Introduction

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, people began to argue that Korea should open its doors to Western ideas and ways. Conditions were gradually changing within Korea as the country was urged to depart from isolationism and to enter into relations with the West. Aware of such changing conditions, Japan provoked an armed confrontation with Korea, resulting in the Treaty of Kanghwa, signed in February 1876. Western style modernisation was an inevitable consequence of the Treaty, for it brought Korea onto the international stage and opened the country to the outside world.

The Treaty marked the beginning of Korea’s western style modernisation process. The government dispatched official as a special envoy and a study mission to Japan to observe how Japan was adopting Western ways. A policy of enlightenment and progress was proclaimed by King Kojong in July 1881. The modernisation process was accelerated by the Korean-American Treaty, Korea’s first treaty with a western power, signed in 1882, after which a mission was also sent to the United States.

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Modernisation policies included structural reform of the government, the abolition of class distinctions, and reform of the political process modelled on Japan’s Meiji Restoration. The reforms furthermore sought to achieve genuine national independence for Korea by ending China’s suzerainty. Although there was a strong anti-foreigner sentiment among the aristocrats (yangban), enlightenment thought began to exert a powerful influence over them.

Korea’s modernisation movement was interrupted, however, by a sequence of tumultuous events, beginning with the uprising of the Tonghak Peasant Army in April, 1894 which was followed by the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in July of the same year. The war was concluded by the Shimonoseki Treaty in July, 1895, under which China acknowledged Korea’s full independence from China, and Korea agreed to carry out internal reforms under Japanese auspices.

These reforms, known as the Kabo Reforms, featured modernisation of various aspects of Korean society, among which reform of education system was a major task. A new education system aimed at imbuing the Korean people with a sense of national identity and patriotism was needed, now that independence from China had been acknowledged. These reforms abolished the traditional government service examination (kwakŏ) and established the Ministry of Education in 1894, which announced plans to establish ordinary schools (J. futsū gakkō / K. pot’ong hakkyo 普通學校). The principles of the modern Meiji education system, which sought uniformity of people under the nation-state, were being transported and applied to Korea.

The reform towards Korea’s modernisation was again interrupted as Korea became a protectorate of Japan in 1905, and then came fully under
the rule of Japan, when it was annexed in 1910. Korea was thereafter modernised under colonialism.

The establishment of a modern education system has been a crucial factor in the process of modernisation in all countries. Under the Meiji Restoration, modern education developed along with nation-building, and it was carried out as state project, through which the state sought to bring conformity and uniformity to its people. The state sought to utilise schools as a means to disseminate literacy, standardised knowledge, and state ideologies to the public. This was a particularly important and urgent matter in the management of a colony, and the colonial government therefore sought to construct a comprehensive education system by establishing ordinary schools throughout Korea.

This article explores the processes of establishment and maintenance of public ordinary schools (J. kōritsu futsū gakkō/ K. kongnip pot’ong hakkyo) under colonial rule. Public ordinary schools were Japanese style modern state schools established in Korea for Korean children. They were one of the many types of modern schools that were introduced to Korea by different organisations in various forms during the movements for modern education in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. These modern schools have exerted a major influence over Korea’s modernisation, and those schools founded by Western missionaries particularly contributed to the dissemination of modern education in Korea. As Chŏng Kŭnsik has pointed out, all institutions existed as elements making up the system of colonial rule, and all institutions involved in the educational activities must be taken into account to provide a broader outlook on this subject. He further contends that while previous scholarship has made a
clear divide between colonial education and nationalist education, with ordinary schools being the former and private schools and village schools (sŏtang 書堂) the latter, these institutions did not exist in isolation, but rather had a functional relationship with one another. Ordinary schools were colonial institutions designed as a means to disseminate colonial ideologies, and played a dominant role in the education system, which determined the activities of private schools and other educational institutions. However, they were not completely detached from private educational institutions nor from the local community, but rather local people participated actively in establishing and maintaining these institutions, as educational institutions had always existed in the local communities from the pre-colonial period. These traditional schools were fostered by people in the local communities, and there were various attempts to transform these schools into modern schools during Korea’s modernisation movements. Public ordinary school was one option of the modern schools which people could have in their communities under colonial rule. By emphasising this aspect of the state institutions, this article aims to illuminate the local community’s involvement with ordinary schools, and show how a rural society adapted to the new education system and the process of modernisation under colonial rule.

This article looks at the case of a the colonial city Kunsan and its surrounding area, Okku (沃溝) in North Chŏlla Province. The sources used are mainly school records such as school history (J. enkaku shi/ K. yōnyōk chi) reports on school activities (J. gakuji hōkoku shō/ K. haksapogo sō) school register (J. gakuseki bo/ K. hakchŏk pu), individual student records (J. kosei chōsa bo/ K. kaesŏng chosa bu). Although the materials were not
available in complete form, they are valuable sources providing detailed information such as a school’s location, and an outline of its history, events, enrolments and student profiles.

**The Rise of Modern Schools in Kunsan and Okku**

Kunsan is located at the northern end of North Chŏlla Province, and it is sited between two large rivers, the Kŭmgang in the north and the Man’gyŏnggang in the south. This area had been an important site for the Chosŏn Dynasty, and a granary and military garrison was located there. The area became Okku county (hyŏn) in 1397, and was divided into Okku and Imp’i (臨陂) counties in 1413. It was again integrated, and became Okku county (kun) in 1906 under the protectorate. Kunsan was a small part of Okku, where the port was located.

Kunsan’s development as a colonial city began when the government of Korea opened the port in May 1899. It was a consequence of the Kanghwa Treaty signed in 1876, which promised to open other major ports and to establish a foreign settlement in every port. This was not long after the two large currents of national modernisation movements had swept the country since Korea opened its door. Although Kunsan was not evidently affected by these movements, in terms of the establishment of modern institutions, the modernisation process began at this moment with the arrival of Japanese settlers, as they started to construct a modern city with modern facilities and institutions.

As was common in all settler communities in Korea, education
institutions were crucial to the communal life of the Japanese settlers. The provision of effective education to their children was a major concern among the settlers, and thus a small study group was formed soon after the opening of port. This school was initiated by the wife of the consul, and was taken over by a Japanese Buddhist temple. The residents petitioned the government of Japan for this small school to be acknowledged as an equivalent institution to its counterparts in Japan. It was authorised by the Japanese government as a primary school (J. shō gakkō/ K. sohakkyo 小學校) in 1901, and from the following year, the Japanese Settler Association took responsibility for matters regarding their children’s education. The school developed into a public school (J. kōritsu shō gakkō / K. kongnip sohakkyo 公立小學校) in 1906, and served as a central institution for Japanese education in Kunsan.

Although the school was intended to provide education for Japanese children, Korean children also attended the school. When the school opened, a number of requests were made by Koreans to allow their children to enter the school. To accommodate to this situation, a request for subsidy was submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a result of which the school was able to receive 360 yen annually for the subsequent three years. As a result, a Korean teacher by the name of Paek Mun’gŭn (白文謹) was employed to teach Korean children. Details regarding the background of this teacher and how he came to be employed have not been found, but he left the school in 1903 when the subsidy was withdrawn. Although Japanese teachers took over the role of teaching Korean children for some time, Korean children also left the school.

Although this Japanese school was far from being modern when the
Korean children attended, it nevertheless intended to provide education equivalent to its counterparts in Japan. In this sense, it was the first modern school encountered by Koreans in Kunsan. The school turned into a modern school, as settlers made efforts to improve the environment for their children. At the same time, a movement for modern education arose among Koreans. Although children that sought modern education at Japanese school had to leave due to the circumstances mentioned above, alternatives were being founded in many parts of the region.

This movement arose soon after Korea became a protectorate. While modern schools had not been founded in Kunsan during the country’s modernisation movements, a number of new types of schools came into being during the protectorate. These schools were mainly established by local volunteers, both Korean and Japanese, and were also founded by Christian missionaries. For example, Kunsan Institute (J. giyuku/ K. "isuk義塾)5 opened in autumn of 1906, was established by Japanese, and it was composed of two ordinary classes, first and second grade, which were run by a Japanese headmaster and two Korean teachers.6 Chinmyŏng (進明) School, also established in 1906, was founded by an Okku county official and other local volunteers.7 Two schools were founded in the village of Imp’i: Pohŭng (普興) School in February 1906, and Hŭngyŏng (興瀛) School in March 1907. These schools were formerly a village school and traditional public county school (hyang’gyo) respectively,8 and they were integrated, to become Imyŏng (臨瀛) School in February of 1908, with authorisation as a private school.9 Kunsan Ordinary School was established in 1907 as the first state school in this region. The establishment of the school was a part of the Residency General’s project, commenced in 1906,
to establish public ordinary schools throughout the country. The project was carried out in three stages with Kunsan Ordinary School being founded in the second stage. The school was founded by taking over Kunsan School. Besides those mentioned above, there were a number of modern schools and small informal gatherings which offered modern education.

The ordinary school and private schools held various events to urge children to attend school. These schools commonly encouraged children to use modern facilities, and particularly featured such subjects as health, hygiene and science. They showed films and held parents’ meetings to inform them of the principles of modern education, as well as open classes demonstrating physics and chemistry teaching. A tour of the school botanical garden was included in a Christian school’s program. Such events were designed to make people aware of modern education, as well as emphasising how modern education can provide practical knowledge for everyday life. The ordinary school, being a Japanese style school, emphasised ethics and discipline as well as vocational training in its curriculum.

Modern schools also emphasised education for girls. This was particularly emphasised by the Christian private school, which offered coeducation. Home visits were also carried out to encourage girls to attend school. The report made by the headmaster of Kunsan Ordinary School at the headmasters’ conference in Keijō, describes how the idea of girls’ education has been spreading in the region, and as a result of these promotional activities, 86 male and 38 female students were attending the ordinary school.

State Schools under Colonial Rule
Establishment of Ordinary Schools

Kunsan’s movement for modern education entered another phase as Korea came under Japanese colonial rule in 1910. Although the establishment of ordinary schools during the protectorate was intended to lay the foundation for colonial education, the ordinary school’s activities and relations with private schools suggest that the different types of schools worked together towards introducing modern education to local society, and at the receiving end, the ordinary school was just among many new modern schools. However, a clear distinction was made between the ordinary school and all other institutions after annexation. The form of modern education to be promoted was colonial education, the content of which focused on colonial ideologies designed to incorporate people into the colonial order. Educational activities became strictly controlled by the colonial regime. Few private schools were established, and many that had been founded prior to this time had to close their doors. Instead, ordinary schools began to be established throughout the country.

As in the Meiji education reforms, the initial establishment of ordinary schools tried to avoid drastic changes and take into account the local situation. The colonial administration sought to rely on the foundations and networks of the local communities, and to make use of the pre-existing educational institutions by transforming them into ordinary schools.

Traditional public county schools were the first local educational institutions to be transformed into ordinary schools. Public county schools were institutions for children of local aristocrats, where subjects required for
the traditional civil service examination had been taught. Although these schools had substantially lost their function since the traditional civil service examination system had been abandoned under the Kabo Reforms, they normally had a piece of land given by the government of Korea and other private properties belonging to local scholars. The colonial government sought to take over and make use of these financial foundations and their role as the centre of education with roots in the community. In the Kunsan and Okku region, the first two ordinary schools established after annexation had their roots in public county schools: Imp’i Ordinary School and Okku Ordinary School, founded in 1912 and 1914 respectively. As Imp’i and Okku were both independent counties under the Chosŏn Dynasty, both counties had a public county school. Imp’i Ordinary School was founded on the basis of the private Imyŏng School, founded during the protectorate as two schools, formerly a public county school a village school, integrated. Imyŏng School opened in 1911 as a private ordinary school, receiving a subsidy from the government, and eventually became Imp’i public ordinary school in the following year. The public county school building was used for classrooms until a new school building had been completed two years after the school’s establishment. Similarly, Okku Ordinary School was founded by taking over the private Sinmyŏng School, which had formerly been a public county school. It was first opened as a branch of Kunsan Ordinary School in 1911, and opened as Okku Ordinary School in 1914.

After incorporating the public county schools into its colonial educational system, the colonial administration turned to transforming village schools into ordinary
schools. Schools that were closely attached to the local community were particularly chosen to be transformed into ordinary schools. These village schools were often run by local volunteers at their ancestral shrines (chaegak 齋閣). Sŏngsan(聖山) Ordinary School was established in 1922 through the contribution of a building and resource by a local volunteer, Ch’ae Kyusae(蔡奎世), in a single-sir-name village (J. dōzoku buraku / K. tongjok purak 同族部落) — the P’yŏnggang Ch’ae(平康 蔡). Oksan(玉山) Ordinary School, established in 1928, was founded in Oksan village, in the Mun(文) family’s ancestral shrine. Also, as is suggested by the history of Sŏngsan Ordinary School, which was formerly Sŏngsan(聖山) School, the first village schools that were chosen to be transformed into ordinary schools, had possibly already taken on modernised forms at some point prior to this change.

Along with transforming village schools into ordinary schools, the colonial administration also sought other means to expand the system. It not only sought support from local Korean communities, but also from Japanese settlers. Two ordinary schools were established in the 1920s in the areas where large farms were developed by Japanese landlords: Kaechŏng (開井) Ordinary School and Taeya (大野) Ordinary School. The Korean population was rapidly growing in this area as people migrated from other inland regions to work for these farms. These schools were not founded in connection
to pre-existing institutions, nor with support by the local community. The operation of the school was dependent on local money from the Japanese landlords.

Towards the later stages of colonial rule, schools were rapidly expanding into the community in tandem with rural policies. At this stage schools were often founded by establishing new branches of existing schools. In such cases, the headmaster would normally look after the new school for a while, and the children of the new school would use the staff room of the main school as a classroom until a new building was completed. Although the establishment of such schools was initiated by colonial policies, their actual maintenance was still largely dependent on the local community. There were also schools such as Ch’ango Ordinary School, which was established in 1939 by a committee composed of local volunteers for the purpose of establishing a school. The local village hall was offered for the opening ceremony and as a classroom. A notable feature of Ch’ango Ordinary School is that it did not have a Japanese headmaster or Japanese teacher, and was solely operated by Korean teachers until 1944, though all ordinary schools in principle had to have a Japanese headmaster and teachers. Nap’o Ordinary School, established in 1935 also operated in such a manner.

The physical maintenance of ordinary schools was also largely dependent on the local community. When a school was ‘established’, it was not always the case that modern buildings awaited children, but rather, construction commenced after the school was given official authorisation and often after it had already begun teaching. Children and their parents themselves normally helped with the construction of school buildings and facilities, and they were refurbished and enlarged as the number of children increased.
Until the building was completed, children would use as their classrooms facilities provided by the local community, such as the county office, village office, ancestral shrine of a local volunteer, or the staff room of a neighbouring ordinary school.

Aside from children having to pay tuition fees, additional financial support from the local community was also indispensable in maintaining school facilities. For instance at Imp’i Ordinary School in 1914 local officials and volunteers, both Japanese and Koreans, were involved in constructing the new school buildings and expanding of the playground, and a flag pole was donated by the children’s parents in 1932. Also in the same year, refurbishment of the toilets was made possible by the county office and local volunteers. In Taeya and Kaechŏng Ordinary Schools, special workrooms for vocational training and a sick bay were established, and from 1939 a school doctor was employed through the support of local landlord. An organ and a set of brass instruments were also provided by local volunteers at Kaechŏng Ordinary School. Parents’ associations were often formed at schools, and they kept in close contact with the school. They supported events and provided financial aid for less fortunate children. The parents’ association at Imp’i ordinary school was founded in 1930. It held an annual committee meeting from 1932 to 1942 in which the members discussed matters regarding the maintenance of school. The Imp’i’s parents’ association also supported sports festivals and anniversary events to commemorate the school’s establishment, as well as alumni gatherings and exhibitions. The children’s library was founded through the support of the parents’ association.

Although ordinary schools adhered to certain standards, they also
varied as schools reflected the involvement and values of their respective communities.

Community Involvement with Ordinary Schools

The state school system sought to set a certain standard in society, yet at the same time it suggested different options for the course of people’s life. Statistics show a growing number of pupils becoming participating in ordinary school education and also wishing to carry on to higher education. This suggests that the incorporation of people into the school system diversified the life options of individuals in line with the changing conditions of colonial society. One aspect of this trend is illuminated by the case of Imp’i Ordinary School where the school underwent a shift from a four year system to a six year system.

Imp’i Ordinary School extended its enrolment years from four to six in 1920 in accordance with the Government General’s new policy adopted in the same year. After introducing the system, the school did not certify pupils unless they had completed six years of enrolment, and thus it recorded a considerable number of failures between 1919 and 1923. There were a considerable number of students leaving school after four years intending to proceed to higher schools because those who entered ordinary school when they were older than the average school age would be unable to enter higher school due to the age limitation if they stayed in school for six years. The school adapted to the situation by allowing children to leave school before completion, and worked to help them enter higher schools.
Nevertheless, enrolment in the school was easily affected by the local economy. During years when the region’s economy suffered from poor harvests and unemployment, students were impelled to leave school before completing their education, or did not continue school at a higher level. A series of disasters from the mid 1920s to the early 1930s affected Kunsan’s economy, and moreover ability of children to attend school.23 In the years following 1928, many children had to leave school due to natural disasters and the depression which affected the economy of this region.24

During the difficult times, less students entered school, and they also tended to leave school before completion. In contrast, when the economy was improving, more children remained in school, or left school simply to be transferred to another school, often when a new school was founded closer to home. Furthermore, there was also a significant change in the type of school children wished to enter. While children previously chose to study in vocational schools, during this time more students wanted to receive general education. The enrolment of girls also increased and stabilised, and more pupils proceeded to higher schools.

The colonial education system was extended further into the community with the intention of educating people outside the usual reach or the administration. Although the colonial administration encouraged children to enrol in ordinary school, they were incapable of responding to the growing demand for education. People had different reasons for not attending ordinary school. Lack of money was one major reason. However, apart from financial difficulties, many children were deprived of the opportunity due to the age limitation stated in the Education Rescript (J. kaisei Chōsen kyōiku rei/ K. Kaechŏng Chosŏn kyoyuk ryŏng 改正朝鮮敎
State Schools and the Local Community in Colonial Korea

育令) of 1922, or simply due to not having an institution within a reasonable distance from where they lived. To take into account these problems, the colonial administration sought to utilise ordinary schools to provide education to the rest of the community, by going around the neighbouring villages offering mobile classes, night schools and ‘private seminars’ (J. shisetsu gakujutsu kōshū kai/ K. sasul haksul kangşūp hoe私設學術講習會). Imp’i Ordinary School established a ‘development course’ (J. ikuseika/ K. yuksŏng kwa育成科) and ‘attached development school’ (J. ikusei gakkô/ K. yuksŏng hakkyo育成學校). Okku Ordinary School held night schools called ‘seminars for the elimination of illiteracy’ (J. monmŏtaiji kōshū kai/ K. munmaeng t’oech’il kangşūp hoe文盲退治講習會) and intensive courses for men and women respectively. Ordinary schools also kept in contact with village schools, with which they held meetings, and provided supervision once a term. Two-year schools called ‘summary school’ (J kan’i gakkô/ K. kani hakkyo 簡易學校), began to be established from 1934 with the aim of disseminating school education to areas that were not able to send children to school. With the principle of ‘education for all’, these schools were designed to provide basic education within a short period of time at minimum expense. Ordinary schools became the centres from which colonial education was disseminated to each community.

Ordinary schools introduced various modernised forms of representation in their activities. These activities were incorporated in many aspects of people’s life, and called for the local community’s participation. These practises can be found in the numerous ceremonies carried out in ordinary schools, which featured saluting the national flag, singing the national anthem,
shrine worshipping, and sometimes included the planting of pine trees as memorials and lantern parades. These activities were intended to enhance a sense of unity and to acknowledge the authority of the state, the emperor and the military, and thus local officials and residents were also expected to participate in these events. Through this sort of participation, the colonial government hoped to incorporate local communities into the imperial order. Examples of such activities include events held on the occasions of the Showa Emperor’s accession in 1928, and the distribution of the Education Ordinance (J. kōiku chokugo/ K. kyoyuk ch’igŏ 教育勅語) in 1930. When a copy of the Education Ordinance was distributed to Kaechŏng Ordinary School, the copy was carried by automobile from the county hall, where the ceremony had been held, to the school where the children and staff were waiting. With the arrival of the copy, a ceremony was again held in the school playground.

Other ceremonies such as an entry ceremony (J. nyūgaku shiki/ K. iphak sik 入學式), commencement ceremony (J. shigyŏ shiki/ K. siŏp sik 始業式) and completion ceremony (J. shūgyŏ shiki/ K. chongŏp sik 終業式) were introduced in ordinary schools, and these became new school traditions. Kaechŏng Ordinary School held entry ceremonies since the opening of school in 1924. The first entry ceremony was combined with the school’s opening ceremony, for which many guests from the public sector, local volunteers and parents were in attendance. Imp’i Ordinary School held commencement and completion ceremonies, for the first time in 1932 and these became annual events for the school from then on.

In addition to the sorts of events mentioned above, even the funeral of a school teacher was a school event, which called for the attendance of local
officials, landlords, parents and local volunteers.\textsuperscript{27} Although these ceremonies and events were ideological and were imposed upon people, physical involvement in these activities was no less influential in bringing psychological unity to people. People accommodated themselves to these activities and adopted them into their communal life, giving new meanings as they did so.

**Conclusion**

Just as the Meiji education reforms had made a significant contribution to making Japan a modern nation, education was expected to play a substantial role in incorporating Korea into the colonial order. Education was regarded as a fundamental means of reinforcing colonial development, and thus state schools were expanded into the community by every possible and effective means.

In establishing ordinary schools, the colonial regime had to take into account the local situation, and sought to make use of pre-existing institutions. Local communities responded to this project and with their support schools expanded rapidly into all communities. A large number of children attended these schools, and many wished to carry on to higher schools. The education system came to have a major influence on society and interfere with everyone’s lives as incorporation into this system was unavoidable for people under colonial rule.

Ordinary schools and the education system had two sides: they were colonial institutions and they were also modern institutions. Being a colonial
institution, the education provided at ordinary school was centred round colonial ideologies. Koreans resisted these aspects of educational institutions throughout the colonial period. However, they took interest in the other side of these institutions. People wished to enjoy the modern facilities and modern education commonly offered by the program of the ordinary schools.

Nevertheless, aspirations for modern education were not solely due to the colonial encounter, but had already begun at the turn of the century, and furthermore their roots may be found in the national movements initiated by the Korean government and intellectuals in the late nineteenth century. The colonial regime made use of the pre-existing foundations and transformed public county schools and village schools into ordinary schools. However, these schools had already taken steps towards modernisation when they were incorporated into the colonial education system. This movement underlay the subsequent development of ordinary schools.

Even after they had become colonial institutions, it did not mean that the schools were fully handed over to the colonial regime. Rather they still depended largely upon the involvement of local people. People were not the passive tools of these policies, but responded in the way that made sense to them. More schools were established in areas of traditional villages, than in those of new settlements. In the Kunsan and Okku region, traditional villages were concentrated in the areas which had formerly been the centres of Imp’i and Okku counties, while areas distant from these two centres, where Kaechǒng and Taeya Ordinary Schools were established, were left open and developed into farmlands by Japanese landlords. Majority of Koreans who settled in this area were new comers, who formed a ‘new’ community. People were active in establishing schools in the Imp’i and Okku areas, and
their activities become more intense towards the end of colonial rule. By contrast, there was less impetus for establishing schools within the new community, where instead existing schools just grew larger. Those communities which had close ties with the area were more concerned with establishing an institution of their own. The colonial regime commenced a project in the 1930s to establish one school in every village, and apparently in response to this policy schools rapidly expanded into the local community. Some villages in the Imp’i and Okku areas, however, ended up having two schools.  

These schools could be found in those villages where ordinary schools were established at an early stage. Moreover, some schools were operated solely by Korean teachers. Such cases suggest that although ordinary schools and the system of which they were part were colonial institutions aimed at controlling people, they were also being used by the people to serve their purposes and to represent their values.

Notes:


3 Riron noKketsugō, p.431.

4 Kunsan Kaikōshi, p.259.

5 gijuku ūisuk is a type of school in Japan and Korea established to serve public interests, yet funded by individuals.
7 Okku Ordinary School, school history.
8 Imp‘i Ordinary School, school history.
10 Primary Education Institution Expansion Plan (J. *shot ōkyōiku kikan kakkō keikaku* /K. ch‘dung kyŏyu kigwan hwakchang kyaehok* 初等教育機官張計画*).
11 *Tomi no Kunsan*, p.66.
14 *Dai nikai Kōitsu Futsū Gakkō Kyōkan Kaigi Yōroku*, p.58.
15 Ibid., p.49.
16 Two private schools by Christian missionaries were founded in Kunsan in 1911 and 1912 respectively: Yŏngmyŏng (永明) School and *Meripoeruten* (メリポエルテン) Girls’ School.
19 Oksan Ordinary School, school history.
20 Kumamoto (熊本), Okura (大蔵), Shimatani (島谷) and Yagi (八木) North Chōlla Province “Gunnai Omonaru Nōjō” [Major Farms in the County] in *Junshi chihō annai* [A Local Guide by Visitors] (1928), pp.16~19.
21 Hoehyon (會縣), 1935 ; Okpong (玉峯), 1939 ; Miryong (米龍), 1939.
22 In 1920, 12 students ; in 1921, 14 out of 31 students (3 students to Chŏnju Higher Ordinary School, 2 students to Kanggyŏng School of Commerce, 9 students to Iri School of Agriculture and Forestry) ; and in 1922, 29 out of 62 students wished to proceed to higher schools. In 1922, 5 students of the first graduates of six year system, wished to carry on to higher ordinary schools and other specialised schools. From Imp‘i Ordinary School ; report on school activities.
24 Kim Minyŏng, *Ilchŏng ha Kunsan Okku Chiyŏk üi Minjŏk Sahoe Undong-sa*
[History of National and Social Movements in Kunsan and Okku Region under Colonial Rule] (Chiyŏk yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ, 1997), pp.131~133.

25 Imp’i Ordinary School, record of school events.
26 Chōsen Kyōiku Taikan, p.49.
27 Kaejōng Ordinary School, 1939.
28 Chōsen no Shūraku, p.468.
29 Ch’ango Ordinary School in Sŏngsan village, Okpong Ordinary School in Okku village, Sulsan (戌山) Ordinary School in Imp’i village.