisdiction of the Pusan station. Then Rev. A. Adamson moved to Masan and opened the Masan station in 1909 as the third station of the APM.

Education work in Masan was started by Adamson together with a local Korean Seung Gyu Lee, who was a man of foresight. In fact Seung Gyu Lee who had became Christian through Amdamson' s evangelising started an educational establishment called Dok So Suk, or Reading Home, on 17th May, 1906.Adamson helped fund this establishment which was later developed into the Chang Sin school with Adamson as the principal in 1909 as the first mission school of APM in Masan. This school which was called in English the Henry Davies Memorial School, was a 4 year primary school (namely Common School) for boys and girls.

In 1911 according to a report of Rev. A. Adamson students increased to 108 including 28 girls, in attendance, and a high school course was also

20 In the Annual Report, June 1937 to June 1938, of Vocational Farm School we find an analysis of the 45 girls in residence at the Vocational Farm School. Rescued cases (Trained dancer, wine shop workers): 7, Preventive cases: 16, Orphans and destitute: 4, Behavior cases: 4, Mental and outcast: 3, Secondary wives: 4, Cast out wives: 4, Extreme poverty: 3. (p. 2).

21 See Tongnai Vocational Farm School Report for 1936; *Chronicle*, Sep. 1, 1933. pp. 18-21.

established.[22] The Chang Sin school which was commenced in 1909 made a great contribution to the education of young people in the Masan area but on 22nd March, 1925 this school was closed due to pressure from the Japanese authorities and financial difficulties.

After the Chang Sin school closed, in line with their aim to continue educational work, the Australian mission established the Ho Sin school on 1st November, 1925. This school was called in English the D. M. Lyall Memorial School for boys in order to commemorate the ministry of Rev. D. M. Lyall who had been the second principal of the Chang Sin school from 1911 to 1920. The Ho Sin school purchased land and constructed school buildings and satisfied all the government requirements. However, the Governor-General refused to recognise the school's education again and again.

This shows the kind of pressure that the mission schools were under. In such circumstances the Ho Sin school continued until 1933 without government recognition, but was closed in April, 1933 with the death of the current principal, the Rev. A. W. Allen.[23]

In the 1930' s in Korea the Agriculture Development Movement arose and Rev. Jae Ki Yu' s Hung Kuk Undong (or National Development Movement) was a link in the chain of church support for this movement. The APM, from the very beginning, was deeply interested in Korea's economic situation and with the purpose of helping rural communities it carefully considered training rural leaders. The practical result of this was the opening of the Gospel Farm School with the object of the practical training of young farmers showing definite qualities of Christian leadership.[24] This school was opened in April, 1933 at the same time as the closing of the Ho Sin school and so used the buildings of the Ho Sin school. The educational philosophy of this school was based on the idea of the three loves, -the love of God, the love of men and the love of the land, as well as on Grundvig of Denmark' s ideas and also on the educational philosophy of Gagawa Doyohiko of Japan.

Rev. F. T. Borland was installed as the Principal. The training was for a small number of chosen rural community leaders, and all students lived together in the dormitory including Mr. Borland and his family. The curriculum involved Bible, Rural economics, Rural sociology and subjects on agricultural skills. In 1935 the second principal Rev. In Ku You was installed and in 1938

22 *Our Missionaries*, Dec. 1911, p. 30. The number of students were increased to 160 in 1914 with 8 teachers. (See *Our Missionaries*, Jan. 1915, p. 22).

23 *Messenger*, June 9, 1933, p. 796.

24 *Chronicle*, Sep. 1, 1933, p. 18.

the school moved to Daeji, in the Kimhae area. This school worked hard for the training of rural leaders, however, due to pressure from the Japanese it ended up closing in 1943.

As mentioned above, the Chang Sin school was started as a co-educational school for both boys and girls. At a time when all other schools were segregated, the Chang Sin school kept a co-education system in order to demonstrate that girls have an equal right to be educated as boys.. This was an incomprehensible concept to be accepted at this time to Koreans. As there were serious resistance and misunderstanding both on the part of parents and communities, a curtain was set up in the classroom and the playground was divided into separate areas to be used by each sex.

However, because these methods made teaching more difficult and inconvenient, the girl students who were attending the school were separated and the Mission consulted with the Home church about establishing school just for girls.

Consequently the Eui Shin Girls' school was started on 5th April, 1913. Miss Ida McPhee was installed as the principal and she remained in that position until her death in 1937.[25] This first and the only girls' school in Masan soon received approval and developed as the cradle of education for women in the Masan district.

However, in July, 1939, the year following the closure of the Chang Shin school, this school also ended up being closed by the Japanese government because of refusing to comply with Shinto shrine worship. Miss I. McPhee who had been principal for 24 years from the establishment until her death in April, 1937 contributed greatly to education for women.

As well as those schools the APM also operated an evening class for poor girls, which was called the Masan Girls' Evening School. Even though this was not an officially recognised school, it was aimed at giving an opportunity for education to less fortunate girls who were not able to attend a day school. The headmistress of this school was Mrs. McCrae. This school taught the Bible, Ethics, Korean, Mathematics as well as practical subjects such as household affairs, domestic sciences, dress making, etc.

2.3 Chinju Station

25 *Our Missionaries*, Jan. 1915, p. 22.

The APM opened the Chinju station in 1905. However, before this they had visited Chinju from 1890' s doing itinerate evangelistic outreach, so there had been continuing contact with Australian missionaries before 1905.

Until 1920' s Chinju was the most important provincial centre of the South Kyungsang Province, and until 1925 was the seat of the provincial government. The Australian mission viewed Chinju as not only the central district of the Province but also saw the Chinju area as necessary and strategic for the evangelisation of the adjacent districts.

Thus it could be said that the missionaries had greater interest in Chinju than in other places in the South Kyungsang Province. Dr. and Mrs. Currel, the first missionary in the Chinju station, began evangelistic and medical work in 1905 and these later developed into the Chinju church in 1906, the first church in Chinju, and the Paton Hospital in 1913, the first and the only mission hospital of the APM.

In 1906, the year after Dr. and Mrs. Currel went to Chinju, they also started educational work alongside the medical work which resulted in the setting up of the first modern school, Si Won Girls School, later by 1921 it was called The Nellie R. Scholes Memorial School. In 1907 Miss Nellie R. Scholes, who had specialized in education, was sent to Chinju where she served in charge of the educational work until she died in April, 1919. As Miss Scholes who was the principal for 12 years from 1907 contributed greatly to Si Won Girls School, it was named after her name.

Misses A. M. Campbell from 1914, E. Kerr from 1922 and E. L. Clerke from 1926 also were in charge of the school in teaching and management. This school grew greatly and in 1921 there were about 250 students attending the school. After the resignation of Miss F. L. Clarke in 1934, Mr. S. N. Chung, a Korean teacher who had been an efficient headmaster since 1921, was appointed Principal, the first Korean appointed in the Australian mission schools.[26] It was the only girls school in the area and had a good reputation but, like the other mission schools, it ended up being closed in 1939 under the Japanese because of refusal to comply with Shinto Shrine worship. The Si Won school was the first school of the APM to receive the government mandate to close because of non-attendance at the Shrines.

In Chinju, together with the Si Won Girls' School, the Mission also ran a boys' school, the Kwang Rim School. The APM held a policy of handing over boys' schools to the Korean church to administer after a certain specified period of time, but in the case only of the Kwang Rim School the mission maintained the support.

26 E. Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

That was because at the time the Chinju church did not have the ability to run the School. However, due to the effects of world depression, the FMC found it difficult to appropriate the necessary missionary funds to run the Kwang Rim School and it was decided to close the school in 1929. This was a very unfortunate decision but because the expansion of the Paton hospital was more urgent it was an inevitable one After the closure of the Kwang Rim School its buildings were taken over and used by the South Kyungsang Bible School run by the South Kyungsang Presbytery.

2.4. Tongyoung station

The Mission station at Tongyoung was opened in 1913 but missionary work in this area was started much earlier. Miss E. B. Moore who came to Korea in 1892 regularly visited Tongyoung from 1894 and as a result a church was established in 1897.

The missionaries who started education work in this area were Rev. R. D. Watson and Mrs. Watson. Rev. Watson came to Korea in 1910 and together with Miss Moore did itinerant evangelism in the whole Tongyoung area and the neighbouring islands. Whilst doing this they found out that educational institutions were totally lacking in this area. Thus on January 15, 1914 Mrs. Watson opened a girls' school with 18 pupils called the Jin Myung Girls' School.[27] The Jin Myung Kindergarten and the Jin Myung Evening Class was opened successively.

The Australian mission always emphasized women' s education, so this was not an exception in Tongyoung. At this time Jin Myung School was the only modern school in Tongyoung and as an institute of women' s education it contributed greatly to the realization of the necessity and the importance of women's education by local communities.

In order to give poor and less fortunate girls in this area an opportunity for self-help education, an industrial department was started in the Jin Myung school initiated by Mrs. Watson in 1914[28] and then carried on by Miss Skinner, from 1920, Miss Francis from 1926, and Miss E. Kerr, from 1929, respectively. The aim of the work was to give refuge and help to young girls and women who

27 *Our Missionaries*, Jan. 1915, p. 35.

28 In 1914 the PWMU approved the industrial work in Tongyoung for destitute girls and established a depot for the sale of the girls' needlework at 269 Collins St., Melbourne, and the Tongyoung Station was asked to act as a forwarding agency for the needlework goods.

have been rescued from a life of sin and shame or who were in danger of being forced into such a life.

This industrial department was separated from Jin Myung School and was called as Tongyoung Industrial School,[29] of which Miss E. Kerr was in charge, was the only place in the whole of Korea offering shelter and safely to destitute women.[30] However, from 1930 onward, because of financial difficulties of the Mission and the Industrial depot in Melbourne the work of the Tongyoung Station was ceased and replaced by the Tongnai Vocational Farm School of Pusan Station from 1935. Mission schooling in this station was continued until 1941 when the missionaries were forced to leave by the Japanese.

Miss A. M. Skinner and Miss E. Kerr were involved in educational Work in this station. Especially influential was Miss Skinner who arrived in Korea in September 1914 and worked in this station until 1940. She had majored in education and was talented in teaching.

2.5. Kuchang Station

A mission station in Kuchang opened in 1913. Before the establishment of a station Rev. F. J. L. MaCrae of Masan itinerated in the Kuchang and adjacent districts, which area was the responsibility of the Masan station. In May, 1912, Mr. MaCrae moved to Kuchang and was joined by the Rev. and Mrs. J. Kelly the following year. When Miss A. Skinner arrived the field in September, 1914 the foundation was laid for educational work in this area. Miss Skinner aimed to establish a primary school but because of the Revised Private School Act issued in March, 1915. She opened informally the Kang Sup So which was called the Myung Duk Training Centre. The students at this school were mainly poor girls who were over school age. Although it was just a training centre the curriculum subjects were not very different from those in regular schools. Miss Skinner was transferred to Masan in September, 1916 and her successor was Miss S. M. Scott who worked in Kuchang for 23 years (1916-1939) and took the leadership in the educational work of the Kindergarten, Nursery school and Training centre, etc.. Consequently she was sometimes referred to as ' the Bishop of Kuchang.'

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29 This school was introduced to the Home Church as the Tongyoung Industrial School for Homeless, Friendlessand Destitute women in Korea. The aims of the school were: A. to lead young women to find the abundance of life in Jesus Christ; B. To give them some elementary education; C. To give such training and vocational guidance as will enable them to earn their own livelihood, becoming self-supporting, self-respecting units of a society in which they shall have a place. (See Tongyoung Industrial School, a guide paper).

30 *Chronicle*, Sep. 1, 1933, p. 20.

The Mission school in Kuchang was also placed in danger of closing because of refusal to comply with shrine worship. Like all other mission schools of the APM the order to close came in 1939, but the school was maintained until 1940 when the missionaries were forced to leave the Country. Thus all the mission schools established from the 1890' s onwards in Pusan, Masan, Chinju, Tongyoung and the Kuchang areas ended up being closed.

3. The Japanese control over mission schools

Under the Japanese rule mission schools were oppressed continually and eventually were forced to close in the late 1930' s and the early 1940' s. From the year 1906, and particularly from the year 1910, afterward marked as the beginning of great suffering in the field of Christian education. Japan established the office of Resident-General in 1906 and Government-General since 1910, to carry out their colonial policy. Thus Korea' s education was under Japanese overall control.

In any discussion of the differences which have arisen between mission educational authorities and the Japanese government of Korea, it should always be kept in mind that the missionaries were on the field first and had well-established schools and a system of education long before Japan took over the administration of the affairs of Korea. This fact gave to the missionaries a right of priority and a feeling for their schools, such as an inventor or discoverer has for the product of his labors. Therefore many of them looked upon the Japanese as interlopers, who were coming in to destroy or seriously hamper the work to which they had given years of labor, much commitment, and their hearts' devotion.[31] Before Japan' s intrusion in 1910 missionaries had with very little interference from the Korean government, developed schools and were conducting them in accordance with their own educational ideals.[32] But after the annexation of Korea the Japanese, as the political rulers of Korea, felt that

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31 J. E. Fisher, *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea* (Seoul: Yonsei Univ. Press, 1970), p. 63.

32 McKenzie stated that "almost the whole of the real modern education of Korea was undertaken by the missionaries, who were maintaining 778 schools." (F. A. McKenzie, *Fight for Freedom*, Seoul, 1969, pp. 209-210). Underwood asserted that, as of 1910, 666 were Protestant, a figure that may have included many schools operated by Koreans. The Japanese Government-General claimed that there were 5,000 private schools in 1908, (Shon In Soo, *op. cit.*, p. 250) though the figure is suspicious since the schools were not classified according to their level. We have no formal government statistics because private schools were not required to register until Japan took over responsibility for educational policy.

they must have control over all the educational enterprises of the country. They could not allow an educational movement of such great power and widespread influence to remain under the exclusive direction of men and women of a foreign race, teaching a new religion, and holding allegiance to foreign governments.

To sum up, when we consider the intense nationalism of the Japanese, which enters into every phase of life, on the one hand, and the intense religious devotion of the missionaries, on the other, it was inevitable that there were sharp disagreements in educational matters.

The first step to suppress educational institutions was launched in 1911, by issuing an educational Act, named Private School Regulations, along with an Imperial Edict for Japanising Koreans so as to gain control over the private schools, mostly mission schools. This was a systematic development of the Primary School Act of 1906 and, the Private School Act (1907).

These Acts were designed to suppress educational zeal in Korea on the assumption that it was associated with Korean nationalism. By this Act a great number of private schools founded by Koreans were ordered closed, and many others threatened with closure.[33]

In 1915, the Revised edition of the 1911 Private School Regulations issued by Terauchi, the Governor-General, restricted the teaching of the Bible and Religion, and the use of the Korean language. Simply speaking, this Regulation was the principal expression of Japanese nationalistic will against the Korean' s anti-imperialistic nationalism and western influence, particularly Christianity.

There were three main problems in the Regulations which were passed in 1915. The first problem at stake in this regulation which interfered with the missionaries in the conduct of their schools, were laws prohibiting the teaching of the Bible and religious teaching of any kind as a regular part of the curriculum in mission schools. Worship and the teaching of religion were regarded as extra-curricula subjects at which attendance should not be compulsory. This kind of teaching had been regarded as the most important part of the curriculum, and with many missionaries it was regarded as the main reason for the existence of mission schools. It was said by many that if the Bible and Christian life could not be taught, then, better by far, close the schools.[34]

A second problem which caused considerable consternation in mission circles was the rule that all teaching must be done in the Japanese language by

33 Shon In Soo, *op. cit.,* p. 252. Two hundred schools were closed between 1915-1917.

34 As there arose strong resistance, provision was finally made by the government educational authorities by which religious instruction, including the Bible, could be given to students outside the regular school hours, and in a separate building.

teachers with approved qualifications.[35] Missionaries, who had spent years learning the Korean language, were now faced with the alternative of either giving up teaching or learning the Japanese language. Five years were given to allow missionaries and Korean teachers to learn Japanese before this regulation was enforced.[36]

Thirdly, all private schools were required to become a ' recognized (*Jijung*) School' by the director of education of the Government-General. It was made clear that requirements *re* finance, equipment and teachers' proficiency in the Japanese language should be met as early as possible. This was the fundamental principle for all schools applying for registration; and since registration was required by all, the result was the separation of religion from education.[37]

4. Australian Response

The educational situation was changed drastically by the issue of the Revised Private School Regulations in 1915 which threatened the very

35 When the government said that a recognized school must have teachers who have had a certain number of years of training in their respective subjects in schools recognized by the government as qualified to train teachers, the following consequencies arose In mission schools, there were many Korean teachers who had grown up with the institution and had learned their subjects by private study with a missionary, or by study in an unrecognized school. These teachers had proved themselves competent by years of faithful service in the school, but they are not qualified according to government standards. In order to be recognized, the mission school must let these loyal experienced teachers go and employ new ones whose only recommendation, often, was that they had passed through the required courses of teacher training and were ' qualified.' Another fact that enters here is that these experienced teachers were Christians and were thoroughly in sympathy with the ideals of the school, while it was very difficult to find Christian teachers who were ' qualified' according to government standards. There was the additional fact that ' qualified' teachers, being in great demand, were able to command higher salaries than teachers who did not possess the technical qualifications. (See J. E. Fisher, *op. cit.,* p. 69).

36 This period was later extended, and another provision was made whereby special subjects could be taught in another language (English or Korean). Some missionaries learned enough Japanese to teach in that language; others devoted their attention to teaching special subjects.

37 Because of these regulations, a great many private schools were closed by voluntary decision. Many mission schools suffered a similar fate. The total number of private school dropped from 2,080 in 1910 to 742 in 1919. (Lee Sang Ho, *op. cit.,* p. 130). According to Shon In Soo, two hundred schools were closed between 1915-1917. (Shon In Soo, *op. cit.,* p. 272). Consequently the revised edition of Regulation of Governing Private School in 1915 served the purpose of reducing Korea's private schools.

foundation of mission policy. The question at issue was whether mission schools conform to the government requirement and become recognized standard schools of the government system or not.

While mission educators had a high standard of education, they had different ideals, and the belief still persisted among some missionary teachers that they could better accomplish their prime aim of giving a Christian education by remaining outside this recognition. The belief persisted in some mission circles that Christian devotion to religious and moral ideals, and the spiritual development of pupils was of far more importance than the government' s requirement concerning the equipment and facilities. It was, therefore, thought that in certain classes these requirements could be provided for in various ways, without conforming to the standards for all school In the matter of equipment, the missions' ideas and the government' s ideas of what was essential did not always coincide.[38] The government on its side prescribed for a school of a certain grade and type, certain building requirements, grounds of a certain size, athletic and scientific and other school furnishings, and equipment of specified design and quantity. The mission on its side, thought other things in the way of buildings and equipment were more essential than those required by the government.

It was not a simple problem in that ' Recognition' correlated the government education system and secured for graduates wishing to enter into civil service or political and professional spheres certain privileges. Therefore without registration as a ' Recognized School' mission schools would be under a handicap in that pupils wishing to transfer to recognized schools, or those seeking admittance to tertiary institutions, would not be accepted. Schools about to be established were required to conform immediately to the new

38 The following paragraph will serve to show the attitude of many missionaries on the subject of equipment. "The difference in equipment between government schools and private school plants is made much of by some. No intelligent man would wish to deny to children the very best in the way of equipment, but this subject has been overworked, both as regards physical equipment and as regards teaching ability. Too often the equipment is largely wasted because so much of it is unused and unusable. Stuffed birds are all very well in their way, but other things are equally important. The writer has employed teachers of various sorts and the one that stands out in memory as the most inefficient had the stamp of government approval upon him. Doubtless the government in its Herculean task of training teachers so rapidly and in so great numbers realizes this more keenly than outsiders could, and is seeking to remedy the situation. The fact remains that a school can be highly efficient in building character long before it obtains government recognition; while many finely equipped schools may not be doing the very work for which they were organized on account of inefficient teaching. The ideal for the Christian school to follow is the building up of an efficient ' character factory' while at the same time it does not lag behind any of the government schools in equipment and standards of teaching." (W. M. Clark, "The value of Christian education in Korea," *Korea Mission Field*, July, 1926, pp. 147-148).

regulations so that the plans of the APM for their several schools about to be organized had to be reconsidered.

With regard to this, missions divided. While there was great objection to this on the part of some missionaries, it was soon seen by many that what they regarded as essential to their educational work could still be carried on, so they made the necessary adjustments and continued their school work. Adjustments and concessions were made to this regulation, and the mission schools continued their work.

The Methodist and Canadian Missions had decided, in 1916, to conform to the government' s requirements and applied for ' recognition' for their schools. This being granted, those two Missions had henceforth to observe the Shinto ceremonies in line with the government schools.

The APM along with the two American Missions[39] decided to wait and reconsidered their education policies. Generally speaking the Australian mission stood strongly against the government policy whenever they believed it would harm their Christian education as an evangelistic program. But to avoid disadvantaging their students who wished to continue their education in a tertiary institution, the Australian mission joined the ' Educational Senate,' a federation formed in 1911 of several Protestant Missions in Korea in order to correlate Christian education into a single system, to cope with government control. The ' Educational Senate' officially protested about the government requirements and issued resolutions on a revised private school Regulation.[40] They deal with government issues. There had been negotiation between the educational Senate and the government, but they failed to agree with eachother.

The Australian Mission was compelled to reconsider it's education policy with regards to the opening of new schools. The minutes of the Mission council in 1915 show the uncertainty felt regarding the continuance of mission schools under the new regulations.[41] Plans for assembling the Masan school had to be

39 The position of the mission boards of the PCUSA with regard to the government requirements for recognition, may be discovered by referring to the *Annual Report of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1927*. After describing the conditions for the standardization of schools and showing the disadvantages of unregistered schools, the writer goes on to say:
"Unfortunately, from a missionary viewpoint, compliance with these regulations involves large additional expenditure not only for the improvement of some of the present plants, but for the annual maintenance. At a time of rising costs in many lands and of stationary income of the board at home, it has thus for not been possible to meet these conditions. The statement in the board' s report of a year ago is substantially true today, that the most difficult phase of the work is in the school."

40 Cf. J. E. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

41 *Extracts*, Vol. 3, (1916), p. 12.

held in abeyance and Mr. E. K. Lomas who had come to Masan in 1914 as a teacher, seeing no future for Christian education for boys, resigned and left the field in 1916. The Mission decided to wait and continue it's support of upper grades in the Masan primary boy's school which were to have been incorporated in the middle school.[42] Schools about to be established were required to conform immediately to the new regulations so that the Mission plans for their several schools about to be organized had to be reconsidered.

This applied in the first place to the middle school for boys in Masan and was to constitute a problem over the years that at last was to prove insoluble. It also affected the plans for primary schools promised to Tongyung and Kuchang. The problem here was overcome to some extent by the establishment of the so-called "sub-primary" schools, *Kang-sup so*, night-schools and kindergartens thus providing education in some measure for Christian girls in those centres.[43]

As noted the minutes of the Mission Council in 1915 show the uncertainty concerning the continuance of mission schools under the new regulations. The next year, as it was deemed unlikely that the boys' middle school would receive registration, it was decided to compensate in some measure by offering bursaries, particularly for boys looking towards the ministry, to allow them to go to approved Christian middle schools and to the Union Christian College in Pyungyang.

In 1918 the Chang-sin school board (Masan) asked the Mission, in lieu of the middle school, to accept responsibility for the upper grades in that school and to this the Mission agreed on the understanding that no obligation for the upkeep of school buildings should be incurred.

The independence movement of 1919 had served to change Colonial policy as whole. After the unrestrained fury of Japanese reprisals had run its course, a new relationship was begun due partly to widespread international indignation and partly to moderate elements in the Japanese government. So began a new and somewhat more harmonious period for the missions and the church. The former Governor General was recalled and Baron Saito was appointed in his place.

During his administration various reforms were initiated G. T. Brown summarized these reforms in five items.[44] (1) The military command was made subject to the civil authority. (2) the flogging of prisoners was abolished in principle, (3) there was some relaxation in the matter of freedom of the press,

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42 E. Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 48. *Extracts*, Vol. 4, pp. 23-24.

43 E. Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

44 G. T. Brown, *Mission to Korea*, p. 117.

(4) Some glaring inequalities between the education of Japanese and Korean children were removed, and (5) the various Missions were given legal recognition and were permitted to purchase and to own land. Some of these reforms were in theory rather than in practice. Much of same discrimination, exploitation and police suppression remained. However, there was no doubt that a change for the good had taken place.

As civil administration wisely replaced the previous harsh military regime, some of the senior missionaries were invited to make suggestions for better cooperation with the Japanese Colonial Government. Consequently, the ordinance of 1915 was amended by the new Governor-General, Baron Saito in 1923 to be much less oppressive.

A new atmosphere of hope was engendered and with it came a great surge forward for the education of both girls and boys. Overwhelming numbers sought enrollment in mission schools which had had their popularity enhanced by their stand and consequent suffering in the 'uprising.' The disappointment of those who could not be admitted was heart-rending.

This caused the Mission to approach the Presbytery of South Kyungsang with the suggestion that a Presbytery Education Committee be appointed to develop primary education throughout the province, to function independently of the provision already being made by the mission. The Presbytery considered the matter but found it was not able to implement the suggestion.

The revised government regulations extended the course of study in the Common (primary) schools from four to six years and in the Higher Common (Middle) schools from four to five years, This change allowed schools for Korean pupils to be reckoned as the equivalent of those for Japanese children thus making it easier for Korean students to gain entrance into schools in Japan itself. The Mission decided that it would be wise for the Mission schools to conform to this new arrangement and took immediate steps to bring the primary schools in Chinju, Masan and Pusanchin into line.

5. The Crisis in Christian education

In the mid nineteen thirties the Shinto shrine issue emerged as a crucial challenge that had as yet to confront the Christian church. The Mission schools were the first to bear the brunt of the attack.

After November 1930, militant nationalists seized power in Japan, external policy of Japan was in the hands of the Militarists. Inevitably it influenced the change in policy in Korea. The more peaceful rule of Viscount Saito and General Ugaki gave way to increasing severity and ruthlessness when General Minami, an extreme militarist, was appointed Governor General in 1936. From

that year[45] Shinto, the national religion of Japan, was strongly enforced as a patriotic duty on Korean subjects. Shintoism which was an expression of Japanese militaristic-nationalistic ideas based on an ethnocentric folk religion of Japan could not be easily accepted by the Korean people. As a means of justifying Japanese rule on Korea and making Koreans loyal subjects to the emperor of Japan, the Japanese government imposed Shinto nationalism upon all segments of Korean life, especially in the education of Korean youth. The government urged all Koreans to participate in Shinto ceremonies, and as a result, an increasing number of new Shrines began to appear throughout Korea.[46]

Although, theoretically, all schools, from 1915 onwards, were supposed to participate in the fixed observances at the Shrines, alternative patriotic ceremonies held in the Mission schools had not been disallowed. The first insistence came on November 14, 1935 when Dr. George S. McCune, President of the Union Christian College in Pyungyang was ordered to do obeisance before the shrine as the representative of the College.

He refused on conscientious ground, was deposed from his position and forced to return to the United States of America. Soon the situation became tense. All mission schools were ordered to attend the shrine ceremonies.

Orders were passed down from the educational ministry to all prefectures, demanding that the faculty and students of all mission schools go to the shrines.

45 Historically speaking as early as August 1915, regulations were established determining the worship in Shinto shrines (*Jinja)* in Korea. (*Annual Report on Chosen 1930-32*, Keijo: Government-General of Chosen, p. 83). In March of 1917 another regulation concerning ' lesser shrines' (*Jinshi),* was announced "with the aim of fostering reverence and respect for the Imperial Ancestors and for those who had contributed distinguished services to the State, in localities that are less capable of maintaining shrines." (*Annual Report on Chosen, 1934-35,* p. 99).
And in 1919 the Imperial Diet in Tokyo resolved to establish a state shine in the capital city of Korea. It required seven years of labor and an expenditure of 1,600,000 *yen* to complete the shine in Seoul. This shrine was officially called Chosen Singung (Chosen Jingu) in 1925 and became the headquarter of Shintoism in Korea. It was built to serve as the official shrine of the Government-General, to hold state ceremonies and to be a place of ' reverence and respect,' together with loyalty to the Emperor. The Shinto problem, however, really did not become a serious issue until the middle of 1930's.

46 The following figures show the growth of shrines within ten years from 1923 to 1933. The figures denote year, number of shrines, number of lesser shrines respectively. These figures are based on *The Annual Report on Chosen* in relevant years. 1923:40, 70; 1924: 41, 103; 1925: 42, 108; 1926: 42, 117; 1927: 43, 129; 1928: 47, 152; 1929: 49, 177; 1930: 49, 182; 1931: 51, 186; 1932: 51, 199; 1933: 51, 215.

Requests were made by the missions to substitute some other act of allegiance, but all such attempts at negotiation failed.[47]

The basic problem in the issues involved was to do with what Shinto was. Was the Shinto shrine a political act or a religious exercise? If obeisance at the state shrine was an act of religious worship, it would be idolatry pure and simple. But if it was only a political act, then grounds of Christian expediency could be cited.[48] Japanese government authorities insisted that the ceremonies in question were patriotic and had nothing to do with religion. To support this contention, they made a distinction between state Shinto and sect Shinto. Participation in the former was declared to be a patriotic act which could be rightfully required of all citizens. But participation in the latter was recognized as an religious exercise. However, this distinction was a deception to force Korean Christians and mission schools to accept Shintoism.[49]

Missions had to decide whether they accept obeisance at the shrine or refuse the government requirement and close the mission schools.

Missions and missionaries were divided on the issue. Some held that for the sake of the education of the youth of Korea the official declaration, that obeisance was a patriotic and not a religious duty, should be accepted at its face value and not challenged. The Catholics took this position and went out to the Shrines *en masse*. Methodist missions took the position that this was a problem to be decided by the Korean members of the mission school boards. Since all Korean nationals were under coercion, the Methodist Schools gave in to the demands of the authorities and these schools remained open.[50] As regards to the Northern Presbyterian missionaries they were divided on this issue. Though missionaries of the Pyungyang station took a strong stand against the shrine ceremony there was a minority in the mission who felt that the lesser of two evils would be to keep the school open. Though the Northern Presbyterian Church, by February, 1938, decided to close eight secondary schools,[51] others were opened by the educational missionaries who accepted shrine worship.

The Southern Presbyterian Mission was the most strongly against shrine issues due to the conviction of Dr. C. D. Fulton, who was born and raised in Japan. Consequently he was familiar with the nature of Shintoism. The Southern Presbyterian Mission, despite all desire to keep it's schools opened at all costs and despite the differences of opinion among the other mission bodies,

47 G. T. Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 150.

48 *Ibid.*

49 E. Kerr, *op. cit.,* p. 91; G. T. Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 153.

50 G. T. Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 152.

51 Lee Kun Sam, *op. cit.,* p. 267.

decided to close all missions schools rather than go to the shrine. So ten mission schools, which had an enrollment of 4,787, were closed on September 6, 1937.[52] Thus the educational work of the Southern Presbyterian Mission was brought to a close.

The APM attempted to continue it's educational work in the mission field and tried as far as possible to meet government requirements as long as it's Christian witness was not compromised. Therefore, the APM tried at first to seek an honest compromise with the government authorities by which the schools were to engage in silent prayer (*Mukdo*) to God for the emperor and country before the shrine, and on the condition that they were not to take part in the offering of sacrifice and worship.[53] Mission schools of the APM kept their promise but the authorities did not. In some schools, students were required to take part in all the ceremonies exactly as prescribed for non-Christian schools. On top of that all the mission schools of the APM were reported by the authorities as performing the required ritual.[54]

Hence on the 7th. February, 1936, at the *Pro Re Nata* council of the mission, it was decided that attendance be disallowed. The decision reads,

> We wish to express the high respect and loyalty which we hold towards His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Japan. This we do in gratitude for the blessings of good government, and the many courtesies we have received in this land, and because of the teaching of the Christian Scriptures that we should honour those set in authority. We recognize our obligation to promote the virtues of obedience and loyalty in our students.
>
> We desire that our schools should participate in all national ceremonies. But since we worship one God alone, Creator and Ruler of the universe, revealed also as the Father of Mankind and because to comply with an order to make obeisance at Shrines which are dedicated to other spirits, and at which acts of worship are commonly performed would constitute for us a disobedience to

52 G. T. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

53 Cf. See Chapter 6 on the Shinto Shrine issue. See also "An account of the present situation in the church in South Kyung Sang Province of Korea." p. 4. UCAV).

54 *Ibid.*

> His expressed Command, we therefore are unable to make such obeisances, or to instruct our schools to do so.[55]

Government pressure to the mission schools of the APM continued and intensified year by year. It was next required that principals of schools be Japanese nationals. In the APM, they also failed to make a totally united front against attendance at shrines.

Most of the members of the mission objected to attendance at the shrines, however, a minority group, mostly teacher-missionaries including Rev. J. F. L. Macrae, Miss. M. Davies, Miss. S. Scott were willing to accept obeisance at the shrine in order to maintain the mission schools.

In January 1939 when the APM a held special meeting of the council there was a great debate but a further resolution was passed by vote that in both church and school the APM dissociate itself from attendance at the Shrines. The resolution reads,

> (1) That in development of our Mission policy enunciated in February 1936, we now resolve that both in church and school we dissociate ourselves from attendance at shrines. This we do from a conviction that in this act of bowing at shrines there is inherent a token of assent to claims which we believe to be contrary to the truth of God, truth concerning which it is our primary duty as Christians to bear witness.
>
> (2) That further we seek to maintain our Christian witness in education, and our goodwill and helpfulness to Japan, by every effort to continue our schools.
>
> (That this mission can not continue to support any institution which does not conform to the mission policy as formulated.[56]

The above resolution made the closing of the schools compulsory. Miss E. Kerr told of the harrowing experience which followed. "It was a heartbreaking experience for the mission, the students and their parents, but as a witness for the truth the Council and Home Committee felt we could do no other."[57]

55 *Extracts*, Vol. 23, p. 78. According to the Rev. J. Stuckey of APM all Japanese copies of this resolution were confiscated badly by Japanese authorities. (Cf. Stuckey' s letter to his aunt B. Campbell dated Feb. 6, 1939. UCAV).

56 *Proceedings* for May, 1939, p. 89; *Extracts,* Vol. 26, p. 15.

57 E. Kerr, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

Thus the educational work of the mission was brought to a close. Nearly forty-five years earlier, the mission had pioneered in establishing the first modern schools in Pusan and the South Kyungsang Province. Now the school buildings were emptied, but they remained as an eloquent witness to the uncompromising faith and conviction of the APM, before the church, the nation and history.

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DIE ZEITPHILOSOPHIE IN PLATONS 'TIMAIOS'

(플라톤의 「티마이 오스」에서의 시간 철학)

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