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Vietnam and Korea “Higher” Education in the Early 20th Century Compared Study through Colonial Archives

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Note to the reader: *This is a first draft paper written for the Conference “Vietnam and Korea as “Longue Durée” Subject of Comparison: From the Pre-modern to the Early Modern Period” organised in Hanoi on March 3rd-4th 2017. It is based on some hypotheses and early conclusions from my ongoing PhD research dealing with student mobility in colonial Asia (1880s-1940s) through a compared approach.*

Thus, some parts are likely to be modified and improved from now to the conference as this paper is the result of an ongoing thinking. The author will be pleased to listen to any suggestions from the potential readers.

Besides, a few draft notes are still included in the text.

Introduction

« I am honoured to send you, within this cover, my translation of the chapter dedicated to Public Instruction in the last report (1908-1909) from the General Resident of Japan in Korea.

I think its contents and the table of the educational reforms undertaken by the Japanese Government can interest you all the more so as it deals with a country where the issue of the evolution of education includes similar features as those concerning Indochina¹.”

This abstract from a letter addressed by the Inspector-Adviser on Public Instruction in Indochina to the General Governor Antony Klobukowski² in 1910 indicates the French colonial officials’ interest in educational issues at the beginning of the 20th Century; issues they deal with through reports about local educational systems but although through the analysis of those implemented outside the boundaries of the French empire. The French archives include a significant number of files dealing with education in Asia, taken into consideration by the French historiography. In her study, Pascale Bezançon underscores that fact, stressing on the

¹ Archives Nationales d’Outre-mer (ANOM), Gouvernement général de l’Indochine (GGI), record 2655 : *Rapport sur l’enseignement en Corée* : « Lettre de l’Inspecteur-Conseil de l’Instruction publique de l’Indochine à M. le Gouverneur général de l’Indochine, 10 septembre 1910. »

² Antony Klobukowski is the General Governor in Indochina from 1908 to 1911.

Note to the author : add a more-detailed note about him ?

role of Japan³. Indeed, Japan have attracted more and more students since the end of the 19th Century thanks to the Meiji reforms. School is concerned at every level by this modernising renewal. Since 1886, higher education has been rebuilt after the imperial decision to create modern universities⁴. Korea, as one of the targets of Japanese imperialism, is affected by this phenomenon. At the aftermath of the Japanese victory on Russia in 1905, a Japanese Protectorate is established in Korea. As a consequence, the Government of the Land of the Morning Calm integrates Japanese counsellors as a General Resident is appointed until the 1910 annexation.

At the beginning of the 20th Century, Japan wishes to integrate – and succeeds in integrating – the private club of “modern powers”, joining Western countries. Thus, the publication of reports in English dealing with territories integrated to their sphere of power and influence is not a mere coincidence but an intentional act depicting its progress to the world. These files are designed to circulate, at least among English-speaking administrations and governments. This circulation is reinforced by other translations, such as the French one.

Therefore, this paper focuses on the 1910 French version of the second annual report on reforms and progress in Korea (1908-1909) compiled by the Residency General and published in December 1909. It is made of thirteen parts dealing with different aspects of education in Korea. The author also used the first annual report in order to compare and to have a wider view concerning the reformation of education in Korea in the second half of the 1900s. These two reports appear to complete each other, dealing with different features⁵. A greater interest in higher education can be noticed in the second report.

How can this French interest in the Korean situation be explained? Even though Indochina and Korea are the subjects of two different temporalities as to their colonisation⁶, the late 1900s is an era of reforms for Indochina and Korea. Antony Klobukowski embodies a change in the ruling of Indochina, especially concerning education, and is the antipodes of his predecessor Paul Beau⁷. Control and supervision are strengthened. Higher education experiments a backsliding after the failure of the first Indochinese University in 1908, closed after a single-year activity. It leads to an active thinking about this matter and some attempts of new rules.

³ During his mandate, the French minister plenipotentiary in Japan Jules Harmand sent reports on education in Japan to the colonial government in Indochina. See: ANOM, GGI, record 23740 for instance.

Missions for the study of education are organised in Japan, Siam and Korea. Pascale Bezaçon, *Une colonisation éducatrice ? L'expérience indochinoise (1860-1945)*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2002, p. 104.

⁴ The foundation of universities must be considered in the long run: nine imperial universities are founded between 1886 and 1939.

⁵ See *Annex 1 - Structures of the Education chapters in the 1st and 2nd Annual Reports on Reform and Progress in Korea, published in 1908 and 1909*, at the end of this paper.

⁶ Cochinchina is conquered by the French as soon as the 1850s with its annexation officialised in 1862 by the Saigon Treaty. The rest of the Indochinese peninsula is mainly conquered during the last decades of the 19th Century. Korea becomes a Protectorate in 1905-1906 and is annexed in 1910.

⁷ Paul Beau (1902-1908) is the first to consider the foundation of a real higher education system in Indochina with the first foundation of the Indochinese University.

At the same period, Korea is entering an era of reformation under the Japanese subjugation. No university was created before the 1920s but higher education was at least including in the report through a “higher school”. It can set an example or at least inspire the French officials. This assessment is particularly true for the Vietnamese parts of Indochina – Cochinchina, Annam and Tonkin – which share a similar Confucian and Chinese legacy with Korea.

This paper aims to compare Vietnamese and Korean higher education at the turning point of the 1900s and the 1910s through aforesaid reports⁸, questioning the definition of “higher education” in colonial contexts. The use of the French translation allows to put emphasis on the connections and the circulations of ideas between different empires. How do these specific circulations of ideas feed the establishment of “higher” education in colonial context?

Towards Higher Education

Korean and Vietnamese students have to go through different constituent steps of educational systems to reach higher education. First of all, primary – or “common” – education aims to teach pupils how to write, read and other basic learnings. It is traditionally followed by secondary schools, made of *collège*⁹, *lycées* and high schools. Higher education is the crowning achievement of this organisation, generally reserved for a small number of students. Some of these steps have undergone changes in colonial context: a complementary level replaces secondary institutions for the Vietnamese natives.

However, the second annual report on Korea underlines these steps by mentioning public and private schools, second degree schools and higher schools, stressing on reforms and progress – as it is shown in the report’s full title – and so, on modernisation. Traditional education already integrating higher education is changing while teaching languages form another major issue.

Renewing Traditional Education

Primary or common education comes first. It constitutes the basis of the whole educational system, quickly gaining the interest of colonial officials.

In Cochinchina, the first primary schools were created as soon as 1864, two years after the Saigon treaty confirming the annexation of this territory. Seven years later, the first normal school is founded to train native teachers, essential to complete the local staff. In 1885, in the newly French-occupied Tonkin, primary schools become compulsory in each administrative centre. The following year, the foundation of “franco-indigenous” schools for the natives starts in Annam¹⁰.

⁸ It is not an exhaustive analysis of the second report. The author deliberately focused on a specific feature of this official document: higher education.

⁹ No confusion must be made between the French *collèges* for secondary-degree pupils and the higher-education colleges in the English-speaking world.

¹⁰ Pascal Bezançon, *Une colonisation éducatrice ? L’expérience indochinoise (1860-1945)*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 2002.

The first report on Korea also mentions primary education through the name “common schools”. If in Cochinchina, the first realisations were repeating the French system, adaptation is underscored in the Korean case:

“Based on the educational system of advanced countries yet carefully adapted to existing conditions in Korea, general regulation for common schools were issued by Imperial Edict and by a decree of the Minister of Education in August 1906¹¹.”

Primary education’s modernisation is organised specially for Korea, under the control of the Central Government when, in Japan, local government and municipalities are managing the schools. Four-year non-compulsory course is established. The will of control and the Japanese stranglehold on political issues via counsellors may explain this assessment.

In both cases, education is not new; regulations are remodelling an older Confucian system by adding new schools to it or by modifying the pre-existing ones.

In Vietnam, a Confucian system is still working when the French arrive. It keeps going until the late 1910s¹². Education is already divided in different steps. Primary education is separated in two: popular private education given by retired mandarins or students in the villages and classical education. After that, the more gifted students can join the closer administrative centre, or *Phù*, where they attend second degree schools. Finally, third degree education is based on schools in provincial centres where young men are preparing the mandarin competitive examinations. This last step matches higher education. Students use Chinese ideograms and are taught Chinese literature and science. Trinh Van Tao uses research by the Vietnamese Tran Van Giap to underscore the increase concerning the number of graduates of provincial and doctoral competitions during the late 1880s. During the years 1889-1907, 959 laureates pass the provincial mandarin examinations¹³. There is no decrease before 1916. Here, a slow modernisation of the traditional system is undertaken. In 1890, *quốc ngữ* has been chosen as the teaching language at the Huế *Collège Quốc Học*, also training future civil servants. A few years later¹⁴, the Hanoi *Hâu Bô School* is dedicated to the preparation of mandarin examination in a more modern way. Indeed, every bachelor student can take the examination to join this school where native provincial civil servants are trained¹⁵.

The same integration and preservation of traditional teaching and learning exist in 1900s Korea. Founded during the 10th Century, the Seoul *Song Gyun Koan*¹⁶ is a classical Chinese higher school, underlining a similar Confucian legacy. It prepares young men to the imperial civil service. They had to pass a competitive examination called *gwageo* or *kwago*.

¹¹ *Annual reports for 1907 on Reforms and Progress in Korea*, 1908: XIII. Education, 56. Common schools.

¹² After an imperial decree in 1918, the last mandarin competition takes place in 1919 in Huế.

¹³ Trinh van Thao, *L'école française en Indochine*, Paris, Khartala, 1995.

¹⁴ Pascal Bezançon mentions its foundation in 1897. But the *Guide Madrolle* about Hanoi, published in 1912, mentions 1891 as the foundation year.

¹⁵ C. Madrolle, *Guide Madrolle : Hanoi et ses environs Cartes et plans*, Paris, Hachette, 1912. Available online : <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

¹⁶ This is the name used in the French translation of the 2nd annual report.

¹⁶ ANOM, GGI, dossier 2655 : *op.cit.* : « 11. *Le Song Gyun Koan* ».

Other transcriptions exist like *Sungkyungkwan*.

This examination is abolished in 1894 but the school does not disappear¹⁷. The imperial Yi Government modernises it during the last decade of the 19th Century in order to make it look like a university. Chinese classics are still taught and the graduates join the Civil Service's inferior ranks¹⁸. After the establishment of a Japanese Protectorate in Korea, the *Suong Gyun Koan* is depicted as useless, needing modernising reforms. With the October 29th 1908 organic decree, a new course is established including Law, mathematics, history, geography, Japanese and Korean classics. The school is no longer an institution dedicated to Chinese classics. Furthermore, the final examination is replaced by an entrance examination¹⁹.

Thus, even though reformation seems deeper and more thorough in the Korean than in the Vietnamese case, the French Inspector-Advisor on Education's comparison is justified when he introduces Korea as a "country where the issue of the transformation of education shows quite similar facts as in Indochina". As soon as the end of the 19th century, officials in Indochina decided to modernise traditional education but used different means. Instead of deep changes, they slowly get rid of the Chinese Confucian legacy. A modernised education is paired up with tradition, at least until the last mandarin examination held in Huế in 1919.

The French and the Japanese links modernisation to their own presence in Asia. Bringing modern Western knowledge and expertise to remote lands is introduced by the French as a part of their "civilising mission". In their reports, the Japanese underscore the needs of modernity, including a political dimension with the mention of a "new regime". The "civilising mission" is replaced by a "modernising mission"²⁰. But the Japanese stranglehold is shaded through a quite neutral and related-to-Korean-rule vocabulary²¹ allowed by "the domination through Protectorate" they are using.

However, Korean and Vietnamese leaders have formerly been aware of the necessity of reforming education. In the 1890s, the Yi Government in Korea undertook reforms to implement a modern educative system. Western elementary schools, middle schools but also foreign languages schools, normal and medical schools were founded as the same time as

¹⁷ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1988.

¹⁸ ANOM, GGI, dossier 2655 : *op.cit.* : *ibid.*

¹⁹ The report underlines that before the reforms, the school was opened to any graduated students from provincial *Han-gyo*.

²⁰ Note to the author : add a development about differences between Western and Japanese imperialisms in Asia ?

²¹ They general use « Gouvernement », « Central government », « Imperial gouvernement ». It gives the idea of a still-free-to-rule Korean government. The Japanese influence is only mentioned once in the Education part of the 2nd report concerning schoolbooks: "The writing of schoolbooks for modern education started in 1905 when the Korean Gouvernement hired a Japanese Counsellor and his Deputy Counsellors for the Public Education Department in order to reform the Korean Education system" or through references to schools for Japanese settlers.

"La rédaction de manuels scolaires pour l'enseignement moderne a débuté en 1905 lorsque le Gouvernement coréen a engagé un Conseiller et des Conseillers-adjoints japonais au Département de l'Instruction publique pour réformer l'enseignement en Corée ».

ANOM, GGI, record 2655 : *op.cit.* : « 4. Livres scolaires édités par le gouvernement ».

private schools based on Western teaching too. In 1905, it is followed by a wide national movement to educate the Korean population²².

On the Indochinese side, getting modern was argued by some Vietnamese mandarins during the 19th Century. Daniel Hémery and Pierre Brocheux explains that the imperial power was not fundamentally opposed to modernising theories, especially during the reign of Minh Mạng (1820-1841)²³. Lettered Vietnamese come down for reforms like Nguyễn Trường Tộ²⁴ and its proposal for a nuanced reform policy. At the beginning of the 20th Century, the modernising trend still exists among the Vietnamese, as with the nationalist leaders Phan Bội Châu and Phan Châu Trinh²⁵.

A matter of language

In both Korea and Vietnam, languages constitute one of the main stakes as to education but in different ways.

It is not by accident that the first educative institutions in French Indochina is the *Collège des Interprètes* – a school training interpreters – in Saigon. In 1895, a report by Mr Chéon, a French Resident and Interpreter to the General Governor, deals with the specific issue of French as a teaching language in Tonkin²⁶. He explains that French is taught in public schools, free schools managed by religious missions or under the patronage of the *Alliance française*²⁷. But his assessment is pessimistic: indigenous pupils have not a good knowledge of French. He suggests that French would be added as an additional exam for candidates taking the regional examinations. Thus, he fuels the existing debate concerning French and its use as to education. According to the French historian Pascale Bezançon, personalities supporting the adoption of French by the Indochinese communities opposed partisans of adaptation. The latter group is made of anti-assimilationists and supporter of the *status quo* and finally won this political struggle. Elementary course is given in *quoc ngu*, a latinised version of Vietnamese. French is reserved for a small number of students, willing to work directly with the French, in the administration or in any businesses, and generally issued from the Vietnamese elites²⁸. However, Chinese remains among the taught languages until the independence²⁹.

The same kind of debate does not seem to exist concerning Japanese in Korea. The 1908 report on Korea mentions the language issue as to common schools: “the course of instruction includes (...) the languages of Korea, China and Japan (...)”. Here, the native language – Korean – is put at the same level as Chinese – the traditional language of studies –

²² E. Patricia Tsurumi, « Colonial Education in Korea and Taiwan » in Ramon H. Myers, Mark R. Peatti (ed.), *The Japanese Colonial Empire (1895-1945)*, Princeton, Princeton University, 1984.

²³ Pierre Brocheux, Daniel Hémery, *Indochine. La colonisation ambiguë (1858-1954)*, Paris, Les Indes savantes, 1999.

²⁴ Note to the author : add a biographical note ?

²⁵ Idem.

²⁶ ANOM, GGI, record 23730 : *Note de M. Chéon sur l'Enseignement du français au Tonkin*.

²⁷ Note to the author : add a note about the *Alliance française* ?

²⁸ Pascale Bezançon, *Une colonisation éducatrice ? op.cit.*

²⁹ Trinh van Thao, “L’enseignement du français dans le secondaire et le supérieur au Vietnam de 1918 à 1945 : un état des lieux”, *Documents pour l’histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde*, n°25, 2000.

and Japanese – the language used by the supervising power. Further in the report, the Japanese Resident mentions foreign languages schools:

“In Seoul, there are five Foreign Language Schools for teaching Japanese, English, Chinese, German and French respectively; besides a Japanese Language school at Chemulpo and two at Ping-yang.”

On January 1908, the five Seoul schools merged in order to improve the quality of teaching and facilities. At first glance, the Korean case distances itself from the Vietnamese case. The teaching of languages seems more developed in Korea. If an emphasis on Japanese exist through the three schools in Chemulpo and Ping-yang, Western languages – French, British and German – are also highlighted. This diversity does not exist in French-subjugated Vietnam where there is no school for foreign languages. The Japanese debate seems subtler than the French one. It must be underlined that these different languages match the major foreign powers³⁰ present in East Asia, especially in Chinese concessions. Commercial and diplomatic stakes may influence these educative choices³¹.

However, the same elitist approach as to French language exists about Japanese: Korean students are introduced as willing to learn this language:

“The increasing demand about Japanese and the new rule under the Japanese Protectorate have determined a great number of students to turn towards the study of Japanese³².”

The inauguration of courses in Japanese in May 1905, dedicated to quick learning, is a resounding success, with not less than 53 students as soon as their opening³³. Some of them are planning to leave their native land to join higher schools in Japan³⁴. Professional and personal strategies are at stake. Reaching higher education induces mastering (in?) Japanese: there is no university in Korea and few higher institutions. Korean students use their agency in order to get a better professional position, looking for a job in the Korean Civil Service. It is quite the same strategies in French Indochina where some Vietnamese pupils try to enrol secondary and higher education institutions theoretically reserved to the French.

Primary Education, a hothouse for “Higher” Education?

The development of primary education helps the development of higher level of the educational system. This evolution is clear through the comparison of the first and the second reports on Korea³⁵. Indeed, the reformation of elementary education as soon as 1905-1906 allows and is entangled with the development of higher level studies in the following years: “normal schools”, “Song Gyun Koan”, “Schools of Foreign Languages”, “Higher School”,

³⁰ Here, English must be considered as a British and American language.

³¹ Note to the author : add hypothesis concerning the absence of Russian ?

³² « La demande croissante pour le Japonais et le nouveau régime sous le Protectorat du Japon ont déterminé un grand nombre d'étudiants à se tourner vers l'étude du Japonais. » ANOM, GGI, record 2655 : *op.cit.* : “8. Écoles des langues étrangères”.

³³ ANOM, GGI, record 2655 : *op.cit.* : *ibid.*

³⁴ See: Part 2, “Higher Education through Imperial mobility”.

³⁵ See: Annex 1 at the end of this paper.

“Korean students in Japan”. Japanese concern in Korean education is widening. Primary and higher education are interconnected. The Korean “fever for education”, leading to multiple public and private foundations and to a greater will of control by the administration and the government, reinforces this. Thus, “the higher school has known an increase of its number of applicants due to the increase of graduated students from the primary schools³⁶” owing – at least partly – to new schools:

“At the beginning of reformation, 9 public schools including the normal school’s annex, were established in Seoul by the Department for Public Instruction, and 13 in the cities where provincial governments were established. 28 new schools were opened in 1907 in ports and other important cities. In 1909, 9 new schools lead the total number to 59. The number of pupils was 8.347 at the end of 1908, against 4.615 the previous year, so an increase of 55 %³⁷.”

If general figures are quite different, due to differences concerning the size of territories and the colonial proceedings³⁸, the mandarin system’s legacy and the development of colonial education brings applicants to higher education institutions too. For instance, they were tens to apply for the first Indochinese University in 1907 and it was not complicated to choose forty students among them to form the first class.

In Korea, as in Vietnam, the development of a modern elementary education brings the colonial powers to organise and legislate about what happens next. Primary education is the basement of the educational pyramid even if we must keep in mind that only a minority of pupils continue their studies after elementary courses³⁹.

“Higher” Education in 1910 Korea and Vietnam

Besides elementary schooling, the second report on reforms and progress in Korea emphasizes on further education. Second degree schools are mentioned⁴⁰ just like higher and technical schools. Nevertheless, there is no university in 1909-1910, neither in Vietnam nor in Korea, justifying the similitudes between the two systems underlined by Antony Klobukowski and its Inspector-Advisor.

Higher Education without Universities

Higher education is generally defined by the creation and development of universities gathering colleges and faculties, each of them specialised on one specific topic. The

³⁶ « L’école supérieure a vu croître le nombre des candidats en raison de l’augmentation du nombre des diplômés des écoles primaires. »

ANOM, GGI, dossier 2655 : *op.cit.* : « 10. École supérieure ».

³⁷ *Ibid.* : « 7. Accroissement des écoles publiques ».

³⁸ Note for the author: add figures -> to be completed with general statistics (will be found in VNNA 1 in Hanoi).

³⁹ *Idem* : add a rough estimate.

⁴⁰ A high school is already mentioned in the first report.

development of colonial and imperial universities started during the mid 19th Century. In 1857, the British created three “Presidency colleges” in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. The French joined this movement slower and later: they firstly created higher schools then merged to form a university, as for the Algier University created in 1909 from the pre-existing medical and law schools⁴¹.

When the Japanese report is published, Vietnam – and by extension, the whole Indochinese peninsula – and Korea have no university at all. This shared characteristic leads to a deeper assessment: they both encountered unsuccessful experiments in the recent past. In Vietnam, the *Université indochinoise* – Indochinese University – was inaugurated in 1907 motivated by the General Governor at that time, Paul Beau. Buoyed by the success of the Hanoi Higher School of Medicine, created in 1902, and the Ecole Pavie for Chinese students, in 1905, Paul Beau considered a university as a mean of improvement of French influence in Asia. Thus, the 1906 foundation decree mentioned:

« A gathering of higher education courses for native students from the colony and from neighbouring countries is created in Indochina under the name “University”. This institution is aiming to spread in the Far East, especially by the use of the French language, the knowledge of European sciences and methods⁴².”

Five higher schools should have formed the university: Law and Administration, Sciences, Literature, Medicine and Civil Engineering. At its opening in 1907, they are only three, corresponding to the first quoted above. Despite this limited offer, many Vietnamese applied to join one of the schools and forty of them are admitted. But the university is closed in 1908, lacking of funding. Only the pre-existing higher schools remain opened, including the successful School of Medicine.

Concerning Korea, the case of the *Song Gyon Kuan* was already aforesaid. Modernised in the late 19th Century, it does not succeed in becoming a real university. Since the decree adopted on October 29th 1908, this classical Korean school has become a simple higher school, looking similar to a French “*Grande École*”⁴³. Indeed, it is not made of several faculties but proposed only one course of study, quite generalist, mixing elementary Law, mathematics, history, geography, Japanese language and Korean classics⁴⁴.

Even if these two examples underscore the failure of a higher education embodied by universities, they allow to highlight some other modern features as to higher schooling. Indeed, the organisation of competitive examinations at the end of the studies was typical in pre-colonial Korea and Vietnam. Passing the examination was the crowning achievement of a quite long educative curriculum while failed candidates had to choose other, and often less prestigious, careers. Colonial reforms show a tendency to invert this phenomenon. At the *Song Gyon Kuan* and in Indochinese higher schools, the competitive examination come first,

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⁴² « Il est institué en Indochine sous le nom d’Université, un ensemble de cours d’enseignement supérieur à l’usage des étudiants originaires de la Colonie et des pays voisins. Cette institution est destinée à répandre en Extrême-Orient, surtout par l’intermédiaire de la langue française, la connaissance des sciences et méthodes européennes. »

ANOM, GGI, record 2620 : *Université Indochinoise* : « arrêté du 16 mai 1906 ».

⁴³ Note to the author : definition ?

⁴⁴ ANOM, GGI, dossier 2655 : *op.cit.* : « 11. Le Song Gyun Koan ».

in order to join these schools. Successful applicants, by joining these schools and manifesting a serious behaviour during their studies, are quite sure to get a job according to their speciality.

Useful Education comes First

If higher education in Korea and Vietnam does not rely on universities, it does not prevent officials from reporting about “higher schools”. Here, the notion “further education” seems to be more adequate concerning the different existing schools in the two colonial lands. But what are the special features of these systems?

Table 1 – Compared Inventory of Further Native Education in Vietnam (Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin) and Korea in 1910, including the location of institutions [draft⁴⁵]

<u>Vietnam</u>	<u>Korea</u>
<i>Dedicated to native male students</i>	
Normal Schools (Saigon, Gia Dinh, Hanoi) and normal courses (Cochinchina, Hanoi, Nam Dinh)	Normal Schools (Séoul)
<i>École des Hâu Bô</i> ----- <i>Collège Quôc-Hoc</i> (Hué), Complementary School (former <i>collège des Interprètes</i> , Hanoi), Professional School Jules-Ferry (Nam Dinh)	<i>Song Gyun Koan</i> (Séoul) ----- Higher School
	School of Foreign Languages (Séoul)
	School of Japanese Language (Chemulpo, Pyingyang)
School of Medicine (Hanoi)	School of Medicine
Law Classes (Saigon, Hanoi)	Technical School of Law
Agricultural course for graduated students in some <i>collèges</i> . Agricultural <i>collège</i> in Hung-hon	School of Agriculture
	Technical Industrial School
Colonial Arts et Métiers School (Hanoi)	
School of Public Works	
Professional Schools (Hanoi, Ben Hoa, Saigon, Ba Ria, Cao Bang) Practical Schools for Asian Mechanics (Saigon)	
Training Schools (Nam Dinh)	
Schools of Art School (Hanoi)	
Art School (Thu Dau Mot)	

First of all, further education is dedicated to the training of subalterns. They are designed to work for the administration or for other businesses but only at a lower grade. In

⁴⁵ Tables 1, 4 and 5 have been made by the author: it is based on the 1908 and 1909 *Reports for reforms and progress in Korea* and on a synthesis of several publications about school in Indochina.

the 1909 Report, it is stated that the higher school⁴⁶ is “even more looked at by Koreans since it opens the gates of subaltern positions in the Korean Government’s Civil Service⁴⁷.” The same conclusion is made concerning the *Song Gyun Koan*. Korean schools bring a limited offer to Koreans concerning their professional careers, restrained to auxiliary positions.

In Vietnam, the “franco-indigenous” system is divided into three steps: preparatory schools, elementary schools and complementary schools. The latter matches Korean “higher school”, proposing through some *collèges* and schools to train subalterns:

“[In Cochinchina, the My-Tho *collège* and the *collège Chasseloup-Laubat* in Saigon] are preparing secretaries, agents for different administrations, commercial employees, etc. The same teaching is embodied as in the Gia Dinh normal school, dedicated to future indigenous teachers by French professors.

(...)

The Tonkin complementary schools include two *collèges*: the *collège des Interprètes* in Hanoi, giving employees for different administrations and businesses and the *collège Jules Ferry* in Nam Dinh, training agents for the technical services : Post offices, Public Works, Railways, etc...” .

(...)

“[In Annam], complementary education is embodied by the *collège Quôc-Hoc*, in Hué, training employees for the Administration and which is additionally welcoming, in its graduated class, future mandarins wishing to acquire notions in sciences and French. (...) The *collège Quôc-Hoc* was reformed; (...)”⁴⁸ ”

Compared to the metropolitan school system, franco-indigenous complementary schools are equivalent to higher primary education (“*enseignement primaire supérieur*”). It is not really higher education but post-primary education including a professionalising dimension. It strengthens the notion of “further education” and points out common features with the Korean higher school.

It must not be confused with professional education, taught not in *collège* or complementary schools but in so-called “higher schools”. Professional institutions may be quite close to technical schools in Korea but focus more on crafts by training carpenters and blacksmiths for instance⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ In the French translation of the report, this school is called « École supérieure ». Thus, it seems to match higher education as an institution embodying post-secondary degrees – as the *École supérieure de Médecine* founded in 1902 in Hanoi.

But we can question the value and quality of the translation. In the 1908 Report, only a “high school”, closer to the French *collège* and *lycée* is mentioned. The general course described in the second report tips the scales in a secondary institution’s favour.

It might have been confusing for the French officials reading the translated report, not knowing if this schools belongs to higher education or to an equivalence of the Indochinese complementary level.

⁴⁷ ANOM, GGI, record 2655 : *op.cit.* : « 10. Ecole supérieure »

⁴⁸ « L’Instruction publique des indigènes en Indo-Chine » in *La Dépêche Coloniale Illustrée*, n° 9, 8th Year, May 15th 1908, p. 132-144.

⁴⁹ The Korean reports studied here do not describe the Korean technical school. So, this comparison is only hypothetical.

The Japanese and the French colonial officials seem to share similar goals: native studies have to be useful. They must serve the colonial work. The existence of schools of medicine in both studied territories confirms that⁵⁰. Medical doctors help improving the natives' standards of living. A healthy population works more and so is more inclined to develop and to increase the wealth of its land.

Some differences must be pointed out too: agricultural teaching is more developed in Korea than in French Indochina through the existence of a specific technical school. In Vietnam, it is integrated in complementary teaching. The Japanese were considering Korea as a breadbasket as to rice and other agricultural products⁵¹. When "progress" is mentioned in the different reports' title, it understates – among others – agricultural progress, i.e. agricultural training and modernisation in order to improve productivity. Proximity between Japan and Korea also reinforces that interest in benefiting from Korean agriculture. On the French side, traditional arts and crafts are enhanced with a School of Applied Arts in Hanoi and the Thủ Dầu Một Art School. European tastes and interests in Asian art, linked to orientalism, the role of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* within the Indochinese peninsula and the choice of an adaptation policy, preserving some parts of traditional cultures, partly explains this. The Japanese look on Korean culture in a different way. They promote cultural assimilation, diminishing the Chinese classical legacy in favour of Japanese culture. Korea is looked at as the member of at the same cultural sphere. Under these circumstances, developing traditional art schools seems counterproductive.

"Higher" or – more realistically – "further" education contents a professionalising stake in Korea and in Vietnam as to native students. However, the possibility of joining real higher education institutions is conceivable through imperial mobility.

Higher Education through Imperial Mobility

The superiority of Japan-based education is totally assumed by the General Resident in its 1909 report: "An education superior to the one given in Korea is provided for Koreans going to Japan⁵²." As a consequence, Korean scholars are sent to Japan from 1906. They are selected, funded and supervised by the Government, thanks to a Delegate from the Department of Public Instruction living at the Korean legation in Tokyo.

Imperial mobility concerning higher education is not a Japanese innovation. During the second half of the 19th Century, some Vietnamese have been to France in order to enhance their education. These first flows are generally organised under French administrative control. In 1869, a few Cochinchinese are sent to France to join normal schools as to become *à la française* teachers in their native land⁵³. Officials from Annam demonstrate the will to send some of their compatriots for a metropolitan training too: in 1880, the Vietnamese minister in charge of foreign affairs Nguyễn văn Tường sent a letter to the French Resident in Hué in

⁵⁰ The Indochinese School of Medicine was founded in 1902 in Hanoi, after a few debates about its location. Before that, a dozen of native doctors have been already trained in the Choquan hospital since 1882.

⁵¹ W.G. Beasley, *Japanese imperialism (1894-1945)*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987.

⁵² ANOM, GGI, record 2655 : *op.cit.* : "12. Étudiants coréens au Japon".

⁵³ Pascale Bezançon, *Une colonisation éducatrice ? op.cit.*

order to ask him about the sending of Vietnamese students to French universities⁵⁴. Later, French stays are organised via the *École Coloniale* in Paris for some young Indochinese men⁵⁵. Student mobility exceeds metropolis-colony connections when a little number of students goes to other colonies, especially Algeria.

This quite old phenomenon is one of the “hot issues” during Antony Klobukowski’s General Government. It explains its interest concerning Korea-Japan circulations. Indeed, since he became the General Governor of Indochina, Klobukowski has distinguished himself and its policy by his will of control and supervision of imperial student mobility. In 1908, during an official visit at the *École coloniale*, he suggests to choose himself the beneficiaries of scholarships at that school⁵⁶. The following year, he agrees with the Superior Resident in Tonkin’s reformation project concerning the *Mission permanente indochinoise en France* – the Permanent Indochinese Mission in France – which was giving unsatisfactory results since its creation in 1906⁵⁷. Some students are directly chosen in three different schools established in Tonkin: the School of Medicine, the Professional School and the *Collège du Protectorat*, all three located in Hanoi. They are sent to specific schools:

Table 2 – Institutions attended by the students sent to France as planned by the “Mission permanente indochinoise en France”, 1909⁵⁸

Institution in Indochina (Hanoi)	Institution in France	Number of selected students
School of Medicine	Faculty of Medicine – Paris	3 (Students or already practising medical doctors)
Professional School	Provincial professional schools : Voiron (silk specialisation) / Armentières / Vierzon / Nantes	3
<i>Collège du Protectorat</i>	Preparatory school in Paris or in Paris’ area Then <i>Arts et Métiers</i> School in Lille or Châlons s/Marne	10 (Holders of a “franco-indigenous” certificate for primary education)

⁵⁴ Trinh van Thao, *L'école française, op.cit.*

⁵⁵ This mobility does not only concern the Vietnamese in French Indochina: Cambodian students are also concerned. For instance, the *École coloniale* was first a school dedicated to the training of Cambodian auxiliary administrators. They were led to France by Auguste Pavie during a so-called *Mission Cambodgienne* that arrived in Paris on December 1885.

Sara Legrandjacques, *Les mobilités étudiantes en Asie. L'Indochine entre logique impériale et situation régionale (1880-1945)*, Unpublished Master’s degree Essay, University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2015.

⁵⁶ ANOM, Ecole coloniale, carton 30, dossier 10 : *demande de bourse de l'élève Do Van Lien du lycée de Marseille pour admission à l'Ecole coloniale, 1908-1909.*

⁵⁷ ANOM, GGI, dossier 2564 : *Médecins indigènes envoyés en France à l'effet de perfectionner leur instruction médicale* : « Rapport à M. le gouverneur général de l'Indochine de J. Morel, 25 mars 1909 ».

⁵⁸ ANOM, GGI, record 2564 : *Médecins indigènes envoyés en France à l'effet de perfectionner leur instruction médicale* : « Rapport à M. le gouverneur général de l'Indochine de Julien Morel, 25 mars 1909.

	Then – for the more gifted among them: Central School for Arts and Manufactures in Paris after a one-year preparatory class.	
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The report on Korea, by focusing on this issue at the Japanese empire's scale, can be used as a reserve of ideas potentially practicable in Indochina but also permits comparison.

Table 3 – Repartition of Korean Students in Japan (December 1908)⁵⁹

	Law - Political Economy	Normal schools - Literature	Agriculture - Commerce - Industry	Military training	Medicine	Elementary Schools	<u>Total</u>
Students sent by the Government	12	8	20	1	2	3	46
Students sent by the Imperial House	6	/	2	/	3	/	11
Students with a governmental help	8	/	8	1	3	8	27
<u>Total</u>	25	8	30	2	8	11	84

The Korean Government provides a wider range of higher education institutions to its students. Agricultural, commercial and industrial training comes first, reinforcing the link between studies and progress through a useful use of acquired knowledge. If industry is also important for the French mission – through professional schools and *Arts et Métiers* – the same analysis concerning agriculture is to be made as for further education in Korea and Vietnam. The most striking difference lays on Law studies. They are totally avoided by French officials, considered as dangerous because of the seditious – anti-colonial – ideas they can lead to:

“In my opinion, conscientious and instructed native doctors, based in the most populated provincial centres can really, help out their compatriots that sometimes hesitate in appealing to French doctors, whom are not numerous enough in order to respond to the whole needs of the Natives.

On the contrary, I do not think it is suitable to facilitate the access to Law faculties for the young Annamites. The natives have a too developed taste for bickering ; it may not be encouraged.⁶⁰”

⁵⁹ Based on : ANOM, GGI, dossier 2655 : *op.cit.* : “12. Étudiants coréens au Japon : Tableau de repartition des étudiants coréens au Japon”

⁶⁰ « Des médecins indigènes, consciencieux et instruits, installés dans les centres les plus populeux des provinces rendraient, je crois, de réels services à leurs compatriotes, qui hésitent parfois à recourir aux médecins français, lesquels d'ailleurs, ne sont pas assez nombreux pour répondre à tous les besoins de la population indigène.

Par contre, je ne crois qu'il convienne de faciliter aux jeunes Annamites l'accès de nos facultés de droit. Le goût de la chicane n'est que trop développé dans la population indigène ; il ne semble pas qu'il y ait lieu de l'encourager »

ANOM, GGI, record 2567 : *Demande de renseignements par M. Fourès, directeur administratif*

If military training remains a Japanese specificity, figures concerning medical training are consequently quite similar : 9 Korean students are mentioned in the Resident's table for three Indochinese mentioned in official reports. But only two Koreans benefit from direct Governmental help.

Moreover, some students join French normal schools in France without the support of the *Mission permanente*. Administrations are aware of this presence of other students. That is why the October 30th 1908 decree has established rules as to the departure of Indochinese students for French schools and universities. It created a "Group for Indochinese education in France"⁶¹. It mostly concerns scholarships holders. It aims to centralise the supervision of Indochinese pupils and students in France: as in Japan, colonial subjects are also joining elementary and secondary schools⁶².

The Japanese and the French are both willing to control imperial mobility. But the different used materials underline difficulties about this supervision. On the Korea-Japan side, the figures given are contradictory: "Actually, there are 32 Korean students in Japan (...)" the General Resident firstly explain. Then, he gives higher figures – 84 students in total according to the table – concerning their repartition in December 1908. Its statements lacks intelligibility: was there a decrease between December 1908 and the time he wrote the report in late 1909 ? In fact, it underscores the difficulty of supervising colonial students joining the metropolitan land. The same conclusion is to be made concerning the Indochinese students : in 1911, a reports mention 16 students under the control of the *Groupe de l'enseignement indochinois en France* while another quotes 35.

Moreover, "free" students are taken into consideration by the two colonial powers: "(...) hundreds of young individuals went there on their own⁶³" the Japanese official explains. In France and in Indochina, free students are a real matter of concern.

"Colonial Minorities" and Higher Education

Two different minorities are quoted in the 1909 report: the Japanese students, embodying Japanese imperialism, and the women.

Schools dedicated to the Japanese are mentioned in a specific and separate part of the official file. This phenomenon is not new: fourteen schools existed before the creation of the General Residency in February 1906, managed by Japanese colonial municipalities⁶⁴. In 1909, there are 76 schools for 9925 pupils and students. It reflects the demographic weight of the Japanese in Korea. This territory becomes a settlement colony for Japan during the first

du Groupe de l'enseignement indochinois : courrier du lieutenant-gouverneur de la Cochinchine au gouverneur général de l'Indochine, 12 mai 1909.

⁶¹ « *Groupe de l'Enseignement indochinois en France* »

ANOM, GGI, record 6639 : *Création d'un groupe de l'enseignement indochinois en France* : « Courrier de M. le gouverneur général de l'Indochine à M. le ministre des Colonies, April 12th 1909.

⁶² Some Indochinese pupils had to join secondary school to obtain the *baccalauréat* in order to be able to apply for a university.

⁶³ ANOM, GGI, record 2655: *op.cit.* : "12. Étudiants coréens au Japon".

⁶⁴ ANOM, GGI, record 2655: *op.cit.* : "13. Écoles japonaises en Corée".

decade of the 20th Century. In 1910, there are 170 thousand Japanese in Korea. But this weight has to be shaded because Japanese students represent only less than one-third of the student body in Korea. However, it does not dwindle the Japanese interest in its settlers. In 1908, an “Oriental Development Company” is created in order to help the establishment of the Japanese⁶⁵. The company buys and rents lands for them but others deal with education too as the “Oriental Association of Tokyo” mentioned in the report. It funds the *Tokyo Kyokai Senmon Gakko*, the higher school of the Tokyo Company which has a branch in Korea⁶⁶. Courses focus on development through industry and agriculture. Many Japanese in Korea are farmers mais some are traders too: that can explain the foundation of a Japanese commercial school in Fusan.

This assessment is very different from the Indochinese case. The only possible common features between these two territories may be the attendance to higher schools and universities in Japan by the settlers. Indochina is not a settler colony but an operating colony. The French represents a small part of the population in the colony. As soon as 1895, M. Chéon’s report underlines that French education hardly exists, “perhaps owing to a shortage of pupils and because of the extreme youth of those who live in the colony⁶⁷.” Some French primary and secondary schools exist during the first decade of the 20th Century but after that, the French students have to go back to the metropolis in order to get higher degrees. This is not explained by the lack of university: after its reopening in 1917, it is still dedicated to Indochinese students and the French are few in Hanoi higher education institutions. This different use of colonies can explain the gap between education for French and Japanese in Korea and Vietnam, highlighted in table 4:

Table 4 – Compared Inventory of Further Settler Education in Vietnam (Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin) and Korea in 1910, including the location of institutions

<i>Dedicated to imperial students</i>	
<u>Vietnam</u>	<u>Korea</u>
X	Japanese School of Commerce (Fusan)
X	<i>Tokyo Kyokai Senmon Gakko</i> ‘s School (Séoul)

The second reported minority is embodied by female students. A few institutions are dedicated to them. In Vietnam, we can mainly mention midwives training in Hanoi and Saigon⁶⁸. Here, it only concerns native women and crafts are once more highlighted. In Korea, the same separation as for males is done among higher schools:

Table 5 – Compared Inventory of Further Female Education in Vietnam (Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin) and Korea in 1910, including the location of institutions

<i>Dedicated to native female students</i>	
Midwives course at the School of Medicine (Saigon, Hanoi)	Higher School for Girls

⁶⁵ W.G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism (1894-1945)*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1987.

⁶⁶ ANOM, GGI, record 2655: *op.cit* : “13. Écoles japonaises en Corée”.

⁶⁷ ANOM, GGI, dossier 23730 : *op.cit*.

⁶⁸ For instance, there were fourteen women training as midwives in 1904 in Saigon. *Annuaire générale de l’Indo-Chine française*, 1906. Available online : <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5696191z/f265.image.r=%22sages-femmes%22>

X	Higher Schools for Japanese Girls (Fusan, Séoul, Chemulpo)
School for Annamite lacemanager and embroiderer (Hanoi)	

The Japanese Resident regrets that “oriental ideas favoured male education⁶⁹” among the Koreans. Here, gender disparities are shown as a lack of modernity. Thus, only the missionaries have tried to change this tendency before the Japanese. The latter opened a female higher school in 1908, receiving sixty pupils for course quite similar to young men’s. But a course in “European sewing” and in music is added. In addition, separated classes are developing in public schools that, later, would be able to supply female higher schools with applicants.

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Through the report received by Antony Klobukowski, Korea displays common features with colonial Vietnam concerning education. Despite arguments based on a civilising or modernising mission, a gap between colonizers and natives is noticed. The first benefit from a higher-level school system. They are able to undertake more “theoretical” and in-depth studies – without any restriction – and generally join universities in the metropolis to complete their degrees. On the locals’ side, education has to be useful. The emphasis is on professional and technical training after a few years of elementary – and so, more generalist – studies. Native education must help reaching development and progress. If imperial schools and universities can be enrolled by them, it is under supervision or at least, under many attempts of colonial supervision. It does not mean that colonised peoples are not interested in studying. They join teaching institutions and figures are likely to increase. But it must not hide dissent and criticisms toward colonial education. Dissenters are targeted several times in the report on Korea. Thus, the government tries to control private schools because some of them have “other designs” than education and try to organise “political agitation against the Japanese protectorate and the new regime”. The publication of seditious schoolbooks is condemned and restrictive regulations are adopted⁷⁰ while official schoolbooks are first free in order to easily diffuse a Japanese propaganda. Contestation exists through teaching societies created by natives. They are accused of dissimulating political discussions under a stated wish to participate in the development of education. This Japanese denunciation echoes some similar experiments in Vietnam. The *Duy Tân* association is at the root of schools’ foundations, among other activities. Some of its members create the Society for the Modernisation of Annam in 1906 on the basis of its 1904 draft. The nationalist leader Phan Bội Châu takes part in that

⁶⁹ ANOM, GGI, record 2655: *op.cit.* : “6. Education des filles”.

⁷⁰ The 17-articles imperial ordinance is mentioned, adopted on August 26th 1908. Private schools are now bound to the Department of Public Instruction. ANOM, GGI, dossier 2655 : *op.cit.* : « 1. Écoles privées ».

idea, leading Vietnamese students in Japan⁷¹. If in 1910, this movement towards Japanese universities was suppressed by a French-Japanese collaboration, it can be considered as one explanation of the French interest in Japanese education, interest whose evolution may now be studied for the decade 1910, starting with the annexation of Korea.

Annex 1 – Structures of the Education chapters in the 1st and 2nd Annual Reports on Reform and Progress in Korea, published in 1908 and 1909.

<u>1st Report</u>	<u>2nd Report</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Education in Korea 2. Common Schools 3. Normal Schools 4. Other Government Schools 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Private Schools 2. Funds to Private Schools 3. Educational Societies 4. Schoolbooks published by the Government 5. Schoolbooks published by independents 6. Female Education 7. Development of Public Schools 8. Schools of Foreign Languages 9. Higher school 10. <i>Song Gyun Koan</i> 11. Korean Students in Japan 12. Japanese Schools in Korea

⁷¹ « Colloque international : Duy Tân, « modernisation », au Vietnam dans la première décennie du XXe siècle. Aix-en-Provence, 3-5 mai 2007 » in *Moussons* [en ligne], 13-14, 2009 : <http://moussons.revues.org/1124>.