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DR. FRANCIS W. SCHOFIELD AND KOREA

by

Doretha E. Mortimore

A Specialist Project
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Specialist in Arts Degree

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Doretha E. Mortimore
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INTRODUCTION

On April 17, 1960, a celebrated friend of Korea was buried -- amid great pomp and ceremony -- in that plot of the National Cemetery outside Seoul reserved for heroes of Korean history. Not only is it unusual that a Westerner be buried in a Korean national cemetery but that he is interred in such hallowed and sanctified ground is truly extraordinary. The man so honored had been awarded the Order of Merit of the Republic of Korea and is known as the "Thirty-Fourth Participant" in the Samil undong, or, March First Movement; his name was Dr. Francis ("Frank") W. Schofield. For what reasons was this man so greatly honored by the Korean people? Why and how did he become the "Thirty-Fourth Participant" in the March First Movement?

The years of Japanese colonial rule in Korea (1910-1945) -- especially those months before and after Korea's nation-wide demonstrations for independence in 1919 -- were an extremely difficult period for the foreign missionary community. Arthur Judson Brown, in his 1901 work, Report of a Visitation to the Korea Mission, described as follows missionary attitudes toward the political concerns of their converts -- Korean Christians:

The missionaries believe, with the Boards at home, that all respect should be paid to the lawfully constituted civil authorities, but special care should be observed not to needlessly embarrass them, that the laws of the land should be obeyed and that it is better for disciples of Christ to patiently endure some injustice than to carry Christianity in antagonism to the government under which they labor.
In his book published in 1929 and entitled The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, Dr. George L. Paek — an eminent historian of the growth and development of Christianity in Korea — wrote: "With the exception of a few partisans, this (a policy of strict neutrality in the political affairs of Korea) became the policy of the missionaries." He further stated that, if Koreans came to the foreign missionary community for advice, "The missionaries, perforce, had to assume an attitude of neutrality."

Frank Baldwin, in a more recent study of missionaries in Korea — particularly with respect to the March First Movement in 1919 — states: "Skeptical of the official policy of assimilation and Korean pretentions to independence, the missionaries adopted a neutral position and devoted themselves to the more pressing needs of education, health and spiritual salvation."

Frank Schofield was a valiant exception to the neutral position assumed by the foreign missionary community in Korea. While other missionaries maintained either a neutral stance, became pro-Japanese, or merely remained silent and passive, Schofield courageously supported the Korean people. With few other contemporaries, Frank Schofield realized and fervently believed in the social responsibility and concrete application of Christianity. At a crucial time in their history, when Koreans very much needed fearless friends, Schofield proved by word and deed that the teachings of Christ were not merely empty phrases; when approached for assistance, he complied — proving that in Christianity there can exist a brotherhood which stands for justice,
righteousness and peace. For Dr. Schofield — reared in a devout Christian home, himself a "practicing" Christian, and keenly aware of, and sympathetic with, the oppressed and downtrodden — there was no other choice of action. As a man embued with a high sense of justice, morality and compassion, a neutral, passive position was unthinkable.

This paper will attempt to document Dr. Schofield's lifelong support of Korean independence and integrity — explaining how and why he became one of the most influential foreigners in modern Korean history.
CHAPTER I
JAPAN'S ANNEXATION OF KOREA
AND THE KOREAN MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Korea being an independent state enjoys the same sovereign rights as does Japan.
Korea-Japan Treaty, 1876

The Imperial Government of Japan guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire.
Japan-Korea Protocol, 1904

The Imperial Government of Korea shall transfer and assign the control and administration of Post-Telegraph-Telephone service in Korea to the Japanese Government.
Japan-Korea Agreement, April, 1905

The Government of Japan will hereafter have control of the external affairs and relations of Korea.
Japan-Korea Agreement, November 17, 1905

The Government of Korea shall act under the guidance of the Resident General of Japan in respect to reforms in administration.
New Agreement, 1907

The Emperor of Korea to make complete and permanent cession to the Emperor of Japan of all rights and sovereignty over the whole of Korea.
Treaty of Annexation, 1910

Japan has always kept her pledged word.
Baron Makino

Undoubtedly, Korea's thirty-five year heritage of Japanese colonial rule shaped significantly later development as a modern state. A most crucial experience of this earlier period was the independence movement which culminated in wide-spread demonstrations. The Korean

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1Schofield, Francis W., "The Unquenchable Fire." (Unpublished manuscript in the collection of Mr. George I. Cardinal, Breslau, Ontario Canada), p. i.
people yet today look with justifiable pride on the year 1919 when, in national unity, they waged a valiant struggle for their independence from Japan. In order that the reader more fully appreciate the importance Koreans attach to Dr. Schofield's role during 1919, a brief history of Korea's annexation by Japan and emergence of the independence movement follows.

The Treaty of Annexation signed by representatives of Japan and Korea on 22 August 1910, marked the culmination of Japan's long-standing desire to dominate and control the peninsula. Near the close of the 19th century, Japan was rapidly emerging as one of the world's most powerful nations. The justifications for obtaining — through fair means or foul — control over Korea were varied: Korea was a natural pathway for Japanese expansion into, and ultimate control over, China; Korea provided a sizeable buffer to protect the home islands from possible Russian and/or Chinese attack upon Japan itself; Korea was a bountiful granary able to provide Japan's growing population with much needed food; the peninsula offered nearly limitless possibilities for expansion and development of Japan's economy; annexation of Korea would considerably enhance Japan's international prestige. Though there were certainly many other justifications for Japan's policy of annexation, these were by far the most often cited and widely shared among those Japanese favoring control of Korea; one justification competed with others for prominence as Japan's external

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Korea specialists still debate whether Japan had an over-all grand design to annex Korea — which she proceeded to implement toward the end of the 19th century — or whether she simply took advantage of unfolding events to promote her short-term interests.
relations and internal conditions changed through time.

The ensuing drama was to unfold upon a stage dominated by three main actors: China — to which Korea for centuries had paid tribute as a vassal state and which, until the close of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-95, regarded her interests in Korea as paramount; Russia — which attempted, after 1895, to fill the vacuum created by the Japanese eclipse of China and to checkmate an expansionistic Japan; and, Japan itself — bent upon domination. Korea played the role of *deux et machina* in this mounting conflict.

The first act opened on 26 February 1876, with the signing of a Treaty of Amity and Friendship between Japan and Korea. The Meiji government, responding to rebellion in the Kyushu fief led by Eto Shimpei, leader of the "United Conquer-Korea Party" — as well as other domestic problems — attempted to open relations with Korea through regular diplomatic channels. The failure of this attempt led to more drastic action. In mid-September, 1876, the Japanese Warship *Un'yō* appeared off Kanghwa Island (not too far from the capitol city of Seoul) provoking Koreans to hostile action. Subsequent demands for an official apology and reparations resulted in the treaty of 1876. This treaty, which provided for the opening to Japan of three Korean ports and concession of extra-territorial rights, was followed by a trade agreement in August of that year. Although in both documents Japan recognized Korea's sovereignty, her subsequent actions and rapidly expanding commercial ventures soon created well-founded suspicions among Chinese leaders. Further, with signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and Korea in 1882, antagonism
was intensified between conservative and progressive elements in Korea. Factional conflict within Korea during the following critical years was to prevent unified and coordinated resistance to Japanese initiatives and thus contributed to the kingdom's demise as an independent political entity.

Shortly after concluding the Treaty of Kanghwa, a group of Korean soldiers — desiring better food and pay — staged in 1882 a rebellion in Seoul. During the ensuing melee, the Japanese legation was attacked, property destroyed, and lives lost. Further, the Taewon'gun (Prince Regent) — long resenting the influence at court of Queen Min and her clan — took advantage of the soldiers' mutiny and attempted to reassert the influence of the Yi clan — to which he and the young King belonged. One result of the soldiers' rebellion — known as the Soldiers' Mutiny of the Year of Im'o — was to foster a direct confrontation between China and Japan. Chinese troops quickly crushed the Taewon'gun and his party; the deposed (anti-foreign) Regent was taken captive to China. Learning of this Chinese action and the destruction of Japanese property, General Yamagata Aritomo and Foreign Minister Inoue Kaoru instructed the Japanese Minister to Korea — Hanabusa Yoshitake — to demand an official apology, reparations and other concessions from the Korean court. China, unwilling to risk war with Japan at this time, advised the Koreans to acquiesce. In the meantime China dispatched a host of domestic and military advisers to Korea, hoping thereby to further entrench their control.

While matters for a time seemed relatively stable, renewed conflict between progressive and conservative Korean factions was to
again endanger the delicate balance of influence. Young progressive Korean reformers such as Pak Yong-hyo, Kim Ok-kyun, and So Kwang-bom joined in the formation of the Tongniprang (Party of Independence), dedicated to the economic and educational development of Korea as well as the cause of social and cultural reform. Their activities, however, soon precipitated a confrontation with Korean conservatives led by Queen Min and her nephew, Min Yong-ik. This struggle for power resulted in a coup d'etat on 4 December 1884.

Involvement of the Japanese foreign minister and troops on behalf of the progressive faction resulted in destruction of Japanese property and the loss of a few lives at the hands of conservatives. Foreign Minister Inoue traveled to Seoul and presented demands for additional concessions to the Korean court — again dominated by Queen Min. Still unwilling to risk war, Li Hung-chang, de facto foreign minister to Korea from China, again advised capitulation. Thus, the Protocol of Seoul was signed on 9 January 1885, providing for reparations, an official apology, reconstruction of the Japanese legation building — among other concessions.

As a result of the Kapsin Chŏngbyŏn, or Political Disturbance of 1884, diplomatic negotiations were carried out between China and Japan resulting in the Treaty of Tientsin concluded on 18 April 1885 and signed by Li Hung-chang and Ito Hirobumi. While providing for the removal of Chinese and Japanese troops stationed in the peninsula, and prohibiting the assignment of military advisers to the Korean court, the most important article — in terms of Korea's future — stipulated that in the event either party should dispatch troops to Korea,
notification would be given the other.

This new stalemate lasted only until China's political and economic influence in Korea threatened Japan's expanding commercial interests. Meanwhile, growing anti-Japanese sentiment among the Korean people alarmed the Tokyo government. When the so-called "bean controversy" arose, the Japanese government did not hesitate to take action against both the recalcitrant Koreans and the Chinese, the latter continuing their efforts to extend political control over Korean affairs. (The "bean controversy" occurred in 1889 as a result of the Hanyōng Province Governor's ban of grain exports to Japan. While the quantity of grain involved was of little importance to Japan, the incident was exploited by Tokyo as a diplomatic cause célèbre in an effort to quell the rising tide of anti-Japanese sentiment in Korea.)

The Tonghak^3 Uprising in 1894, and the subsequent dispatch of Chinese troops to Korea, resulted in open warfare between China and Japan — marking the beginning of an even more aggressive Korea policy in Japan. Embroiled in factional disputes and intrigues, the Korean monarchy had given but scant attention to the mass of Korean people and their plight. Responding to impoverished conditions among the people, the Tonghaks preached a new and better life. When the Tonghak leader, Ch'oe Che-u, was captured and executed by the government, large numbers of the sect — led by Ch'ŏn Pong-jun — rose in arms. As rebels threatened capture of the capitol city, an urgent plea for military assistance was sent to Peking. Responding to their vassal's

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3The Tonghaks were a religious sect which advocated "Eastern Learning;" their name was later changed to Ch'ŏndogyo.
plea, the Chinese dispatched 1,500 soldiers and two warships; in conformance with the Treaty of Tientsin, a notice of this action was sent from Peking to Tokyo. Shortly thereafter a contingent of Japanese troops was dispatched to Korea.

The decision to commit troops was made amidst a growing conviction in Japan that Korea should become an integral part of the Japanese empire and that armed conflict would be necessary sooner or later to achieve this objective. This conviction was strengthened by the assassination of progressive leader Kim Ok-kyun in Shanghai on 14 March 1894.

Thus, on July 25th, the Japanese navy attacked and sank a Chinese warship in the Bay of Inch'on; the Sino-Japanese War had begun. Japanese troops quickly occupied the Royal Palace and pro-Japanese Koreans were placed in positions of authority. Inoue Kaoru—recently appointed Japanese Minister to Seoul—arrived and a series of measures, known as the Kap'o Reform, were instituted for the purpose of modernizing the machinery of government and economy. With Japan's victory in 1895, Chinese suzerainty in Korea ended.

The demise of the Korean kingdom might have been even more precipitous had it not been for the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France. Designed to check Japan's aggressiveness in East Asia, this intervention resulted in the decline — albeit briefly — of Japanese influence. During the next ten years, Russia moved to establish her preponderance and Russo-Japanese rivalry intensified.

The Japanese had themselves precipitated the pre-conditions for their waning power in Korea. Observing increased Russian interests
in Korea and the growth of anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans, Miura Gorō, then Japanese Minister to Seoul, took matters into his own hands and on 8 October 1895 was responsible for the assassination of Queen Min (who had since become pro-Russian); the King and Crown Prince were taken captive and a new pro-Japanese cabinet was installed. When in February, 1896, anti-Japanese Koreans — aided by Russian troops — rescued the King and his son and executed leading pro-Japanese cabinet members, Japan's star in Korea had indeed reached a nadir.

At this juncture a group of young Koreans concerned with the perilous state of their homeland organized Tongnip Hyophoe; The Association for National Independence, or, the Independence Club. Led by men such as Dr. Sŏ Chae-p'ii (Philip Jaisohn), Yi Sung-man (later Dr. Syngman Rhee) and Yun Ch'i-ho, the Club — until it was forced to dissolve in 1898 — carried out a valiant attempt to invigorate the Korean national spirit and cultivate new and progressive ideas and attitudes among their countrymen.

The Independence Club's attack on Russian policy in Korea, coupled with Russia's new Far Eastern Policy (the "Port Arthur Orientation"), paved the way for a reassertion of Japanese influence. By the Nishi-Rosen Agreement of 1898, Russia agreed not to interfere with Japanese commercial interests in Korea and both sides pledged recognition of Korea's sovereignty.

By the turn of the century the final act in this tragedy had begun. Proposing the policy of Man-Kan kōkan (Exchange Korea for Manchuria) — and encouraged by acceptance of the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance — Japan vigorously pressed for Russian acknowledgment of her
special interests in Korea. Her victory over Russia in 1905, coupled with tacit American acceptance of Japan's interest in Korea, embodied in the Taft-Katsura Memorandum (July, 1905), opened a clear path to Japan's expansionist urges. Further, by this time, considerable Japanese control over Korean affairs had been achieved: at the close of the Russo-Japanese War, the Korean court had authorized Japan to introduce improvements in Korea's administrative system; by a Protocol signed in August, 1904, the Korean government had agreed to accept Japanese financial and foreign affairs advisers; and, in April 1905, postal, telegraph and telephone services were placed under Japanese control. These measures inevitably led to the fateful conclusion of the Treaty of Protection dated 17 November 1905.

By this treaty, Japan obtained two important controls over Korean affairs: no international agreements could be concluded except through the offices of the Japanese; and, a Resident-General office was established "primarily" to direct Korea's diplomatic affairs. All other foreign legations were closed and internal peace was to be kept by Japanese troops and a police force attached to the Office of the Resident-General.

Though many Koreans protested this action, and some efforts were made at The Hague between 1905-07 to nullify this act, all efforts to contain Japanese influence in Korea proved futile. By early 1909, final decisions had been reached in Tokyo -- aided and abetted by the pro-Japanese Korean society Ilchinhoe -- calling for the complete merger of Japan and Korea. General Terauchi Masatake traveled to Seoul and presented a plan for annexation to the Korean monarch. When this
plan was refused, the King was taken prisoner in his own palace and the final curtain fell on Korean sovereignty with forced acceptance of the Treaty of Annexation on 22 August 1910. The Office of Resident-General was quickly changed to that of Government-General (Chōsen Sotōkufu) and the political, economic and social affairs of Korea placed under authority of that office. In July, 1910, General Terauchi Masatake⁴ became the first Japanese Governor-General of Korea.

That phase of Japanese rule in Korea with which we are most concerned here — 1910-1919 — was characterized by a wholesale revamping of political and administrative structures and the extension of Japanese control throughout the provinces. Such measures were based upon an over-all policy of cultural assimilation. Japan's ultimate goal was to eradicate any trace of Korean national consciousness, i.e., to make Koreans "Japanese." In order to carry out this policy, Governor-General Terauchi, aided by Akashi Motojirō, Chief of the Gendarmes, determined that force was the best means by which to achieve Japan's end and "... introduced oppressive measures into politics, industry, communications, and other phases of life to the extent that 'the entire Korean peninsula was turned into a military camp' and his 'extreme military dictatorship gave the impression that Korea had returned to the medieval authoritarian regime.'"⁵ Koreans

⁴All Governors-General of Korea were career military men -- seven generals and one admiral.

were deprived of all rights of political participation and association. Meetings, speeches and public gatherings of Koreans were prohibited. New legal codes, taxes and educational ordinances were promulgated. Newspapers were heavily censored and, at the slightest "indiscretion," closed down. Though armed resistance to Japanese actions did occur — particularly in the activities of the Righteous Armies (Uibyong) — by 1912 the Japanese had effectively brought an end to such resistance.

Thus, deprived of their independence, ruled by the iron hand of Japanese police, and discriminated against in all facets of life, a few Koreans began to organize in an effort to regain Korea's independence.

Renewed emphasis was given to the incipient independence movement with the outbreak of World War I. Early in 1915, Koreans in China and Manchuria organized the Korean Revolutionary Corps (Koryo Hyongmyong-dan) led by Pak Un-sik and Yi Tong-hwi. Believing Germany would be victorious, they hoped for a Sino-German alliance which would then attack and defeat Japan. Korea would join with the Allied nations and contribute to the defeat. In Japan, Shanghai, Hawaii and the United States, other Korean exiles formed independence associations.

A proximate basis for the decision to stage a nation-wide, peaceful demonstration for Korea's independence was the speech on 8 January 1918 by President Woodrow Wilson in which the doctrine of self-determination was enunciated. Koreans in the United States responded to what seemed an ideal opportunity for action and selected Syngman Rhee and Chong Han-gyong (Henry Chung) to represent Korea's cause at the Paris Peace Conference. This plan
failed, however, due to their inability to obtain passports. Meanwhile, Koreans in China — acting independently and encouraged by the positive support of Charles Crane (an unofficial representative of President Wilson) — drafted a declaration of independence and sent Kim Kyu-sik to Paris where he lobbied vigorously on behalf of his fellow countrymen.

Koreans were also active in Japan. Under the pen of Yi Kwang-su, a declaration of independence was drafted to be presented to the Japanese Diet, other prominent Japanese governmental officials, and foreign diplomats. Simultaneously, Song Ki-baek was dispatched to Seoul where he was instrumental in organizing the March First Movement.

Arriving in Seoul, Song discovered that some leaders of Ch'ŏndogyo were already contemplating an independence movement. Seeing the document which was to be publicly read in Tokyo on 8 February 1919, Ch'oe Nam-san, a student destined to become a prominent writer, joined the movement and indeed wrote a new Declaration of Independence which was approved and signed by thirty-three of the most prominent Korean independence leaders and read in Pagoda Park on March 1st. Further discussions between Song Ki-baek and Son Pyŏng-hi, leader of Ch'ŏndogyo, resulted in the decision to demonstrate on a national scale with cooperation from other religious groups — among them, Korean Christians.

On 22 January 1919, King Kojong suddenly died. Rumors circulated that he had been poisoned by the Japanese or that, out of humiliation arising from his inability to prevent Japan's seizure of Korea, he had committed suicide. Anti-Japanese sentiment flared anew throughout
Korea. Korean independence leaders immediately resolved to stage their demonstrations on March 1st — two days before the late King's funeral — as many Koreans would be gathered in Seoul for this occasion.

Various religious leaders — Ch'ondogyo, Buddhist and Christian — quickly notified their compatriots throughout the country of this intent. Plans were finalized by 28 February 1919 and 21,000 copies of the Declaration of Independence were printed for distribution. Finally, the leaders agreed to meet on 1 March 1919 at the Myongwoigwan (Bright Moon Restaurant) for a full reading of the Declaration; Yi Kap-sang was designated to present the document to the office of the Governor-General.
Independence Song

1.

The Voice of Korean Independence
Is the full heart's overflow;
Suppressed by force for ten long years
It overflows at last.
Life has returned, life has returned
To a land of Twenty Millions;
To a land of silent streams and mountains
Life has returned.

Chorus: Hurrah, Hurrah, Independence; Hurrah, Hurrah, Long Live Korea!

2.

The blood (in my veins) is Korean,
The bones (of my flesh) are Korean.
Both blood and bone Korean.
Brother we live, we live for Korea,
Whether we die, we die for Korea.
Everything for Korea.
This is a Song of Korea.
Sung by one though it may be,
It is a Song of all Korea,
Though it comes from one small voice.

Author unknown. Translated by Francis W. Schofield in "The Unquenchable Fire."
On 1 March 1919, the pent-up frustrations and anxiety of the Korean people finally erupted, launching what was to become known as the Samil undong, or March First Movement. The movement was touched off at dawn on March 1st when copies of a Manifesto drawn up and signed by the "National Congress" (the independence groups) was posted on the main street of Seoul. The Manifesto asserted that: the late King and Queen had been murdered — presumably by the Japanese or their agents — and urged all Koreans to avenge their deaths; that many small nations were seeking their independence as a result of President Wilson's enunciation of the principle of national self-determination; that Koreans abroad were appealing for independence at the Paris Peace Conference; and, that Koreans should join with their fellow countrymen and stage a mass demonstration for independence. Leaflets to this effect were posted throughout the city. While the Manifesto and leaflets were immediately discovered and confiscated by Japanese police, no indication was uncovered of the events planned for that afternoon.

At 2:00 p.m., twenty-nine of the thirty-three independence movement leaders (signatories to the Declaration of Independence) met according to prearrangement at the Bright Moon Restaurant for a formal reading of the document and to bid farewell in preparation for surrender to Japanese authorities. "Some of these men, feeling deeply responsible (for their country's plight) had spent several
hours daily during the previous weeks in prayer for guidance. Whether Christian or Heathen, a spirit of deep consecration filled both leaders and people." In essence, the Declaration which was read stated: Korea was an independent nation suffering under alien oppression; every Korean had a moral duty to work for his country's independence; and, a new era of world justice had dawned and Koreans must demonstrate their desire for, and ability to maintain, independence. ^

Meanwhile, Korean students were gathering in another part of the city to hear a reading of Korea's Declaration of Independence and to begin peaceful, nation-wide demonstrations for independence. Shortly before 2:00 p.m., Frank Schofield could be observed making his way toward the gates of Pagoda Park. Walking with a perceptible limp and aided by a cane, he seemed to be looking for a spot which would give him an unobstructed view of the activities. Finally selecting his vantage point, he began carefully checking over a camera slung around his neck. Occasionally, a student would stop his hurried entrance to the growing throng and speak with Dr. Schofield. Soon the groundswell of voices burst furth into a mighty cry of "MANSE!" and the crowd began pouring from the gates toward City Hall in the center of Seoul. As reported in the small student newspaper, Samil Ilbo, (March First News) "... these students rushed through the city streets

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6Schofield, Francis W., op. cit., p. 4.

7See Appendix A for full text of the Declaration.

8loc. cit., p. 5.
with tremendous energy, dancing and jumping as they went." Unable
to suppress the joy and hope he too felt, Schofield at one point
joined the students by raising his arms and voice in a cry "MANSE!"\(^9\)
The atmosphere of pride and hope which prevailed during these hours
was captured well by Samil Ilbo\(^10\) in an edition printed that day:
"Our people have thus proved not to be the mere dead ashes of dried
wood, nor fishes entangled in a net, nor birds confined within a
cage. If they were such, how could they have swept along the streets
with such courage and unity? The sound of "MANSE" grew louder and
louder by the minute until the time the crowds had reached the
crossroads at Chong-no (Big Bell Street) the very heaven and earth
were shaken with the sound thereof."

As the joyous, singing (see page 17 above) freedom demonstrators --
now nearing some 5,000 in number -- neared central Seoul, Dr. Schofield
could still be observed hurrying among the crowd, snapping pictures
and rushing from point-to-point in an effort to gain a better view.
Upon reaching central Seoul, the crowd split into three groups: one
group marched to the compound where the Emperor lay in state, cried
"MANSE!" and then returned to the streets; the second group went to
both the United States and French embassies where speeches were
delivered and shouts of "MANSE!" given; and the third set out for the
offices of the Japanese Government-General. With dispersion of the

\(^9\) Yi Ch'ang-nak, Uri ūi pot Suk'op'ildu (Our Friend of Korea,

\(^10\) loc. cit., p. 6.
main throng, Dr. Schofield returned to his quarters to develop his film and await news of the day's events.

While it was the intent of the movement's leaders to conduct a totally peaceful demonstration, and while their instructions were closely observed, violence did occur as the third group of marchers approached the Japanese residential area. Japanese police met the demonstrators and ordered them to disperse; when their order was not obeyed, the street was sealed off and in the ensuing attempt by Koreans to escape, police attacked with swords and sticks. This was the portent of even more vicious and brutal Japanese retaliation against the Korean people. Hearing of this event and many others which quickly followed, Frank Schofield became outraged and was inexorably drawn into the trials and tribulations of the Korean people which followed.

At this point an examination of Dr. Schofield's youth, education and early working years will aid in an understanding of his commitment to the plight of oppressed people in general and the Korean people in particular.
CHAPTER III
THE YOUNG SCHOFIELD AND HIS EDUCATION

Frank Schofield, christened "Francis William Schofield, Jr.," was born to Francis William Schofield and Minnie Hawkesford Riley Schofield on the 15th of March, 1889 in Rugby, Warwickshire, England. Frank, whose mother died only a few days following his birth, was the last of four children; he had a sister, Mary and two brothers, John and Steven. Two years after the death of his first wife, Francis Schofield, Sr. remarried -- a woman named Sophia -- and shortly thereafter moved to the small village of Baslow, Derbyshire, some one hundred kilometers north of Rugby. The elder Schofield had been an assistant master of mathematics at the Rugby Subordinate School and had taken a new post at Cliffe College in Baslow, an institution established to train departing missionaries. At his new post, Dr. Schofield, Sr., taught the New Testament and Greek.

In what was to have been a full-length autobiography written toward the end of his life, Dr. Schofield, Jr. wrote\textsuperscript{11} of his early life in Baslow as follows:

I was not a very intelligent child, and although nearly three years old, remember nothing of the life in Rugby. Baslow was one of the most beautiful little villages in the whole of England. All my dormant faculties suddenly awoke. I discovered that I had a father, mother, a sister and two brothers. After a proper introduction

\textsuperscript{11}Schofield, Francis W. "Dedication" (Unpublished papers, in the collection of Dr. Yi Yong-so, Seoul, Korea), p. 4.
during the next few months, I was looking at these strangers with a critical eye. . . . On my stepmother I reserve judgment. There was little happiness and less affection; I could not understand why on some days she was weak and unable to walk and had to be taken out in a 'bath chair'. I enjoyed the pushing behind more than she enjoyed the steering in front.

From early childhood, a deep, abiding bond of respect, friendship, admiration, and love grew between father and son. More than any other person, Francis William Schofield, Sr. made an indelible mark on the growth and development of his youngest son. Dr. Schofield, Jr., wrote of his father, quoting again from the unfinished autobiography:

At an early age I came to have deep respect for my father. He had left Rugby school for a much more difficult position, to be a tutor in a missionary training college which was about two miles away from our house in Baslow. He was not able to be a missionary, so had decided to train others. It was his attitude towards people, which often surprised and attracted me. With my father there were no yangban (Korean gentry class) and no coolies. All men were potentially the children of God, and by his gentle and loving behavior he was going to help them discover this great truth. As we did not live on the main highway, beggars or tramps rarely knocked on the door asking for money or food. If my father was at home, the beggar would be invited to come in, given a chair, while food — usually rice pudding with a cup of tea — was being prepared. We had only three silver spoons, and I noticed that one of these was placed on the plate. After the beggar had finished eating, my father would sit beside him, asking in a sympathetic way about the tragic circumstances which had caused him to become a beggar. The conversation over, he would kneel down beside him, offer a simple prayer, then taking the man to the door said, 'Goodbye and may God bless you.'

12 Ibid.
Later I was taught about the sacredness of personality. Every man was an end in himself and must never be exploited, or used wrongly, to advance the selfish ends or ambitions of others. I was a difficult boy, loving sport more than study, but in my father I had seen a superior way of life, and deep down in my soul I had decided to live a life like him, and in the end a man must obey the command which lies within him, or abandon himself to spiritual desolation and death. His influence has never diminished. In later years, on his birthday, I usually sent a letter making it clear that I was following in his footsteps, but although a long way behind, I had no intention of turning to either the right hand or the left. To this brief account I should have added that my father was a happy man, often singing those great hymns of the church, which either glorified God, or were saturated with the gospel story.

In addition to his Christian and humanitarian commitments, Schofield Senior also exercised strict discipline. As Baslow was without an elementary school, young Francis entered — at the age of six — a private school several kilometers from his home in Bakewell known as Lady Manor's School. Life for the young boy was not easy; Francis walked the long distance to and from school every day and, in addition, was required to help with a multitude of chores at home.

Though Frank Jr. had a rigorous and stern upbringing, his life was not entirely without the pleasures of youth. He was a lover of sports and indeed excelled in a wide variety of games and was viewed as a leader by his young friends. He was also quite a prankster, and to the chagrin of the Schofields and many of their neighbors became famous for such sports as climbing up roofs and rolling stones down chimneys, throwing mud at drying clothes, and dropping virile young male tomcats in among a neighbor's virginal
female cats. Later in life, while revisiting his childhood home, Dr. Schofield came upon an old woman to whom he had given much trouble as a child. Addressing her on the street, he said, "I am Schofield." The elderly woman at first did not respond to his introduction, so Dr. Schofield said, "Impish Frank is here ma'am." She then raised her eyes and said, "What, Francis?! Is such a bad boy still alive?" 13

At the age of eight, Frank met a young man who was to make a lasting impression upon him. On a summer evening in 1897, this young man visited the elder Schofield. Young Frank appraised this man with great curiosity; while his father invited to his home many visitors from all over the world, this young man was different from those he had met before. Frank remained quiet for as long as he could but then interrupted the conversation asking for an introduction. His father introduced Frank to Mr. Yo Pyöng-hun, indicating that he was from Korea. Mr. Yo took an interest in young Frank and the two spent some time together that evening as Mr. Yo described his country — where it was located, what the people were like, and its history.

At the age of twelve, young Schofield finished his course at Lady Manor's School and was enrolled in Cooper's County School in London, England. At the time Frank entered this school, his sister and both brothers were also studying in London. With the departure of his youngest son, Frank's father resigned his position

in Baslow and, following his children, obtained a teaching post at Harley College in London — an institution also devoted to the education of missionaries. Cooper's County School and Harley College were both located in the poor eastern suburbs of London. At first the young boy did not enjoy his new life and later recounted his experiences during those days: "To live in a city like London . . . was unbearably difficult. My brothers and I loved nature; we loved to listen to birds and walk among trees, flowers and streams . . . to live in a town was like living in a prison . . . During that first year, our greatest wish was to escape from this prison-like life and we tried to do so as much as we could. But to do so, we had to walk eleven kilometers and when we returned to our home, our arms were full of the flowers we had picked."

It was this wish to escape from city life and return to the countryside he loved which led to the discovery of what was to become his life-long hobby — bicycle riding. Economizing wherever possible, Frank's father was eventually able to purchase a bicycle for his youngest son; now on weekends and during school vacations, the young boy rode his bicycle out of London and soon became a familiar figure in the countryside.

By his early teens, Frank had begun to study more diligently — primarily in response to remonstrances by his father who wished all his children to have a college education. Particularly during the last year of middle school, Frank studied very diligently in

\footnote{loc. cit., p. 12.}
preparation for the college entrance examinations. Upon completion
of high school in 1905, however, he could not enroll in college; with
a sister and two brothers already in college the family — living
on a teacher's salary — could not afford his tuition. Furthermore,
with no more than a mediocre school record, Frank was unable to
obtain scholarship assistance or elicit support from friends of
the family. Thus unable to finance a college education Frank — at
the age of seventeen — left home to find employment.

His first two jobs were at nearby farms. Dr. Schofield spoke15
of these early experiences as follows:

The first job I had was on a farm in Cheshire. I soon learned that the owner of that farm was rich, but neither kind to his workmen nor honest. All the workmen on the farm had to work very hard; our work started at five o'clock in the morning and ended at six o'clock in the evening. The working people in that area were all honest, but very poor. My sympathy toward these people grew with each passing day. At the same time, my bitterness toward the rich, arrogant farm owners increased.

Unhappy in his initial employment and having read an advertisement in the local farm journal, he interviewed for and received a position as assistant to the husbandman in charge of livestock at a well-known ranch owned by Sir Joseph Savory. For one and one-half years Schofield worked at the ranch. Though the monetary reward for his efforts was meagre, he learned a great deal about the hard-working, honest character of English countrymen. He soon developed a deep sympathy for their poor working conditions and low wages; Frank

15 ibid.
Schofield realized that he must resume his formal education if he were to help these poor people. These experiences, coupled with his stern Christian upbringing, contributed to a mature character devoted to alleviating the plight of the poor and the general uplifting of the downtrodden.

Hearing from friends stories of riches to be obtained in "new lands," young Frank Schofield during the latter part of 1906 decided to migrate to Canada where, he hoped, he would make his fortune and thereby gain the education he so coveted. It was there — he felt sure — that he could realize his ambitions. Thus, in January 1907, the young man bade farewell to his family and sailed for Canada believing that there "... (he could) seek freedom to pour out all (his) passions."¹⁶

In February 1907 — at the age of 19 — Frank Schofield, together with other immigrants, arrived in the city of Toronto — at that time the agricultural hub of Canada. With arrangements made by the immigration office of the Canadian government, Frank obtained employment on a farm some one hundred kilometers west of Toronto owned by Mr. Mark Clark.

During the next several months young Schofield worked diligently for the Clarks — gaining much knowledge of large farm management and putting aside the major share of his earnings toward achievement of his dream: a college education. He became especially fond of large farm animals and his observations of the local veterinarian

¹⁶loc. cit., p. 18.
at work soon put substance to his educational dream — he would become a veterinarian.

In the fall of 1907, having accumulated enough capital to begin his study, he enrolled at the Ontario Veterinary College, University of Toronto. Although his life-style was of necessity very spartan, his hopes remained high and he applied himself with great determination and diligence: "The winter that year (1907) was difficult for me because I had such little money . . . I shared one (room) with another student . . . then my payment to the landlord was only $.50 a week . . . that winter, I lived only on dry brown bread, several dried fish and water."^17

His perseverance and hard work were soon rewarded. The Veterinary College granted him a full scholarship in his second and third years. During the summer months he hired out at local farms and was able to save additional money to pay his educational expenses. The young Schofield did not neglect his faith: "On Sundays I didn’t study and I always went to church because I wanted to become a fine Christian as my father. I liked my father’s personality and respected him."^18

In the summer of 1908, near the close of his second year of study, tragedy struck. Delirious for several days with an extremely high temperature, his case was finally diagnosed as polyomelitis. For some time both arms and legs were totally

^17 ibid.

^18 loc. cit., p. 19.
paralyzed. To someone of less determination, such a blow would have proven nearly fatal. Schofield, Jr., however, exercised continuously and by late fall had returned — albeit with the aid of a cane — to his studies. His left leg, permanently impaired, would force him to walk with the aid of a cane for the rest of his life.

The drive to achieve had not slackened as a result of severe illness and physical disability. Frank reapplied himself and was graduated from Ontario Veterinary College in 1910 with highest honors. Upon graduation he was offered a position as Assistant in the Bacteriology Laboratory of the Provincial Board of Health, Ontario Province. His major responsibility was testing milk sold in the city of Toronto; it led to his inquiry and research on bacteria present in retail milk. The results of this study formed the foundation for his doctoral dissertation entitled "Milk and its Relation to Public Health"19 and in 1911 he was awarded the Doctorate of Veterinary Science from the University of Toronto. This work — which discussed among other things the various bacteria found in milk (tuberculin, typhoid, diphtheria), the need for sterilization and controls in pasteurization and refrigerated shipment, the contamination of cows and the necessity of regular immunization — was recognized as a landmark in the history of veterinary research.

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Schofield continued his work with the Provincial Board of Health until 1914 when he joined the faculty of his alma mater as Lecturer in Bacteriology. By this time he was also a married man, having wed Alice Dixon in 1913.

Returning to the classroom and University laboratory gave Frank an even greater opportunity to pursue his research interests. Indeed, his fame as a veterinary bacteriologist and pathologist had grown so considerably by the time -- early 1915 -- that when he applied for foreign mission work in Korea his colleagues gave him a sterling recommendation.²⁰

²⁰ Archives of the United Church of Canada, Korea Mission Correspondence. Box 2, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
In 1915 events were set into motion which would inevitably draw Frank Schofield into the whirlwind of the March First Movement in Korea. Early in the spring of 1915, Schofield received a letter from Dr. O. R. Avison, Dean of Severance Union Medical College, Seoul, Korea. Dr. Avison, who had taught at the University of Toronto while Schofield was a student there, knew of Schofield's exceptional ability and growing reputation as a veterinary bacteriologist and pathologist. He wrote Schofield saying that Severance Medical College (founded in 1902) was the first of its kind in Korea and expressed his belief that the College would make a great contribution to the Korean people. Avison indicated that they were very much in need of a professor of bacteriology. He strongly urged Schofield to consider coming to Korea and accept his offer of employment — not only for his own sake but "... for the sake of enlightening the Korean people." Avison also wrote the Reverend Dr. R. P. MacKay, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, Presbyterian Church of Canada, requesting that Schofield be considered for this important position.

Many years later, in reflecting upon this moment, Dr. Schofield

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21 On January 5, 1957, Chosen Christian University and Severance Union Medical College merged into the present Yonsei University.

recalled\textsuperscript{23} that while reading this letter an image of the young Korean, Mr. Yo Pyong-hun — who he had met as a young boy in Baslow — came to mind. He also remembered his father's life-long dedication to the missionary cause and his own fervent hope that one day he might visit a foreign land and help the people of that country. Schofield quickly reached a decision to accept Dr. Avison's offer and to pursue whatever channels necessary to formalize his position. Though many of his friends urged him not to go — not only because he was needed in Canada, but also because they thought that his physical disability might prove a hindrance to his work in Korea — Schofield remained determined. He recalled his motivation\textsuperscript{24} to one of his biographers, Yi Ch'ang-nak: "Keeping rank with my courageous friends, I can work for the happiness of mankind. Why not Korea as a place for me to do this work? God gives his benevolence to mankind regardless of their nationality. There must be many people who are weak and need help there. Maybe this opportunity is a test by God imposed upon me; why should I be afraid of it? I shall go to Korea. I'll do my best as God expects me to do."

Early in March 1915, Dr. Schofield made official application to the Rev. Dr. R. P. MacKay, requesting official appointment to the staff of Severance Hospital in Korea. (The only response on his application\textsuperscript{25} which could possibly have caused authorities to

\textsuperscript{23}loc. cit., p. 25. 

\textsuperscript{24}ibid.

\textsuperscript{25}Korea Mission Correspondence, op. cit.
be somewhat skeptical about his acceptability was: "Have you ever had, or do you now have, any difficulty in sleeping at night?" To this question, Dr. Schofield responded, "Yes, due to our cook.")

In March 1916, the Reverend A. E. Armstrong, Assistant Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, wrote to Dr. Schofield indicating that at a recent meeting of the Executive Committee, Foreign Mission Board, his appointment as their representative to the staff of Severance Union Medical College and Hospital had been authorized. Dr. Schofield and his wife hurriedly prepared to leave for their new work and home.

In October of 1916, Dr. Frank W. Schofield finally set foot on Korean soil. Upon his arrival in Seoul, he was heartily welcomed by Dr. and Mrs. Avison and other members of the Severance Medical College faculty. Also on hand to meet him (then some 50 years old) was Mr. Yo Pyong-hun. On that happy note, Frank Schofield began what was to become one of the most significant periods in his life.

Schofield soon discovered that he was not going to be as effective as he had hoped in the classroom due to his inability to speak or understand the Korean language. He therefore employed a very respected and well-known teacher of the Korean language, Mr. Mok Won-hung; after a few months of Mr. Mok's tutelage, Dr. Schofield

26 The Korea Mission of the United Church of Canada had its beginnings in the year 1898 when the Synod of the Maritime Provinces of the Presbyterian Church sent out the first Canadian missionaries to Korea. By 1907, the first Korean ministers were ordained.
was able to carry on simple conversations in the Korean language. Within two years he was able to lecture in Korean and passed the Foreign Mission Board's language qualifying examination — thus formalizing his status in Korea as a missionary.

Having achieved proficiency in colloquial Korean, Schofield spent his time out of classroom and laboratory talking with people in the streets, riding his bicycle into the countryside and talking with farmers — thus trying to determine the life-styles and concerns of the average Korean. These discussions led him to a concentrated study of Korean history wherein he tried to discern why Korea had fallen under Japanese colonial rule.

Upon achieving missionary status, Dr. Schofield also spent considerable time propagating the faith and conducting an English language Bible class to which many young Korean men and women were attracted. He was determined in his desire to instill in these young people the knowledge that they must be dedicated, righteous, honest, and love their country, countrymen and mankind. Occupied as he was at the Medical College, his Bible classes and visitations with new-found friends, Dr. Schofield became more and more imbued with Korean culture and heritage.

Within a few months after his arrival in Korea, Dr. Schofield's wife began to suffer prolonged periods of depression and great mental anguish; toward the end of 1917 she was advised — both by doctors in Korea and from the Foreign Mission Board in Canada — to return home. At that time she was expecting their first child. Due to his contractual obligations, "... his successes in the
laboratory and the classroom and because of his great dedication to his new work and life ..., Schofield was asked and agreed to remain in Korea. Recommending that Alice Schofield return to Canada, Dr. William Goldie, M.D., wrote to Rev. A. E. Armstrong on 13 May 1917: "Mrs. Schofield was under my care for some time ... Dr. Mansfield's and Dr. Schofield's reports are both very alarming, because if she has shown definite insanity, it will recur at varying intervals leaving a damaged mental power, until she is permanently demented ... It is difficult ... to settle, but for Dr. Schofield's good and in the best interest of the Board, I feel that I must advise her return ..." Thus, Mrs. Schofield returned to Toronto and Dr. Schofield continued -- alone -- his work in Korea.

His early research on cattle diseases in Korea and obvious devotion to his teaching duties soon won him the admiration of peers and acclaim from the Presbyterian Mission Board -- which noted that he was "one of our most valuable and indispensable members." His growing popularity among students and Korean fellow workers, however, was to prove more pivotal in the months ahead.

Attending Severance at that time were Yi Kap-sang (one of the thirty-three signatories to the Declaration of Independence) and Yi Sang-jae (Vice President of the Independence Club). These young nationals, as well as many others who met Dr. Schofield

27Korea Mission Correspondence, op. cit., Box 3.

28Ibid.

29Ibid.
in the classroom or at his evening Bible classes, soon found in this Britisher a man well-informed on world affairs and a sympathetic humanist. According to Yi Kap-sang,\(^{30}\) Dr. Schofield would frequently digress from his chosen topic in the classroom to discourse on the trend of world opinion and the course of world events; of special interest to activist students — as the month of March 1919 drew near — were his remarks:

> As you know, I was born and raised in England and loved the English as much as any other people, but even though England is my fatherland, I cannot support her policy of keeping colonies overseas. I believe that no nation in the world can retain their colonies forever.

During the latter months of 1918 and early 1919, Dr. Schofield and his missionary colleagues sensed that something was "afoot" among the many Korean students they knew. For some time students had been meeting in groups and holding secretive discussions; the air seemed charged with electricity. Late on the evening of 5 February 1919, Dr. Schofield was visited by Mr. Yi Kap-sang, a student and worker at Severance. Having invited him into his rooms and after drawing the blinds at his visitor's request, Dr. Schofield requested the reason for such a late visit. Following a period of silence during which Mr. Yi seemed to be somewhat distraught and nervous, Dr. Schofield inquired if anything untoward had happened; to this Yi Kap-sang indicated that he had come to ask a favor of Dr. Schofield. Mr. Yi related that Dr. Alfred M. Sharrocks,

\(^{30}\)Yi Kap-sang, Private interview, Seoul, Korea, 1971; see also Yi Ch'ang-nak, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
a Presbyterian missionary stationed in the north of Korea and Superintendent of the Christian Hospital in Sunch' on, had visited him recently to report on his recent experiences while in the United States. Prior to Dr. Sharrocks' arrival in Washington, D. C., President Woodrow Wilson had announced his Fourteen Point Peace Plan which was to be submitted to the Paris Peace Conference that month. Among the persons with whom Dr. Sharrocks visited in Washington were Dr. Syngman Rhee and An Ch'ang-ho, who were working in the United States for Korea's national independence. Both Dr. Rhee and An Ch'ang-ho were very anxious that their fellow Koreans at home join them in making a united appeal to the world for their national independence. They felt that with Woodrow Wilson's proposed Fourteen Points, and with the forthcoming Paris Peace Conference, the Koreans should capture a unique opportunity to inform the world of their plight. Since that time, continued Mr. Yi, a flurry of meetings had been held to determine what action the Korean people should take. In conclusion, Yi Kap-sang reported that a nation-wide, peaceful demonstration for Korea's independence was being planned for March 1st. After hearing the history and nature of their plan, and upon being told that he had been chosen by that core of students organizing the demonstration to serve as their communication link with the outside world, Dr. Schofield — though with reservations as to the success of the movement in the face of Japan's military might — gladly agreed to provide whatever assistance he could. Indeed, he offered $80.00 of his own meager salary toward their expenses although Yi Kap-sang declined this.
Thus Dr. Schofield was recruited by Yi Kap-sang to play an important role in the forthcoming days and joined with those famous thirty-three men who were responsible for the Korean independence movement. From this time forward, Frank Schofield became known as the "Thirty-Fourth Participant" in the March First Movement.

Until March 1st, Frank Schofield translated and communicated to this group news of events leading to the convocation of the Versailles Peace Conference, English language press reports of world opinion regarding the possible outcome of the Conference, the probable outcome on subject nations such as Korea, and world opinion of Japan's new role in international affairs. He also spoke discreetly with other foreign missionaries returning to their countries asking that they talk to their countrymen testing public opinion on Japanese rule in Korea. Further, he allowed his quarters to serve as a frequent secret meeting place for student leaders of the March First Movement.

On the evening before Koreans would begin their nation-wide peaceful demonstrations, Yi Kap-sang again visited Dr. Schofield, showing him a copy of the Declaration of Independence and asking that he photograph for posterity the events of March 1st.32

Thus, at 2:00 p.m. on 1 March 1919, Dr. Frank Schofield, aged thirty, stood ready with his camera outside Pagoda Park

31 ibid.
32 ibid.
(T'aptong Kongwon) and took many historic pictures — the only record of that momentous event.
CHAPTER V
KOREA'S "UNQUENCHABLE FIRE"

What happened on that historic date of 1 March 1919 has been discussed above. On the following day, though preparations for the March 3rd funeral of King Kojong continued, a flurry of independence demonstrations were held throughout the city and surrounding countryside. The Japanese police began a series of arrests and soon most jails in the capitol city were swollen with occupants. Dr. Schofield followed these events with growing concern.

Acting upon the foreign instigation theory, a deputation of police and plainclothesmen presented themselves at Severance Union Medical College on or about 8 March 1919 and informed O. R. Avison that they planned to search the institution forthwith. Though Dr. Avison immediately contacted the British legation regarding the Japanese demands, there was little alternative but to allow the search. (Earlier that morning word had come from a Korean informer that there would be a search, so officers of Severance College were not altogether unprepared.) Mr. Herbert T. Owens, one of Dr. Schofield's closer friends in Korea, reported in his memoirs:

33The Japanese became immediately suspicious that foreign missionaries were the instigators of, and agitators in, the independence movement.

34Owens, Herbert T., Unpublished Papers. From the collection of Eleanor Owens Walden, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

35Herbert T. Owens was Secretary-Treasurer of Severance Union Medical College and Chosen Christian College.

36Owens, Herbert T., op. cit.
While President Avison was protesting to the search party this invasion of his institution, one of the foreign professors, Frank W. Schofield, joined the crowd in and around the President's offices, and listened to what was going on. He had happened to hear nothing of the projected search, and a good many stories of what had been experienced by the students in the jails had been typed and were on his desk awaiting disposition. When Dr. Schofield realized what was afoot, he recalled that one of the baseboards in his laboratory was loose, and vigorously kicking this board made an opening large enough to insert this material and restore the board to its normal position. He then sauntered downstairs from his laboratory and listened to what was going on.

This was not to be the last Japanese search of the College; a few days later, several Japanese policemen again demanded to search the property — this time, their goal was the location of a mimeograph machine used by Korean students to print the small newspaper, Samil Ilbo. Again, an attempt to link foreign missionaries with the independence movement was obvious. For some time a student, Yi Yong-soi (and a few of his friends) had been secretly printing this paper which contained news regarding the activities of various independence groups, their Korean compatriots abroad, and the world situation. During this search, Dr. Schofield had the "pleasure" of observing an entire Japanese contingent stumble around in the attic photographic laboratory (he would not allow the lights on, thus resulting in the exposure of all the film) searching with matches for incriminating evidence. Fortunately for all concerned, the mimeograph machine had been secreted in a basement coal bin and

37ibid.
was not discovered; upon receiving reports of Japanese suspicions and searches, Yi Yong-sol and several friends fled their homeland.

Within the space of a few weeks, Dr. Schofield realized that a large number of his Korean students and friends no longer called upon him; furthermore, enrollments in his classrooms and laboratories began to dwindle perceptibly. This realization, coupled with increasing reports of Japanese police brutality and torture, convinced the young man that he must take positive and immediate action on behalf of his Korean friends. He knew full well of the advantage he would have while aiding Koreans: he still retained his British citizenship and passport. It would be highly unlikely for the Japanese to prosecute him too severely and thereby weaken the advantages gained by the Japanese through the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. With relative initial immunity, he visited as many areas of Korea as possible — speaking with the people, giving aid where he could, visiting prisons, and exploiting all avenues open to him by which he could expose the barbarous acts of the Japanese. "I may stay behind in things which require physical strength, but I have no reason to stay behind in seeing through my eyes, and speaking through my mouth. I will see everything clearly with my eyes, and with whatever means possible to me, I shall let the world know of the Korean people's desires." 38

As a first step he began walking the streets of Seoul. Coming upon groups of students and others being led away by the Japanese,

38 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 42.
Schofield would assume an air of righteous indignation, walk determinedly up to the group, grab a young boy or girl and exclaim, "What, how dare you be off with my maid/houseboy! Call me at my home regarding this matter, or contact the British Embassy regarding my credentials!" or "What! I am a Canadian missionary; you can't take my student assistant; he/she hasn't done anything wrong. I'll just take him/her along." Snatching the person's arm, he would then hurry off toward his residence. Needless to say, Dr. Schofield had to be extremely careful not to attempt this on the same gendarme twice, but he did save quite a few innocent Koreans from Japanese prisons in this manner.39

Another day, while pondering additional ways to help his friends, Schofield seized upon a method for which he gained great fame. He visited one day Mariyama Tsurakichi, then Chief of Police. Dr. Schofield, pretending that his call was purely social, engaged in the ritual exchange of name cards. Subsequently, he was able to save Koreans from prison by showing the arresting officer Chief Mariyama's card, professing his close friendship and thus giving assurance that release of prisoners was proper and would not be questioned. This technique was to serve Dr. Schofield well on many important occasions. After such incidents, he would relate the story to his Korean friends — to their great delight and amusement.

Soon Dr. Schofield began putting his observations and

criticisms into words. On 13 April 1919, The Seoul Press carried an article from "A Foreign Friend" entitled "Whether Politics are Good or Bad Depends on Whether People are Happy or Not."
The substance of this article was that the writer, Dr. Frank Schofield, questioned whether or not the oft claimed material benefits Japan was bestowing upon Korea were indeed benefiting the Korean people.
"The true obligation of government is to secure happiness for the majority of the people. Only when the people become happy can we say the government is a good one. The obligation of government is not only limited to making people wealthy, intelligent and physically strong. Wealth, intelligence or strength have their meaning only when they are for the happiness and well being of the people."
Concluding this article, Schofield urged Japanese officials to examine closely causes of the unsettled situation in the peninsula -- arguing that Koreans desired spiritual freedom much more than material gain.

Unfortunately, little heed was paid by colonial officials to Dr. Schofield's entreaty. Indeed, not many days after the article appeared, a great tragedy took place not far from Seoul. For some time the Japanese had underlined their conviction of Christian and missionary involvement in the independence demonstrations by

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40 The Seoul Press was an English-language newspaper, sponsored by the Japanese under the editorship of Mr. Yamagata, and printed for foreign consumption. According to Schofield, Mr. Yamagata -- due to his willingness to print "questionable" articles (anti-Japanese) -- remained an eternal enigma to foreigners.

41 The Seoul Press (Seoul), April 13, 1919.
burning churches. During the last days of April 1919, Japanese police appeared in Chaem'ri, near Suwon. There some twenty-two village men, after being charged with yelling "MANSE!" had been ordered inside the village church whereupon they were either shot or bayoneted to death. After the massacre, gendarmes set fire to the entire village. Similar massacres took place in nearby villages -- such as Such'on-ri, Hwasu-ri and others. Receiving word of these tragedies, Dr. Schofield set out immediately for Suwon.

The story was so serious that the truth must be ascertained immediately. I was unable to get a travel permit, so with my bicycle, took the morning train for Puson, getting off at Suwon. It was not wise to ask questions which placed one under suspicion . . . Turning a sharp corner along the paddy fields there was a sight hard to forget. The village had been burned down; (only) a few ruins were still smouldering . . . No one would speak. All were terrorized. I left some money with the interpreter to buy rice, and after taking a picture of the ruins of the church . . . left for Such'on.42

Traveling to Such'on, Dr. Schofield discovered more tragedy. At Such'on approximately one-half of the homes had been razed by fire. In one remaining home, he discovered an old man suffering from a seriously infected bayonet wound in his upper left arm. Though Schofield succeeded in obtaining admission for him to a local hospital, the gentleman died a short time later.

Dr. Schofield reported in his notebook:

I arrived in Such'on the day after the admission of seven or eight high school boys into the Mission

\[\text{\textsuperscript{42}}\text{Schofield, Francis W., "The Unquenchable Fire," op. cit, p. 38.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{43}}\text{Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished Papers, Yi Yong-so collection, op. cit., no page.}\]
Hospital. Following the demonstration, the police had arrested a number of students and decided to make an example of some of them so that there would be no more demonstrations. Several had died a few days after the multiple beatings — thirty strokes on each of three successive days, while tied firmly to a trestle shaped like a cross. The others, although in great pain, rode bicycles to the hospital and all but one recovered. The Chief of Police had been informed of their presence in our American Mission Hospital, so quickly gathered a few police doctors "expert beaters" and arrived at the hospital ward while I was taking photos. The anger of the chief was excessive and he quickly placed himself in front of the camera shouting 'No can take picture; no can take picture!' My last hope was to show a previous possession: the visiting card of General Kojima, Commander in Chief, Japan Army, Korea, and stating a half truth — that I was his friend — and must be given protection. The General's visiting card had been difficult to obtain and had worked minor miracles in the transformation of some awkward officials. Not so this time. After a brief consultation, I managed to get the card, but was put out of the ward and a few days later in Seoul, an unpleasant interview was held with General Kojima, when the delicate fabric of friendship failed. After waiting for three hours, the police delegation left, still uncertain as to the cause of the gangrene and death, but suggesting a blood disorder like diabetes. I got all of the photos necessary and then hurried back to Seoul to defend myself before Kojima. He was in an ugly mood and accused me of raising international trouble.

Having accomplished his goal of accumulating evidence of Japanese atrocities in these small villages and having helped as many wounded as possible, Dr. Schofield boarded an evening train to Seoul. Hungry from his journey, Dr. Schofield walked to the dining car and ordered dinner. Looking around the car, he noticed an older gentleman surrounded by Japanese uniformed police. Feeling that he knew this man, Dr. Schofield approached and introduced himself. The older man responded that he was happy to meet
Dr. Schofield and that his name was Yi Wan-yŏng, and then continued, "Say! Mr. Canadian missionary, what do I have to do to believe and be saved in (sic) Jesus Christ?" Dr. Schofield, who recalled having seen Yi Wan-yŏng's name in newspapers and magazines being denounced by the Korean people as a traitor, immediately responded, "Sure, Mr. Yi, you can believe in Jesus Christ but to become a Christian and be saved you will have to offer your sincere apologies to all thirty million Koreans."44

On the following day Dr. Schofield again left for Suwon for the purpose of visiting the villagers of Chaem-ri and determining what further aid he could provide to alleviate their suffering. He took the most severely wounded to Such'on; though police officers again attempted to thwart his activities, he finally succeeded in having them admitted to the Mission Hospital.

After visiting other villages in the Suwon area which had been victimized by the Japanese, Dr. Schofield again returned to the capital city.

In his talks with friends and colleagues over the next few days, Dr. Schofield learned that security in Seoul was being intensified. At about this time, foreign counsels were ordered to instruct their nationals to keep off the streets at night, Japanese authorities claiming to be unable to guarantee their safety. Most counsels reported to the Japanese officials that they would not give such instructions and that indeed the Japanese

44Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 49.
government would be held responsible for any harm which might befall their citizens. Later it was discovered that Japanese authorities were deliberately setting the stage for "incidents" involving foreigners. Furthermore, information reached a few foreigners that the Japanese were introducing -- from Japan -- a band of soshi (stranglers or cut-throats) assigned to prowl neighborhoods inhabited by Westerners so that they might be beaten up or mistreated. Since the soshi were to be disguised in Korean clothing, the Japanese believed that blame would be put on Korean demonstrators. A confirmation of this news soon came. Mr. Herbert T. Owens reported:

The Soshi, not being given an occasion to attack any Westerners, on the principle of Satan finding mischief for idle hands, got into a mix-up with some Korean police and in the scuffle, one of them had been badly mauled and had to go to the hospital. Of course, the story got out. It reached a Canadian bacteriologist on the Medical College staff, Dr. Frank Schofield, and he determined to verify it if possible. As Dr. Schofield was lame as a result of an attack of infantile paralysis, he used a bicycle to travel to and fro. It is a night traffic rule that every vehicle must carry a light at night, and the usual light carried by a cyclist was a paper lantern. As he approached a police box placed at a strategic intersection, he blew out his light and got off his wheels to borrow a match from the policeman, so that he could light up again. Schofield had a splendid mastery of colloquial Korean, so he engaged the policeman in talk, telling him that the Westerners were very much afraid these days. The man inquired the reason, and Schofield replied that it was because of the band of Soshi who had come over from Japan. "About

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45Owens, Herbert T., op. cit., no page.
46ibid.
The arrest of students and other Koreans who from time-to-time either staged -- or were suspected of staging -- independence movements continued, and soon word got back to Dr. Schofield of the suffering experienced by several of his close friends.

Schofield became outraged at an article appearing in the May 11th edition of *The Seoul Press* which alleged that Sôdaemun Prison might more appropriately be termed the "Sôdaemun Rest Home" or "Sôdaemun Vocational School." The correspondent, a Japanese, described in glowing terms the excellent conditions he witnessed there, to wit: weekly baths, warm and comfortable quarters, daily exercise, and vocational training to prepare inmates for a useful livelihood upon release. The essence of Dr. Schofield's reply in *The Seoul Press* on May 12th was that the foreign community welcomed these remarks — though they were understandably skeptical regarding their authenticity — as Korean friends recently released from "a place in close proximity to the 'Sôdaemun Vocational School'" had described crowded, dirty cells, brutal treatment and torture at the hands of Japanese wardens. In closing his article, Schofield

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47 *The Seoul Press* (Seoul), May 11, 1919, p. 3.
48 *loc. cit.*, May 12, 1919.
suggested that the correspondent's informative article be reprinted in the Korean language so that the families of those imprisoned would have their minds eased. This — albeit sarcastic — article brought an immediate invitation for Dr. Schofield to visit personally the prison and verify the truth of the columnist's report. During Dr. Schofield's visit he was able to talk with Miss Noh Sun-gyun, a nurse at Severance Hospital, Miss Yu Kwan-sun, a student at Ewha Womans University, Mdm. Auh Yun-hee, a Methodist evangelist from Kaesong — to mention but a few — and observe conditions under which they lived. His observations confirmed reports which had reached foreign missionaries: living conditions were deplorable by any standard and prisoners had been severely tortured. This visit — coupled with a long discussion with another prisoner, Miss Yi Ae-gu, upon her admission to Severance Hospital for treatment after a particularly brutal beating — led Dr. Schofield to protest vigorously in person to both Governor-General Hasegawa and Director of General Affairs Mizuno. These protests — coupled with more articles which appeared both in The Seoul Press and The Japan Advertiser condemning this brutality and calling for more enlightened, humane policies — brought some abatement in the practice of daily torture and improvement in the living conditions of prisoners at Sôdaemun Prison. Later, in published reports and personal memoirs, Miss Noh Sun-gyun and Yu Kwan-sun were to state that these efforts, coupled with Dr. Schofield's weekly visits, 49

49Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 56.
"... gave us great comfort and encouragement. We were greatly encouraged by his activities on our behalf. His deeds gave us great confidence."

Beginning in the summer of 1919, as Schofield traveled to observe the torture and mistreatment of his adopted countrymen, he began preparing notes of his activities: eye witness reports, the statements of countless Korean sufferers, and statistics on wounded and killed. Fortunately, some of these records — together with those of his colleagues — were taken out of Korea and reached mission authorities in the United States and Canada. Indeed, at this time there was a growing storm of protest gathering among the Home Boards, spearheaded by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. These offices, upon receipt of increasingly strong protests — both in number and tenor — from the field, as well as news gained through Chinese newspaper reports,50 began launching protests to Japanese officials decrying inhumane treatment of the Korean people. As the months passed and adverse reports continued unabated, the Federal Council began collecting data which would ultimately be printed as a formal, public protest entitled The Korean Situation.51 Some of the material collected by Schofield found its way — via correspondence from Mr. Ritson

50 News reached the China presses primarily through reports of Korean refugees.

Secretary of the British Foreign Bible Society, London — to the Reverend A. E. Armstrong, then Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board, Toronto: "That of August 14 (Ritson's earlier letter) covers the document from Dr. Schofield. I intend to submit these to our Committee so that they at least may know the facts with regard to Japanese brutality in Korea." The similarity between extant first-hand reports of Japanese brutality written by Schofield and several reports contained in The Korean Situation are too striking to be coincidental.

As the eye witness reports accumulated by Dr. Schofield grew in number, and as toward the close of 1919 it became apparent that his time in Korea was limited (see below), the idea of a full-scale account began to germinate. By November 1919, the seed of an idea had sprung forth into a formal draft of some three hundred pages, entitled "Korea Unconquered" — later to be renamed "The Unquenchable Fire." In this document young Frank Schofield revealed, to the best of his ability, all that he had witnessed and heard:

This book is not an appeal to the world on behalf of Korean independence. It is merely an attempt to give a conservative account of the events of the Uprising of 1919. The records and narratives embodied in these chapters depict certain steps in the enforcement of the policy of forced assimilation and denationalization which the present Japanese government has adopted toward Korea. And they show what was the response of the Korean people. That response is a moving story . . . the Koreans have redoubled their determination to

52 Korea Mission Correspondence, op. cit., Box 4, Ritson to Armstrong, September 15, 1919.
gain freedom . . . a new national soul has been born — a soul that has cast out fear. Lacking the necessary literary training and ability, I would gladly have foregone the task of writing this book but I have been impelled . . . to put on record the true story of Koreans' suffering and heroism in her fight for liberty.\textsuperscript{53}

This momentous work is filled with case histories, eyewitness accounts and verbatim conversations with both oppressed and oppressor. Japanese officials themselves confessed that they employed torture and attempted to justify these inhumane methods. During those first turbulent months after March 1st, the Chief of Gendarmes, Akashi Motojirō, told Dr. Schofield:\textsuperscript{54}

Flogging is an old Korean custom which we, like yourself (Westerners) who are educated, look upon as a barbarous method of punishment, but if we were immediately to do away with such a custom, it would cause much agitation and unrest among the Korean people. You must remember that those who govern must govern in accordance with the will and desire of those whom they govern.

Later, in public, Akashi was to state:\textsuperscript{55} "There is no such thing as torture in the Police system of Korea." Dr. Schofield also reported that an unidentified Japanese professor confessed\textsuperscript{56} that: "We have found that Koreans only tell the truth when under torture." Concluding this section of quotations, Dr. Schofield

\textsuperscript{53}Schofield, Francis W., "The Unquenchable Fire," \textit{op. cit.}, pp. i-iv.

\textsuperscript{54}\textit{loc. cit.}, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{55}\textit{loc. cit.}, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{56}\textit{ibid.}
included the following newspaper report: "Lecturing at the War Office on the Korean trouble, Major T. K. Kodama stated: 'The way to put down Korean rioters is to beat them and kill them.'"

Thus, a moving drama unfolds in Schofield's work. Indeed, Chapter VIII is a detailed account of his visit with the General of the Gendarmes after his visits to ravaged areas in Suwon, and his initial inspections of the Södaemun Prison. These pages portray the many obstacles which he confronted in his various attempts to alleviate the plight of Koreans. Also recorded in this account were the systematic efforts on the part of Japanese officials to expel Frank Schofield from Korea. Such efforts were initiated shortly after a particularly bold article submitted to The Seoul Press entitled "What Will be the Aftermath?" appeared in print.

Carried under the signature "A Reader," it recounted the number of Koreans killed, wounded, and imprisoned to date, and stated that, regardless of the ultimate price of "all this," the price being paid was obviously for liberty. Concluding the letter, Schofield predicted that if the Japanese did not grant more liberty to Koreans, "... the Japanese will (sic) suffer even greater pain than the Koreans in the future.

Shortly thereafter, a man by the name of Ishii was assigned to report on Schofield's activities day and night and to harass

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57ibid.

58See Appendix B for the full account.

59The Seoul Press (Seoul), June 6, 1919, p. 2.
him whenever possible. This "tail" remained with Schofield until he departed Korea in early 1920.\footnote{Yi Ch'ang-nak, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 77.}

In early September 1919, Dr. Schofield traveled to Tokyo, as representative from the Korean Mission, to attend a convocation of some eight hundred Far Eastern missionaries. Called upon to speak on conditions in Korea, Schofield delivered a long and impassioned denunciation of Japanese brutality. Before his return to Seoul, he also conducted a round of talks on the same subject with prominent Japanese statesmen such as Prime Minister Hara Hei, Viscount Kato, Saito Minoru and others.\footnote{loc. cit., p. 63; see also Korea Mission Correspondence, \textit{op. cit.}, F. W. Schofield to R. P. MacKay, September 21, 1919.} The widespread publicity given these events sharpened the Japanese desire to be rid of this Canadian irritant.

On 10 December 1919, Schofield was denounced as an "Arch Agitator" in \textit{The Japan Advertiser}.\footnote{ibid.} Later reported in other foreign presses, the article began with a statement by Governor-General Saito, to wit:

\begin{quote}
That Christian missionaries are behind the disturbances in Korea is an undeniable fact and a man named Schofield, belonging to Severance Hospital at Seoul, is one of the most pronounced types of these agitators. I met Schofield in Tokyo before my arrival in Korea; he was then and is now giving expression to the most violent views, and he has always striven to encourage Korean opposition to the
Japanese government... Mr. Schofield is a most dangerous man, assiduously carrying on the independence agitation in Korea, and even among the missionaries there are many who look askance at his vehement methods.

Frank Schofield, however, was not to be deterred. In a letter of 16 December 1919, he wrote to the Reverend A. E. Armstrong:

... what a lot of worry I have had recently... the gang got after me here and the Japanese police came out with awful slander. I immediately called on the Governor General (Saito Minoru) and he denied it all. He was most kind to me. I have an idea who was behind things -- the police. They hate me like sin, because I have recently been exposing their torturous acts... The beggars thought they had me... I would like to chuck all my work at Severance and go into organizing an anti-vice campaign...

Increasing pressure was put on Severance Hospital and Dr. O. R. Avison to have schofield returned to Canada immediately. Though Avison knew of and understood Schofield's activities, pressure from the Japanese became so great that he was finally forced to call a meeting of all faculty to discuss the situation. Opening the meeting, Avison explained that they were gathered to discuss — in general — foreign sympathies and actions on behalf of the Korean national cause and — in particular — the problems of Frank Schofield inasmuch as he had been labeled the chief "trouble-maker" among them. The consensus seemed to be that since a missionary's prime responsibility lay in religious and educational work, there was no justification for involvement in

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63 Korea Mission Correspondence, op. cit.
political issues; further, there was general agreement that
Schofield should cease his activities as they endangered the very
existence of the school. Near the close of the session, Dr. Schofield
rose to his own defense stating: 64

It is my conviction that our educational and
missionary work in Korea are solely for the
sake of the Koreans . . . Under this situation
(Japanese brutality) must we sit idle just
watching developments? At class and church we
preach day and night that we must fight against
evil and help weak people and now because of
fear of police we stand by helplessly . . . If
these people who have lost their country already
lose their only remaining spirit for independence,
whom are we going to help and what is the
justification for staying here?

Concluding his remarks with an apology for the inconvenience caused
the school and his peers, he volunteered to leave Severance if
necessary, but reaffirmed his intention to continue aiding Koreans
in their plight.

No action resulted from this meeting and Schofield continued
his investigations and reports. During the last days of December
1919, he became especially alarmed upon receipt of information
that Japanese police had discovered the activities of the Women's
Patriotic League (Taehan Minguk Aeguk Puin-hue) 65 and that a group
of young women had been arrested and sent to Taegu for imprisonment.
Many of his closest friends -- Kim Maria, Yi Hae-gyun and

64 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 67.

65 The League was a confederation of various Korean Women's
Associations such as the Hyoelpoktan (Blood Restoration Society)
which was organized by Yi Sun-gyun in Suwon in October 1919. See
Yi Ch'ong-suk — were among those arrested. He left immediately for Taegu and upon presentation of Chief of Police Rentaro Mizuno's calling card was permitted to visit the cell to which these young women had been confined. During his visit, Schofield gave them spiritual consolation and ministered to injuries resulting from torture. Mdm. Ch'oe Un-hui, in her work entitled The Direction of the Land of Sharon, described this and other visits by Frank Schofield as an act of great compassion and humanity and pledged that they (the women) would never forget his "encouragement and acts of brotherly love." 66

As 1919 drew to a close, Schofield continued his visits to imprisoned Koreans, his letters to The Seoul Press, and doggedly visited and revisited Japanese officials, complaining of harsh treatment and poor prison conditions. Additional articles found print abroad, one of special note appearing in the January 1920 issue of The New York Times Current History Magazine. 67 In that essay, Schofield exposed some of the more typical methods of torture and reaffirmed the necessity of relaying reports on conditions in Korea to the highest Japanese authorities — many of whom were totally ignorant of the Korean situation. "This (informing high Japanese officials) is the more imperative because of the attitude of the under officials who believe torture to be necessary."

During the first weeks of 1920, not only was Frank Schofield's

66 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 81.
stay in Korea about to be terminated but an incident occurred which threatened his precarious existence. One evening in late February the houseman where Dr. Schofield lived was awakened around 10:00 p.m. by a strange noise coming from Dr. Schofield's room. Knowing that he was not scheduled to return until much later that evening, the man rushed to Dr. Schofield's room and yanked open the door. Peering in, he could at first see nothing, but rushing to the window, he saw the figure of a man running from the house; after turning on a light, he further discovered a knife on the windowsill — apparently left by the intruder in his rush to escape from the scene. The houseman, Mr. Yu, related these events to Dr. Schofield upon his return and from that evening forward Frank Schofield kept a watchdog leashed in front of the house.68

Though Schofield was determined to remain in Korea, events had occurred and decisions were made which took matters out of his hands.

From the time Alice Schofield left Korea in 1917, her mental state had continued to deteriorate. Since her return from Korea and since the birth of their child, Frankie, she had been living in a boarding house in Toronto. Though the child grew healthy, Mrs. Schofield's seizures of depression and anger continued and indeed, by early 1920, had increased in intensity and duration. Also by early 1920, Schofield's unabated assistance to Koreans had sufficiently alarmed the Mission Board that, given the deterioration

68 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 91.
of Alice's health, they felt justified in recalling him to Canada.

On 21 January 1920, A. E. Armstrong cabled Schofield: "Come as soon as possible; wife not very well." A warning that this decision was final and a hint that there was more than one reason for recall went the next day in a personal letter from Armstrong to Schofield:

"Before you get this you will of course have secured passage . . . Dr. Defries showed me your letter to him recently concerning the reports of a slanderous nature regarding yourself. So long as missionaries refrain from political interference, it would seem altogether unlikely that the Japanese . . . would . . . arrest a foreigner . . ." The motives for recall were made more apparent in a letter to Dr. T. D. Mansfield, Wonsan, Korea, sent as Schofield was being cabled to return: "I am sending you a copy of my letter to Dr. Schofield explaining the situation . . . If you use your imagination, you can probably conjecture something else not relating to Mrs. Schofield, nor to Canada, which gives us a secondary reason for recalling him."

Though Schofield knew that he would be leaving Korea shortly, he was able to remain and observe the first anniversary of the March First Movement. On that day, he visited his friends in Sōdaemun

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69 Korea Mission Correspondence, op. cit., Box 5.


71 loc. cit., A. E. Armstrong to T. D. Mansfield, January 21, 1920; see also S. J. Fraser to A. E. Armstrong, March 12, 1920; also A. E. Armstrong to Rev. Robert Grierson, April 18, 1922: "We did not recall Schofield, as you stated, except that we thought we would make it easy for him to get away from that country before the Japanese take a notion to put him in 'durance vile' . . ."
Prison, discovering — to his distress — that some of the women, led by Miss Yu Kwan-sun, had staged a commemorative celebration and had been subsequently beaten and tortured.

Such activity on 1 March 1920, was not confined to the Sodaemun Prison. Indeed, sporadic demonstrations were held throughout the country resulting in a spate of arrests and imprisonments. Traveling throughout the countryside before his departure, he stopped at the high school in Sunch'on where he gave what was to be his final address in Korea for many years. After making several jokes, he led the students in singing the very popular hymn, "Rise Up:"  

Those who honor the Lord,  
Shall rise, shall rise like eagles.  
With victories won in all battles,  
Their worries and sorrows shall depart.  
They shall rise, they shall rise  
Like eagles.  
Blessed and strong are those  
Who honor the Lord, those who honor the Lord.

After the singing and applause had stopped, he left them with these words:  
"The students of Sunch'on High School are all brave as eagles. Don't forget to be courageous and to study and work hard for yourselves and your countrymen."

Some time during the week of 17 March 1920, Frank Schofield bid farewell to his colleagues and Korean friends and left Korea "on furlough" aboard the ship Monteagle bound for Canada.


73 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 72.
Though Dr. Schofield left Korea in body, his spirit and presence seemed to remain. Well into late 1920 and early 1921, his name still appeared in print, primarily through the writings of one of Schofield's closest friends and allies, Herbert T. Owens. Responding to continued allegations of foreign (particularly foreign missionary) involvements in their domestic affairs, Owens wrote to The Seoul Press:\textsuperscript{74}

A few weeks ago you favored your readers with an editorial spasm aimed against a missionary who was alleged to have referred to the pet plank of Japanese policy in Chosen as the 'damned assimilation policy.' As a matter of fact, if my memory serves me correctly, Dr. Schofield characterized this policy as 'dammable' in the article alluded to which is a perfectly proper word to use in polite society.

Within a short time, another charge caused Owens to again protest in a letter to the paper:\textsuperscript{75}

\ldots with regard to your mention of 'a foreigner' and 'a certain Korean' in prison, why not give us names so we can verify your story? With reference to your general argument (foreign-missionary intervention) I recall that Dr. Schofield on one occasion \ldots took the head of the political police in Chosen and the governor of the West Gate prison to see a girl prisoner there, and they saw with their own eyes the marks of the torture this girl had gone through.

And so went the vague charges and return denials for some time.

\textsuperscript{74}The Seoul Press (Seoul), August 22, 1920, p. 2.

\textsuperscript{75}loc. cit., November 3, 1920, p. 3.
Returning to Canada, Schofield obtained a position on the staff of the Toronto General Hospital where he furthered his study of diagnostic pathology and bacteriology. At this time also, he launched an energetic speaking tour within and around Toronto describing conditions in Korea and displaying the vast number of photographs he had taken as substantiating evidence. Having smuggled the original copy of his manuscript, "The Unquenchable Fire," out of Korea at his departure, he now sent this to a publisher in London. Unfortunately for Schofield and the Korean people, the manuscript was returned as "significant material, but inappropriate for publication at this time." Having smuggled the original copy of his manuscript, "The Unquenchable Fire," out of Korea at his departure, he now sent this to a publisher in London. Unfortunately for Schofield and the Korean people, the manuscript was returned as "significant material, but inappropriate for publication at this time." Turning to other sources, Dr. Schofield then traveled to Washington, D. C. Knowing of the presence of several prominent Korean independence fighters there, he was determined to seek their assistance. In Washington he obtained introductions to Syngman Rhee and An Ch'ang-ho. Dr. Rhee and Schofield became particularly good friends and, while Schofield addressed various groups in the city on conditions in Korea, the two sought publishers

76 University Library Archives, Toronto, op. cit., unidentified newspaper clipping.

77 A "back-up" copy of the manuscript had been buried in the basement of Severance Hospital and was not discovered until many years later. Several hands held it until it was finally returned to Schofield in 1960. It was again "lost" until October 1974 when this author "discovered" it in Breslau, Ontario, Canada.

78 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 79. Undoubtedly the "inappropriateness was due to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

for the manuscript. At the suggestion of Rhee they visited the Fleming H. Revel Company; while the publishers thought the book worthwhile, they advised Schofield that he would have to finance the initial run. After further inquiries, there being no house that would undertake the printing, Schofield left the manuscript with the Revel Company — saying that as soon as the funds were raised he would forward them immediately with instructions to print.

Though well-intentioned, this dream did not materialize. Upon returning to Canada, he found his wife's condition to be such that she was committed to the Braeside Lodge Sanitorium in Preston, Ontario. The rearing of young Frank was thus left to Dr. Schofield. The costs of raising the boy, coupled with the expenses necessary to provide lodging and treatment for his wife, represented a considerable financial burden for the young professor.

By the latter part of 1921, Schofield had accepted a position as Lecturer in the Department of Pathology, Ontario Veterinary School — his alma mater — and Director of Veterinary Hygiene and Research. While devoting himself to scholarly research and investigation, he did not neglect his meetings and lectures on Korea. In fact, for some years he continued to hope that he might someday return. Schofield had kept in constant touch with missionary colleagues regarding his desire to return. Though the position of bacteriologist had been

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81 See especially The Globe (Toronto), January 7, 1922 and December 1, 1921; also The Telegram (Toronto), December 5, 1926.
filled at Severance, the Hamheung Station of the Presbyterian Foreign Mission had extended the call for Dr. Schofield to return as an evangelist.

Writing to the Reverend R. P. MacKay, Mrs. A. F. Rable asked if the Foreign Mission Board would agree to such an appointment, saying that they would gladly have his presence for evangelistic and Sunday School work with the young people. She stated further that:

Dr. Schofield has already won for himself a place in the hearts of the young people of Korea, which, with his zeal, devotion, talents, and exceptional facility in the language, make him peculiarly well-fitted for work among young people.

Such need for Schofield and the high regard for him was reconfirmed in a letter from D. M. McRae, Hamheung Station, to Armstrong:

"The hearts of the young people are open . . . yearning for someone to lead them in the right way. They dearly love Dr. Schofield and there are few foreigners in Korea who have a greater hold on the young people--and I might add old--than he." The Mission Board had agreed and plans were under way to have Schofield returned by September 1922.

Dr. Schofield wrote of his willingness and desire to return "should conditions improve" (referring to the illness of his wife)

82 Korea Mission Correspondence, op. cit., Box 6, Mrs. A. F. Rable to R. P. MacKay, February 21, 1921.


84 loc. cit., D. M. McRae to A. E. Armstrong, no date.

and that: "I feel more convinced than ever that my life should be spent in Korea if it is possible. My heart is in Korea . . . (however) . . . the question of my wife and Frankie is a difficult one . . . she will not be able to look after Frankie." Allaying fears of his return and involvement in Korean-Japanese political affairs, he closed the letter with, "As to my getting into politics in Korea when I return, there is little danger . . . however, should the Japanese do something very bad . . . then I might also do something bad, but there need be no fear on this account."

While both Schofield and the Foreign Mission Board were preparing for Schofield's return pending resolution of his personal affairs, some colleagues felt the Doctor would best serve Korea by remaining in Canada. One returned Mission worker observed:®® "If the Board has a mind to kill interest in missionary enterprise here (Korea) they can best accomplish it by sending us a man like Dr. Schofield. It was a black eye!" In fact, Schofield and most of the missionary community were generally attacked by Frank H. Smith in his pamphlet The Other Side of the Korean Question.®® Schofield wrote to A. E. Armstrong,®® in a nine page letter, vehemently countering the charges of Smith.


®®loc. cit., F. W. Schofield to A. E. Armstrong, August 2, 1921. In the opinion of the writer, the contents of this letter are one of the more succinct commentaries on Schofield's position at that time. See Appendix C for full text of the letter.
The condition of Alice Schofield did not improve with the passage of time and although she and Schofield were reunited for a time, doctors finally concluded that she was incapable of maintaining a home and that, in the best interest of all parties, husband and wife should live apart permanently. Faced with yet more hopelessness, Dr. Schofield strove to return to some work in Korea, and in August of 1922 considered joining American Presbyterians in leper work in Korea. By late October, however, the young Doctor had abandoned his dream; his responsibilities to his son and ill wife could not be adequately shouldered in the field and with the meager salary of a missionary. "I still think if circumstances do not change that my life would have been more useful in Korea than here. My motives for Canada . . . are largely selfish." Indeed, it would be difficult for him to forget, as a Japanese "tail," Mr. Moriyama, was consigned to watch his every move. Mr. Moriyama was Schofield's constant companion for many years to come. On 11 December 1927, Schofield obtained permanent custody of his son; shortly thereafter Alice Schofield was committed to a sanitorium where she spent the years until her death in 1957.

89 loc. cit., C. K. Clark, M.D., to R. P. MacKay, April 15, 1922; see also Wm. Goldie, M.D. to R. P. MacKay, April 21, 1922.
90 loc. cit. F. W. Schofield to R. P. MacKay, August 9, 1922.
91 loc. cit., F. W. Schofield to A. E. Armstrong, October, 1923.
92 MacDonald, Ross H., Private interview, Toronto, Canada, 1974.
93 The Globe (Toronto), December 12, 1927.
Resigned to remaining in Canada, Schofield turned his energy and devotion to teaching and research. One of his first major research projects — and one that was to put the name Schofield among the ranks of the finest in Veterinary science — entailed investigation of wide-spread occurrence of bleeding cattle in the Toronto countryside. This research led to the discovery of sweet clover poisoning in cattle and the active agent (anti-coagulant) coumarin. Subsequent research during this period led to the development of other anti-coagulant agents and various rat poisoning substances.

By 1926 Dr. Schofield had accumulated enough savings to make a privately financed trip to Korea. Though frustrated in his attempts to return permanently to Korea, he at least could be reunited briefly with his adopted countrymen. He left Canada in early May arriving in Seoul on June 24th. Tonga Ilbo reported his arrival: "Dr. Schofield, Korea's friend, arrived in Seoul . . . many well-known individuals welcomed him . . . Dr. Schofield has exerted great effort for the sake of the Korean people and furthermore during the Samil Movement and after he returned to Canada he made a great contribution in informing the world about Korea." The day after his arrival a huge party was given by many of his friends such as Yi Kap-sang and commemorative remarks were given by two of the more prominent Korean independence leaders, Yi Sang-jae and Yun Chi-ho.


95 Tonga Ilbo (Seoul), June 25, 1926, p. 2.
Speaking to those present — some sixty in number — Schofield emphasized that they were facing challenging times, "... Korea today has the duty to produce men of great morality and character."

Frank Schofield made the most of his brief stay, visiting his Korean friends and former missionary colleagues throughout the countryside. His journey was emotion-filled and it was with great sorrow and longing that he departed in July 1926.96

Throughout the next several decades, Schofield devoted himself to his work in teaching veterinary pathology and bacteriology. During the years 1921–1958 he contributed some one hundred and fifty articles to veterinary literature on a variety of animal diseases — published in Canada, the United States and abroad. A partial bibliography reveals published research on subjects ranging from anemia in suckling pigs to tuberculosis in the horse. His name finds a special place in a variety of compendia which trace the history and development of modern veterinary science.

As his work continued to add knowledge to the science of veterinary medicine, Schofield also provided leadership to his Department and the Ontario Veterinary College, taking charge of the Department of Pathology and Bacteriology. In 1945, he became a full professor and assumed the Chairmanship of the Department of Pathology — a position he was to hold until his retirement in 1955 at the age of sixty-six. Toward the close of his distinguished

96See reminiscences of Yi Kap-sang, Yi Kyung-gi and others in Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., pp. 94-95.
career, he received several of the most coveted honors in his field: in 1950, the veterinary faculty of the Ludwig-Maximillian University, Munich, Germany awarded him an honorary doctorate "in recognition of his outstanding contributions to science;" in recognition of his exceptional contribution to veterinary science and the veterinary profession he was awarded the Twelfth International Veterinary Congress Prize by the American Veterinary Medical Association in 1954; and also in 1954, he was the honored recipient of the St. Eloi Medal given by the College of Veterinary Surgeons, Quebec Province.97

Throughout these years, his interest and love for Korea never diminished — in fact, they grew; he continued to be a frequent speaker on Korea, its culture and problems at meetings of social clubs, church gatherings and the like.

97University Library Archives, Toronto, op. cit.
CHAPTER VI
THE RETURN TO HIS ADOPTED HOMELAND
AND THE END OF THE STRUGGLE

In 1945, with the conclusion of World War II and the defeat of Japan, Korea was liberated. Her years of sorrow were far from an end however. To facilitate the disarmament of the Japanese and the return of the controls of government to Koreans, Korea north of the 38th parallel was consigned to Soviet authorities and south of that demarcation to the United States. Efforts on the part of the United Nations Committee on Korea were unable to bring about nation-wide peaceful elections and Korea became divided at the 38th parallel; The Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea was established in the north under Soviet-trained Kim Il-sŏng and in 1948, the First Republic of Korea was founded in the south with Syngman Rhee elected President.

As Dr. Schofield approached retirement age, the entreaties of his friends in Korea to return there became stronger and more frequent. After spending several years attempting to rid his eyes of cataracts, Dr. Schofield decided in 1958 to accept an earlier invitation to return. Thus, early that year, President Syngman Rhee, President of the First Republic of Korea, issued a formal invitation for Schofield to return as a State Guest upon the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Republic. On 14 August 1958 — after thirty-two years "in exile" — one of the few surviving members of the March First Movement again set foot upon the soil of Korea. Schofield was met at the airport by O Chae-gyŏng, Director of the...
Office of Public Information, who welcomed him as follows: "I would like to present to you the deepest gratitude on behalf of the people and government of Korea for your kind concern for your interest in (sic) and the Korean people." Meeting many of his old friends after so many years was, Dr. Schofield reported, a deeply moving experience.

The next several days were spent in conversations with President Rhee, Speaker of the National Assembly Yi Ki-pung, and many others; Dr. Schofield also attended a commemorative celebration of the liberation and founding of the Republic. Early on the morning of August 15th, Syngman Rhee welcomed Dr. Schofield at the Blue House (Presidential residence) and the two spent several hours reminiscing about those days when Korea fought so valiantly for her independence from Japan, and discussed conditions in Korea since liberation. Unfortunately, a disagreement developed over methods by which unification should be achieved — Rhee insisting that reunion was possible only through armed conflict while Schofield countered that only through thoughtful diplomacy, patience and prayer to God could Korea's dream be fulfilled. The reunion of these freedom fighters was thus interrupted and a friendship which

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98 Chae-gyŏng is now Chairman, Board of Directors, Christian Broadcasting System (CBS), Seoul, Korea.

99 Yi Ch'ang-nak, op. cit., p. 106.

100 Cardinal, George I., Private interview, op. cit.; also Yi Ch'ang-nak, Private interview, Seoul, Korea, 1971. Unfortunately — in terms of the historical record — some time after this incident Dr. Schofield destroyed the correspondence which had been accumulated over the span of four decades.
had developed over decades ended. During these — and other — visits Frank Schofield observed many changes in the Korea he had originally come to know and love: the quiet desperation of life in villages and on farms; the relative affluence of urban dwellers; the fast-moving pace of industrialization; and, the many victims of war and rapid industrialization — widows, orphans, and urban migrants. These sad observations struck old familiar chords in the heart and mind of Frank Schofield; he renewed his pledge to devote the remainder of his life to improvement in the welfare of ordinary Koreans. Responding to reporters' questions as to why he had returned to Korea, Dr. Schofield commented:  

"There is nothing strange about a man returning home . . . and a Christian does not place the easy and somewhat luxurious life of the West before his obligations to friends . . . I may not be able to help you in any big way, but I am here to help in any little way I can."

On 20 August 1958, Schofield visited the campus of Seoul National University as guest of SNU President Yun Il-son and Dr. Yi Yong-so, Dean of the College of Veterinary Science. Seeing again the facilities of this veterinary school, Schofield the scientist-educator awakened. His pledge of aid to Korea could perhaps be fulfilled — at least in part — by devoting himself to the instruction of Korean youth. Though University officials were somewhat concerned because of his age, his powers of persuasion were

101Seoul National University newspaper, no date, in Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished papers, Cardinal collection, op. cit. 
such that they acquiesced to his request\textsuperscript{102} and on 21 August 1958, he was appointed Professor of Veterinary Science and Pathology in the College of Veterinary Science. His responsibilities included teaching in the College and research in the pathology laboratories. In addition to his monthly stipend, a room was assigned to him in a foreign faculty house on campus.

For the remainder of his stay as "State Guest" of the First Republic, Dr. Schofield traveled widely, renewing old friendships, making new acquaintances and obtaining a new "feel" for his country. In early September many of his friends under the leadership of Yi Kap-sang and with the aid of Mr. Sin Bong-jo, Dean, Ewha Girls High School, Dr. George Paek, Mdm. Chang Sun-hi, Dr. Yun Il-sŏn, Dr. Yi Yong-so, Miss Yim Myŏng-sin (Louise Yim) and others, organized a commemorative "Welcome Home" party. On September 6th, the friends of Dr. Schofield gathered at Ewha Girls High School. Opening the ceremonies, Yi Kap-sang remarked:\textsuperscript{103} "The great compassion and contribution Dr. Schofield has shown and made for Korea will be remembered as long as Korea exists." Other remarks were then given by Foreign Minister Cho, representing President Syngman Rhee, during which it was revealed that the government would undertake the printing of Schofield's manuscript, "The Unquenchable Fire." Closing the program, the Association of the Bereaved Families of the Thirty-three Signatories of the Independence Declaration presented the

\begin{itemize}
\item[102] Yi Yong-so, Private interview, Seoul, Korea, 1971.
\item[103] Yi Ch'ang-nak, \textit{Uri \n̄i ṭot Suk'op'il\dacr\dact}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 110.
\end{itemize}
Doctor with several gifts. Some days later, in continuation of the
commemorative event, Schofield was entertained at the home of
Mdm. Chang Song-hee where those remaining members of the Korean
Patriotic Women's Association (Taehan Minguk Aeguk Puin-hue) had
gathered to celebrate his return and reminisce.104

As Schofield prepared to commence teaching and research
responsibilities at Seoul National University, he sent an open
letter105 of gratitude to all those who had given so generously to
him: "Dear Korean Friends: I know it is only proper to call on
each and every one of you to express my deep gratitude . . . but I
regret that I cannot do so . . . The only way to repay such great
kindness . . . is for me to stay in Korea and help you in whatever
way I can in your endeavor to build your new Republic on a firm ground
of justice and love and I have determined to do my best along this
line."

Thus, with renewed dedication and vigor, Frank Schofield again
stepped into harness for the sake of his beloved Korea. During the
remaining twelve years of his life he devoted himself to scientific
and religious teaching, to the eradication of corruption and
injustice in that society, and to the causes of the poor and suffering
in Korea. In an effort to render the wealth of material on this
period more manageable and readable, Dr. Schofield's activities during
the years 1958-1970 will be summarized as follows: political essays

104ibid.
105Kyonghyang Shinmun (Seoul), October 2, 1958, p. 1.

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and critiques; and youth and educational activities.

**Political Essays and Critiques**

Within several months after Dr. Schofield assumed his post at Seoul National University, President Syngman Rhee introduced to the National Assembly a National Security Law. Debate over the passage of this bill was so intense and prolonged that — in a surprising show of force — government troops surrounded the Assembly building, blood was shed, and a "packed" assembly passed the measure. Alarmed at this turn of events, Schofield immediately submitted a letter\textsuperscript{106} of protest:

> I have neither the right to be involved in the current political upheaval nor the desire to do so but I have for many years loved Korea and the Korean people . . . therefore, I feel it is my duty to make brief comment on the grave situations. I was . . . greatly surprised to find armed police guarding the National Assembly Building; this scene reminded me of the things I witnessed in 1919 . . . Are those armed policemen the symbol of the confidence which exists between the government and the Korean people? . . . It is a great misfortune that the Korean people cannot unite while they are in such a confrontation with the communists . . . In 1919 to write this kind of letter was not difficult, but dangerous and we did write those letters. Because of those letters, I believe, we have gained our liberty.

This article, coupled with other pointed — often sarcastic — articles and circulars brought the suspicion and animosity on the part of the Rhee government toward Schofield. Their uneasiness increased as he exposed governmental favoritism and corruption in the wheat

\textsuperscript{106}Hanguk Ilbo (Seoul), January 3, 1959, p. 1.
and sugar scandals which soon followed.

Indeed, for some time, Schofield's activities were closely monitored and subtle pressure was exerted to force his departure from Korea. 107

By early 1960, the people of Korea -- especially the students -- were gravely concerned for their government, a government increasingly dictatorial and corrupt. Faced with increasingly limited personal freedom, a mass of students -- soon to be joined by representatives from many other segments of Korean society -- protested on 16 April 1960 and soon won the downfall of the Rhee regime. Observing these developments, Schofield praised 108 the students in the spirit of "Samil" and at once expressed the need for caution in the months ahead as a new Republic was being founded:

Today we celebrated the triumph of righteousness, courage and freedom over tyranny, corruption, brutality . . . We must never forget that the monstrous evil . . . (which) threatened to destroy democracy and decency was challenged and destroyed by the courage and sacrifice of the students of Korea. To these brave young men and women we all owe a great debt of gratitude. It was . . . the return of the heroic spirit of the Samil Independence Movement. (However) We must recognize the fact that the destruction of evil is not identical with the establishment of righteousness . . . We must place the good of the nation before -- and a long, long way before -- any personal or political advantage.

Concluding the article, he emphasized the need for patience, tolerance, faith and constructive criticism if the "delicate plant of goodness"

107 Yi Ch-ang-nak, Uri ūi pŏt Suk'op'ildu, op. cit., p. 114.

108 Korea Republic (Seoul), April 28, 1960, p. 2; also Korea Times (Seoul), August 28, 1960, p. 2.
was to grow, for the eradication of evil could not be accomplished overnight. And "Tongnip Manse!"

Within a short time after founding the Second Republic, the government of Chang Myŏn (John M. Chang) bestowed upon Frank Schofield the Cultural Medal in acknowledgment and recognition of his services to Korea and her people. On 17 December 1960, Schofield was brought to Kyŏngmudae, the presidential mansion, where President Yun Po-sun presented him with the Medal saying,109 "I hereby award the Cultural Medal to Dr. Frank W. Schofield in recognition of his great contributions to Korea for the past thirty years." President Yun continued to relate Schofield's efforts in behalf of Korean independence during the Japanese period and concluded: "Since he returned to Korea in 1958 Dr. Schofield has proved once again his courage and convictions by criticizing undemocratic acts in the face of threat of expulsion. Dr. Schofield, beyond his professional skill, has made a great contribution to Korea and . . . as a result, he has been deeply respected by the entire people of Korea."

From Kyŏngmudae, Dr. Schofield was taken to City Hall where Deputy Mayor Kim Hu-hung presented him with a golden "Key to the City," and expressed the hope that he would always remain a fellow citizen. Concluding the celebration, students of Sukmyung Girls Middle and High Schools held a commemorative ceremony attended by many of Dr. Schofield's Korean and foreign friends -- among whom was included the wife of the American Ambassador. The students gave many flowers and presents to

109Korea Times (Seoul), December 18, 1960, p. 2.
their "Canadian harabuji (grandfather)" in recognition of his "love and service in the past and present."110

Though well-intended, the April 1960 Revolution did not bring forth national healing and recovery as expected. Again, as an acute observer of the political scene, Schofield wrote to the Hanguk Ilbo that -- while the objective of the April Revolution had been to bring down a corrupt dictatorial government -- an honest, democratic government had not been established in its place. This failure, according to Schofield was due to two reasons: "The first is that the students who had undertaken the Revolution had underestimated the depth of corruption and ... The second important reason is that they (the students) were not so much pro-revolutionary as ... anti-Syngman Rhee, which resulted in their becoming absorbed in inter-party factional strife -- thus causing the passion and zeal of the people to cool." In conclusion, Schofield urged self-restraint and austerity in life and called for a "new life movement" where such austerity, hard work, and devotion to the growth and maturation of the nation would originate with the upper rungs of society; those in positions of power would thus provide a model for the rest of society.

The hopes of students embodied in the April Revolution did not materialize, however, and there emerged another element of society impatient with the squabbling, delaying, and ineffective civilian politicians determined to make Korean society aright. On 16 May 1961, military leaders captured the reigns of government and, under the

110 Ibid.

111 Hanguk Ilbo (Seoul), January 8, 1961, p. 2.
Supreme Command for National Reconstruction (S.C.N.R.), proclaimed a new day for Korea. Though with concern for the establishment of real unity among the Korean people, Schofield welcomed the coup; he wrote to the Korea Republic on 14 June 1961:

"... When the shock of the coup d'etat is over ... I believe most people will come to the conclusion that it was both necessary and inevitable ... There is nothing to be gained at this moment by wordy discussions about the superiority of democracy or a healthy economy in a corrupt society. The real strength of a nation is the integrity of its citizens. Democracy in Korea has not failed, it has never been tried. When the external military discipline of today has become the accepted internal self-discipline of the citizens of tomorrow, then democracy may have its first chance in Korea ... If the soldiers who now govern Korea continue to give the people an example of integrity, austerity, discipline and show no partiality in the administration of justice ... this land of sorrow may become a place of joy.

In the May Revolution, Frank Schofield saw a last ray of hope for the elimination of corruption and social evils in Korea. Perhaps this was the beginning of the "new life movement" he had so frequently urged before. If a civilian government could not provide a model of austerity, hard work and devotion to national prosperity "from the top down," then perhaps the military -- with its code of ethics, self-discipline, and devotion to country -- could.

Placing his hopes for the future in Pak Chung-hi (Park Chung-hee), he never flagged in his support for the Third Republic's President. Indeed, as a measure of this confidence, he offered a ceremonial prayer at the inaugural ceremonies. He never ceased, however, to

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112 loc. cit., June 14, 1961, p. 3.
point areas for improvement. When factional strife broke out as the S.C.N.R. proposed an extension of military government, Schofield chastised both military and civilian sectors, saying that their conflicts must be settled by "honorable and reasonable compromise." Pointing to recent scandals, he reminded the contenders that neither side was "pure." In working toward a compromise, Schofield asked that the poor people of Korea be always kept in mind, that the eradication of corruption take precedence, that the military government not be extended too long thus frustrating promising young civilian politicians, and that only persons with a past record of service to country be given positions of responsibility.

Through his remaining articles -- for the daily press as well as school newspapers -- he constantly urged Koreans to unity in action and justice in their personal and professional lives. Frequently he would refer to the spirit of the Samil Independence Movement as a source of inspiration for the youth and leaders of today. Addressing those gathered at Pagoda Park for the unveiling of a monument commemorating those who gave their lives in 1919, he said:

"... We hope for another day of liberation when our family, now divided by an imaginary line, shall be free from the tyranny of Communism and united in one nation as before. We cry out for leaders, men and women, who

113Walker Hill Resort and Stock Market scandals.

114Korea Republic (Seoul), March 25, 1962, p. 2.

will renounce self-interest, and have one
great hunger to serve Korea and Korea alone.

To students, he repeatedly asked: \(^{116}\) "What will you do for Korea?"

Furthermore, according to Schofield, justice and harmony could
not be restricted to the peninsula but must be extended to Korea's
international community. At the outset of the Korea-Japan Normalization
talks there were demonstrations protesting the negotiations and many
recalled the Japanese occupation. In the normalization of relations
between Korea and Japan Schofield saw opportunities for economic
development and cultural and social interchange -- all of which would
benefit the people of Korea. He urged\(^{117}\) Koreans to have faith in
their negotiators and to abandon the belief that "every Japanese is
a snake." Such emotions, he argued, were counter-productive to the long-
rage interests of Korea. "If you want to defeat your enemy, make
him your friend."\(^{118}\) "A country, even more than an individual, must
have friends."\(^{119}\) The Third Republic acknowledged their debt and
gratitude to Schofield by bestowing upon him one of its most precious
honors: The Order of Merit for National Foundation and Medal was
awarded\(^ {120}\) by President Park Chung-hee in March 1968:

\(^{116}\) The Kyunggi Youth (Seoul), April 18, 1963; also Kyungpook
University Press (Seoul), February, 1965, \textit{loc. cit.}

\(^{117}\) Korea Times (Seoul), February 17, 1965, p. 2.

\(^{118}\) Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished papers, Cardinal collection, \textit{op. cit.}

\(^{119}\) Korea Times (Seoul), March 1, 1969, p. 2.

\(^{120}\) The Order of Merit Certificate, \textit{loc. cit.}
In recognition of, and appreciation for, his outstanding and meritorious service... Through his self-sacrificing support of our struggle for independence, he has manifested his firm conviction in the ultimate victory of democracy and rendered invaluable assistance to the restoration of our national independence. His brilliant achievements, together with his personal devotion to the improvement of amicable and fraternal relations between our two countries, have earned our highest esteem and admiration...

Truth, justice, compassion, love and humility were the virtues which Frank Schofield strove to instill in all members of Korean society; it mattered not whether one was Christian, Buddhist or atheist. In one of his last writings, he warned:121 "Until robust young men replace me, I will continue to fight against corruption."

Youth and Educational Activities

Dr. Schofield taught and carried on research at Seoul National University from 1958-1965. During that time, he tried to inculcate in his students a deep sense of professionalism and uncompromising dedication to their country. "Like (in) the old days he used to tell students toward the end of class what the students must do for their country."122

Believing ardently that the future of Korea rested with the young people -- their education and training -- Schofield was unceasing in his battle for a practical and sensible educational

121 loc. cit.
122 Yi Ch'ang-nak, Uri ᵀᵣᵢ pǒt Suk'op'ildu, op. cit., p. 130.
system. In addition to calling for free primary education, he struck out at the high costs and needless competitiveness in higher education:

I have never lived in a country where the struggle to obtain higher education is more rigorous. It is survival of the fittest with an intensity never seen in nature. The main reasons for this struggle are as follows: (1) Insufficient educational facilities, especially those of high standard . . . Many cannot continue (to high school or university) due to cost; others due to failure to pass the entrance examinations. The excessive cramming generally used to prepare students . . . is definitely detrimental to the health of young or undernourished students; (2) Failure to pass the entrance examinations may result in prolonged idleness due to heavy unemployment. All are aware of this so the struggle intensifies; (3) The competition is very keen for entrance to the national universities.

He also spoke out frequently on corruption within the educational system itself, pointing to the following as causes: (1) Private ownership of schools, colleges and universities; and, (2) Education, as a result of private ownership and generally low salaries, had become a profitable investment. In order to make a small profit, the school administrations — as well as professors wishing to raise their income — charge many additional exhorbitant fees for such items as school uniforms, badges, bags, and the like. Writing to his friends abroad, Schofield stated that one of his "major

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123 Korea Times (Seoul), November 28, 1969, p. 3.

124 Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished papers, Yi Yong-so collection, op. cit.

125 ibid.
battlegrounds" was the protection of his students from educational exploitation.

And there were many, many students who were aided — either through direct assumption of tuition and other fees or through personal intercession with school authorities to obtain scholarships — by Dr. Schofield. Dr. Yi Yong-so, adopted Korean son of Dr. Schofield, estimated\(^{126}\) that between the years 1958-1969 some fifty students were underwritten in their educational pursuits by Dr. Schofield. In addition, some three hundred were given other assistance such as the occasional purchase of school texts, school uniforms, lunch money, and the procurement of scholarship aid.\(^{127}\) Not long after the May Revolution of 1961, Schofield visited Chairman Park Chung-hee and with a gift of 250,000 won succeeded in having established a national scholarship fund for needy and deserving students.

Beyond the where-with-all for education, however, Frank Schofield was deeply concerned with the quality of such education. He criticized the "mass production diploma mills" as giving impractical education — an education more suitable to Western countries which could afford to produce philosophy, language and general humanities graduates. Writing of education within the College of Veterinary Science, Seoul National University, Schofield said:\(^{128}\) "The whole course (of study), with so

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\(^{126}\) Yi Yong-so, Private interview, op. cit.

\(^{127}\) Yi Ch'ang-nak, Uri ui pot Suk'op'ildu, op. cit., p. 132.

much highly specialized training about diseases which in all probability
the student will never see — as sick horses, cows, or pigs have no way
of visiting the college — becomes increasingly unreal and almost
nonsensical." He also attacked\textsuperscript{129} the six year dental program as
excessively long (as opposed to the four year programs in Europe and
the West) with the only reason being given that "the mouth (is) the
most important part of the body." Schofield was also very concerned
about the education of young Korean women, criticizing\textsuperscript{130} the instruction
of "the art of fencing" as an exercise in pure vanity: "How much better
to have taught the delicate damsels the art of bricklaying in preparation
for home-making." In short, any institution which did not prepare
youth — both men and women — for the realities of life in Korea
was seen by Schofield as worthless at that point in Korea's develop­
ment. "Of what good to Korea is a graduate of French?!"\textsuperscript{131}

One educational effort greatly admired and supported by
Dr. Schofield was the Hongguk Working Business and Vocational School.
Founded in early 1960 by a group of some thirty college students,
the School offered basic education and vocational training to six
hundred young boys and girls who came from families too poor to support
them in middle and high schools. College students taught during
their off-class hours, at no salary. The school building itself was

\textsuperscript{129}ibid.
\textsuperscript{130}ibid.
\textsuperscript{131}Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished papers, Cardinal collection,
\textit{op. cit.}
an old abandoned rice warehouse. There were no desks or seats, and only a few mats on the floor; such writing tablets, pens and pencils as existed were brought by the "teachers." Hoping to garner publicity and thereby financial support for this admirable enterprise, Dr. Schofield invited and personally escorted President Yun Po-sun through the school. After meeting with teachers and students, President Yun praised their work and encouraged them to continue in their "Love for Country and Love for People." Encouraged by the donation given by President Yun, Schofield wrote to his many friends in Canada and the United States — many of whom subsequently donated funds for the support of this school.

Through the years, Frank Schofield collected a significant amount of support for various schools, orphanages, and especially needy students — many of whom he continued to meet through his growing Bible classes. Customarily, he traveled to Europe, the United States and Canada annually, speaking before various groups, meeting with prominent officials, and visiting with friends in behalf of various causes which he supported. By far the most significant of the projects to which he gave support were two orphanages in the Seoul area. One was the Yurin Orphanage operated by Mdm. Auh Yun-hee; the other was the Pong-un Orphanage directed by Mdm. Yi Kyung-gi. When Schofield publicized the plight of these institutions, not only did he garner significant individual donations, but a group of veterinary colleagues in the United States — responding to Schofield's

132Korea Republic (Seoul), March 26, 1961, p. 2.
pleas — organized the "Schofield Fund." Calling on "all good veterinarians to come to the aid of Dr. Schofield," the resulting donations made possible construction of a new building at the Pong-un Orphanage and the purchase of a small plot of land for vegetable cultivation and chicken raising adjacent to the Yurin Orphanage.\textsuperscript{133}

For nearly a decade, some one hundred fifty orphans were subsidized — in part — by the donations collected by Schofield; to this day the Yurin Orphanage receives an annual subsidy from the estate of Dr. Francis W. Schofield, Jr., administered by the Executor of his Estate, Mr. George I. Cardinal of Breslau, Ontario, Canada.

Several scholarships are also awarded each year from funds left for this purpose to the Seoul Y.M.C.A. and Dr. Yi Yong-so.

Many institutions over the years gave high recognition to Frank Schofield for his various contributions to the development of veterinary science in Korea and to the furtherance of quality education throughout South Korea. In 1963 he was given an honorary Doctorate of Veterinary Medicine from Kyōngbuk National University; in 1964, Korea University bestowed an honorary Doctorate of Laws; and, in 1970, he was awarded an honorary Doctorate by his Korean alma mater, Seoul National University.

In 1965 the Ontario Veterinary College, University of Toronto, awarded one of its highest honors — the Degree of Doctor of Laws, \textit{honoris causa} to, ". . . Francis William Schofield —

\textsuperscript{133}Donations were collected and sent to Dr. Schofield via the offices of the \textit{Veterinary Medicine Magazine}, Kansas City, Missouri.
pathologist; investigator; humanitarian; humorist; great teacher; a Christian gentleman.\textsuperscript{134}

In 1968, Dr. Schofield left Korea for Canada and the United States on another fund-raising drive. This trip, however, would take him away from Korea for a longer period than ever before. While in Canada visiting his adopted nephew, George I. Cardinal, Schofield became extremely ill and spent some months convalescing at the Cardinal home in Breslau. He recovered somewhat but while traveling to California to visit friends, he was taken seriously ill again and was confined for some weeks to a hospital in Los Angeles. Fearing that he would not return alive to Korea, he wrote his adopted son, Yi Yong-so, instructing that his books and other personal items be given to Seoul National University.

The will to return was stronger than his frail body, however, and Schofield returned to his adopted homeland — whereupon he was admitted to the National Medical Center in February 1969. Following months of medical care he moved — at government expense — to the Mapo Apartments where a young girl, Miss Tae Sin-ja, was engaged to care for him. By early 1970, however, his emphysema and arteriosclerosis had worsened and he was readmitted to the National Medical Center. On 15 April 1970 — with several of his closest Korean friends at his side — he passed away at the age of eighty-one.

Even near the end of his life, Dr. Schofield's work never ceased; indeed, Bible classes were held several times weekly in

\textsuperscript{134}University Library Archives, Toronto, \textit{op. cit.}
his hospital room until his condition became so critical that even speaking cost great effort. As eternal tribute to their friend, Francis W. Schofield, Jr., was given by the Korean people a final resting place in the Korean National Cemetery reserved for heroes of Korea — the first and only such foreigner to be so honored by the people he loved so dearly. What could have been more fitting for a man who, in the words of Prime Minister Ch'ong Il-kwon was "... a great foreigner and an eternal 'Korean'?"

CONCLUSION

For those who planned the momentous events of 1 March 1919, Frank Schofield served as a mediator for, and communicator to, the world community; for those who fell victim to Japanese brutality and injustice, he gave aid and succor. Through the force of his personality and the fact that he was a foreigner, Dr. Schofield became a symbol to Koreans—a symbol of their hope that the world would come to recognize Korea's plight and aid her people in their quest for independence. Further, because of his active support for their cause, he reinforced in the minds of Koreans their sense of national purpose and identity. They knew of his great compassion, his sense of right and justice, and his concern for their welfare; in these they found renewed courage.

With regard to Schofield's impact on the Korean national movement for independence, the words of Yi Kap-sang are perhaps most appropriate: "Many times when we were gathered, Dr. Schofield would pray for our protection asking God to help us gain our independence. Dr. Schofield was the only foreigner who gave us really positive support. In him we found great courage to continue our struggle." Perhaps these words more than any others attest to the impact of Dr. Frank W. Schofield on the Korean movement for national integrity and independence. He utilized the resources at his disposal—especially his British citizenship—to their fullest

136 Yi Kap-sang, Private interview, op. cit.
on behalf of the Korean people. He did not shun publicity, even though his peers attempted, on the whole, to maintain a position of neutrality and a low posture; indeed, he welcomed visibility and used his immunity as a British citizen to protect and aid those in distress. The more pressure exerted by the Japanese on Schofield to cease his activities and leave Korea, the greater grew his fame among Koreans. I am not suggesting that the Korean movement for independence would have been seriously impaired or would have crumbled without the assistance of Dr. Schofield. I do believe, however, that the movement was stronger for the courage and inspiration he instilled in many of its leaders. Schofield is an exception to the thesis that, apart from protesting Japanese brutality, foreign missionaries in Korea were neutral—neutral toward the political issue of Korean independence from Japan. Schofield was never neutral. "I could never be neutral . . . in their plight." He was a man who believed that a Christian must act upon his faith, not merely preach, and he at least acted accordingly. He gave active assistance and provided moral support when Koreans very much needed these from foreign friends. In the hearts and minds of the Korean people Frank Schofield became a "Thirty-Fourth Participant" in the March First Movement.

After his return in 1958, Schofield was again influential in Korean affairs. As one of the most outspoken foreigners during the Rhee regime, his speeches and writing in criticism of that government carried sufficient weight that attempts were again made to force

his departure from Korea. Though unsupportable by published documents, Dr. Schofield reputedly affirmed to a friend that a primary reason for his invitation to return to the First Republic in 1958 was to serve as a political adviser to the Syngman Rhee government.\textsuperscript{138}

Further, after his return in 1958 and until his death in 1970, Frank Schofield served the Korean people as a friend, critic, and benefactor. Especially for the young people, he was a constant reminder of their duty and obligation to contribute to the orderly and just development of their country "in the spirit of the Samil Independence Movement." Over the years, he served as a model of Christian love, hard-work, dedication, and perseverance — constantly urging the young men and women of Korea to work for their country's happiness and prosperity. Indeed, many young people who fell under his influence responded to this challenge. In the words of one such young Korean, "Through your kind guidance and severe discipline . . . (and) since you are truly a lively Christian . . . let us all work together . . ."\textsuperscript{139}

His reputation as a true "crusader" for the Korean cause won him in 1919 great respect and endowed him with a credibility accorded few other foreigners. I do not suggest that there were not other foreigners concerned for Korea's political, economic, and social well-being; Frank Schofield was, however, one of the most

\textsuperscript{138}Cardinal, George I., Private interview, \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{139}Paek Nan Yong, "To My Dear Father Dr. Schofield on His 77th Birthday," in Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished papers, Cardinal collection, \textit{op. cit.}
active and vocal proponents of right and justice. He placed his concern for the future of Korea and her people — even to the extent that approximately two-thirds of his income went to helping those in need — above all else, this act of selflessness stands as mute testimonial to this concern. For these acts and concerns, he is the most highly honored foreigner in Korean history.

The forceful personality of "Tiger Grandfather" did not weaken through the years. In Korea, faced with a multitude of problems associated with modernization and development, Frank Schofield continued to serve as a symbol — a symbol that justice, compassion, brotherly love, and honesty need not be sacrificed for modernization. Indeed, if a modern society is to emerge, such national characteristics are all the more important. As a Christian and a "Korean," Frank Schofield may well be the most significant foreigner in modern Korean history. Today, in memory of all those with and for whom he laboured — as well as in the "Tiger Clubs" for young people established in his name — Frank Schofield has kept his promise: "I shall work even harder for you after death."^140

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^140Schofield, Francis W., Unpublished papers, Cardinal collection, op. cit.
APPENDIX A
THE KOREAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

We herewith proclaim the independence of Korea and liberty of the Korean people. In witness of our history of five millenia and in the name of twenty million united loyal people, we announce it to the nations of the world in order to uphold the principle of the equality of men, and we pass it unto our posterity in order to preserve forever our people's just claims to self-preservation. This is to insure the perpetual, permanent, and unrestricted progress of our people, and to join the great movement inspired by the conscience of mankind. This is in accordance with the command of Heaven, the great trend of the present age, and a proper manifestation of the principle of co-existence of all mankind.

Victims of tyranny and aggression, legacies of the antiquity, our people have suffered under alien domination during the past ten years for the first time in the history of several thousand years. Our right to life snatched away, our spiritual progress barred, our honor and dignity impaired, our every opportunity to contribute to the cultural development of the world taken away.

It is evident that to make known to the world our past grievances, to deliver ourselves from our present sufferings, to remove future threats, to promote national consciousness, to revitalize and advance our national dignity and nobility, to cultivate character of our individual citizen, to prevent our children from inheritance of shame, to assure a full and happy life for our posterity, we must first secure the independence of our people whose hearts are dedicated to the attainment of this goal in this day and age, when human nature and the sentiment of the age combine with armies of righteousness and moral law in our support. No barrier is too strong for us to break down and no goal unattainable.

We are not here merely to accuse Japan for her breach of numerous solemn agreements since the Treaty of Friendship of 1876, nor are we here to reprimand Japan for her lack of integrity and faithfulness simply because her teachers in their lectures and her politicians in their practice have regarded our land, the heritage of our ancestors, as their colony, treated our civilized people as savages, seeking only the pleasure of the conqueror and also have shown contempt for the age-old traditions of our society. Indeed, the urgency of self-determination and self-innovation does not allow us time to find fault with others; neither can we, who seek to mend wrongs of the present age at great speed, afford to spend time grieving over what is past and gone. Our crucial task today lies only in self-reconstruction and not in the destruction of others. Our work is to renovate our new destiny in accord with the solemn dictates of conscience and not to hate or reject others, swayed by momentary emotions or resentful over the past.

It is our sacred duty to correct and reform today's unnatural, illogical, anachronistic, and maladjusted conditions created by power-
hungry and fame-seeking Japanese politicians with ancient ideas and outmoded methods. We therefore seek to reestablish a new foundation for new conditions, based on a natural and logical plane.

Behold the result of the annexation, brought about against our wishes; the trench of everlasting resentment deepens; our grievances over unequal and unjust treatment and suffocating suppression of the Japanese military; even the hypocritical and false statistics of the Japanese could not conceal the fact that the interests of the two people are diverse.

It is a clear manifestation that the shortest path of avoidance of disaster and invitation to mutual blessing between the two people is to take enlightened and courageous steps so as to redress past errors and cultivate new friendly relations between them based on true understanding and sympathy. To bind by force twenty million resentful people will not only impair peace forever in the Far East, but also deepen the ever-increasing fear and suspicion toward Japan of four hundred million Chinese upon whom the key to peace rests. It is clear that the continuation of Japan's present policy and attitude will only invite mutual destruction and tragedy for all peoples of the Far East. Therefore, our declaration of independence is to induce our people to pursue their rightful course for life and prosperity; at the same time, to enable Japan to escape from an evil path and fulfill her grave responsibility as leader of the Far East, and to rescue China from ever pressing anxiety and fear. Furthermore, our action is taken as a necessary step for the establishment of peace of the world and for the promotion of happiness of all mankind. How could this be an outburst of emotion?

Behold, a new world unfolds before our eyes. The age of force is gone and the age of reason and righteousness has arrived. The spirit of moral law and humanity, nurtured and perfected during past centuries, is about to shed its light of new civilization upon the affairs of mankind. The arrival of the new spring to the world calls for the revival of all creatures. If the forces of the past have suffocated the people like cold snows and ice of winter, then the force of the present age is the revitalizing breeze and warmth of spring.

Finding ourselves amid this age of restoration and reconstruction, and riding the changing world tide, we neither hesitate nor fear to complete our task. We must guard our distinctive rights to liberty and freedom, and pursue the happiness of a full life. It is our sacred task to exhibit our indigenous creative energy, and crystalize and achieve our people's spiritual glory in the world filled with spring. For these reasons we have been awakened. The conscience of mankind is with us; truth marches with us. Young and old, rise and come forward from your resting place; let us accomplish our task for the resurrection in harmony with nature. The spirit of our ancestors protect us from within, and the trend of the entire world assists us from without. Undertaking is success; let us march forward into the light before us.

The First Day of March of the 4252nd Year of the Kingdom of Korea
Signed by Thirty-three Representatives of the Korean people:

APPENDIX B
CONVERSATION WITH THE HEAD OF THE GENDARMES

Doctor: I have come to see you, General, because I have apparently got a very bad reputation, having been threatened by the gendarmes with bodily harm if I do not behave differently.

General: Why have you got a bad reputation?

Doctor: For three reasons. First, I have written a number of bad articles on the present trouble for the local newspapers. Second, I have visited most of the villages which your soldiers have burnt. Third, I went to the village of Chaiamni (sic) where the massacre occurred, took photographs and wrote reports which I distributed among my friends.

General: You have not a bad reputation. Your reputation is excellent. Your character is perfect, and I only wish I could say the same for all the foreigners in Korea.

Doctor: (bowing) Thank you very much. Thank you very much.

General: On the contrary, I am a wicked man with a bad reputation and I also have been threatened. I am supposed to be a very cruel man.

Doctor: Yes, I believe that is true, and I am very, very, sorry. I wish, General, to speak to you about a case of petty prosecution of the Christians which occurred a week or two ago.

General: I want you to know that there is no such thing as persecution of Christians. When the Christians demonstrate and become law-breakers they have to be punished like anyone else, but they are never punished more severely because they are Christians.

Doctor: I have heard of a great many cases of unquestionable Christian persecution, but I prefer to cite a case which has recently come under my own observation. I went to a small village to preach and before commencing the service called on the gendarmes to announce the fact and asked that a gendarme should be present at the service so that if anything objectionable was said I, and not the Koreans, should be blamed. The gendarme replied that there was absolutely no need for a gendarme to attend and hoped I would have a pleasant service. Just after the meeting began I saw a spy sneak up to the church door and put his ear against the crack. I stopped...
the service and invited him to come in. After some coaxing he entered and stayed through the service. At the close of the meeting he said he was very glad to have been there and that everything was perfectly all right. That evening after I had left the church several gendarmes arrived about the time of evening service and for two hours questioned the poor men, women and children as to what I had said, and what was meant by certain phrases that I was supposed to have used. The gendarmes were very angry with some of the members and scolded them considerably. The people were being frightened and were afraid to meet for service for some weeks after.

General: Where did this happen? I will investigate the case.

Doctor: I am sorry, General, but I cannot tell you.

General: Why?

Doctor: Because if you investigate, it means that the poor people will be beaten or abused in some way.

General: What do you mean?

Doctor: Well, take the case of the Bible Society colporteur. His case was "investigated" and it only resulted in a second beating more violent than the first.

General: That is not entirely true. Allow me to explain. During the investigation the colporteur acted in a most rude manner to the gendarme who was questioning him. As a result the gendarme gave him a beating.

Doctor: That is very different from the story the colporteur gave me. He said that without provocation the gendarme set on him and beat him. Does the colporteur admit having behaved rudely?

General: I do not know.

Doctor: Then what evidence have you that he behaved in an ill-mannered way?

General: A wine and beer seller who was standing near testified to the fact.

Doctor: Well, I would just as soon believe the word of the colporteur as the word of the gendarme or wine and beer seller. How do you explain the first beating the colporteur received?

General: He did not receive a first beating.
Doctor: What do you mean?

General: We investigated and found that he was not beaten at all.

Doctor: Do you mean to say that the bruises were self-inflicted and that the man walked sixty li to Seoul and told us that he had been assaulted when no such thing ever happened? It is unthinkable. What is your evidence?

General: During the investigation the man took the investigators to a certain spot on a certain road and declared that at 10 o'clock on a certain day a mounted gendarme attacked him, threw away his Gospels and after kicking him sent him home. Further investigation showed that at the time on that day there was no mounted gendarme at that place; therefore he never was beaten.

Doctor: Then the man is a stupendous liar.

General: In this case he must have been.

Doctor: I would prefer the evidence of the man and his bruises to the statement of the gendarmes.

General: Do you think that I am a liar?

Doctor: No, but I think most of your underlings are, and you unfortunately have to depend on their reports.

General: They may exaggerate at times, I know. For instance, it was reported to me at first that one hundred missionaries were behind the Korean agitation but later investigation showed that only ten are involved.

Doctor: I am glad to hear that. Would you be good enough to give me your account of the Suwon atrocities?

General: Yes, I will be glad to do so. On March 31, and April 1, a great many instigators left Seoul for Suwon and the surrounding district, and incited the people in this district to agitation. The people acted very badly tewhere all the Japanese out of their homes and kill all the police. At one time absolute anarchy prevailed and the police lost control of the situation. Then for three days there was a massacre of the Japanese.

Doctor: Excuse me, did you say a massacre of Japanese?

General: Yes, a massacre of Japanese.

Doctor: How many were killed during the massacre?
Two gendarmes.

Two policemen in three days! Were the Koreans very heavily armed?

Yes, with sticks and stones and agricultural implements.

Please continue your narrative.

The Chief of the Provincial Police sent reinforcement to the area who arrested 1,600 people in a total of 61 villages. 1,200 of these people were later released. Most of the arresting was done at night. Lamps often fell over owing to the people rushing around to hide things, when they heard the police had come. This was partly the cause of the villages catching on fire. Also it is an old Korean custom that when the police come to make arrests the scandalous element rushes out of the house and sets fire to the thatch. The inmates finding the house on fire also rush out. In the confusion the scandalous element makes good its escape. It is a common Korean custom.

At Chaiamni (sic) the people were very glad to see the troops. The officer told all the men to come to the church as he had a lecture to give them. The young men went to the church and while the officer was speaking he was attacked by a Korean. Then a great row occurred during which the church caught on fire. After that it was difficult to say what happened.

Did the Koreans who were in the church run out when the fire broke out?

No, they were all dead.

All dead? How did they die?

They were shot.

How did the church catch on fire?

It is not known exactly, but we have investigated and found that there was a heap of straw just behind the church and it is thought that a spark from a Korean floor fell.

But why were the women killed?

Korean women when they get cross are very stubborn and refuse to obey the orders of the soldiers, and although we have not finished our investigations we believe that they even attacked the soldiers, so were shot.
Doctor: In no other country are women shot. Are your soldiers very brave men? (Pause in conversation.)

General: Unfortunately many of the agitators escaped to other villages and set them on fire, but now (May 21) we are glad to say that all the bad element seems to be good.

Doctor: How did you punish the Lieutenant who killed all the people?

General: He was punished most severely.

Doctor: Most severely? Did you shoot him?

General: He was not punished by civil but by the most severe military law.

Doctor: But General, I want to know what you did. I will never be satisfied until I find out. No Japanese will tell me. You are the General who punished the man. What was done?

General: He was punished in three ways. First, his salary has been cut in half. Second, his promotion has been delayed. Third, his pension has been reduced.

Doctor: Do you call that punishment? I have a few questions I would like to ask about the burning of the villages. I understood you to say that your soldiers did not set the houses on fire.

General: No, I do not think they did.

Doctor: Did your soldiers help to put the fires out?

General: No, they did not and for that I censure them.

Doctor: If the Koreans set the houses on fire to escape arrest as you say, and it is an old Korean custom, why did it only occur in the district of Suwon?

General: I do not know, but I do not think the soldiers fired the villages.

Doctor: How do you account for the burning of those villages which were not burnt at night time?

General: That is a very difficult question, and we have not yet been able to decide.

Doctor: In the village of Chang-tor-ri (sic), the only houses which escaped the flames were the police houses and yet the village was burnt during the afternoon. Do you think that looks suspicious?
I have heard that statement before. I cannot explain. But it is absurd to suppose that the soldiers did the burning because they went through fifty or sixty villages and yet only seventeen villages were burnt. Had the soldiers done the burning, all the villages they went through would have been burnt.

Splendid logic!

I would like to tell you a story showing how difficult it is to govern Koreans.

Please do.

You see the Koreans are such stupendous liars that —

Excuse me for interrupting, but the Koreans are not one bit "bigger liars" than the Japanese. (Pause in conversation.)

I hear that you were looking over the jail at C . . R . .

Yes, it was in very good condition in general but the sanitary arrangements were rather bad.

Japan is a poor country and so has not much money to spend on the jails in Korea.

If Japan did not spend so much on her army and navy she would have more to spend on the jails in Korea.

Oh, you are mistaken there. It is a very good thing for a country to have a large army. An army is the spiritual and moral, as well as the physical power of a country. I am glad to see that America is going to have a large army. It will be good for America.

We cannot agree there. I should like to ask you what is going to be done about the burning of those big churches up in Ozan and Tung-ju (sic).

We are investigating now, but cannot find out who burnt the churches. It was apparently the work of anti-agitators. Who do you think burnt the churches?

Your soldiers.

Why do you think so?

(Reasons given.)

Well you see it is very difficult to find out as incendiaryism
is a most serious offense and so the Koreans will not tell us who did it.

Doctor: I think if these had been Japanese instead of Korean buildings you might have found out before this. Have you tried a little torture? Koreans will tell anything when tortured.

General: What do you mean? There is no such thing as torture in the police system of Korea.

Doctor: No such thing! Why four days ago I saw a young man who had a scar four inches long on the outside of his leg where he had been burnt with a red hot iron by one of your torturers.

General: Why did not this man go to the procurator and bring a suit against the man who tortured him?

Doctor: How could he? The police, the procurator and the torturer are all one family. Can members of the same family be sued with any success?

General: That reveals your ignorance. The police and procurators belong to two distinct families.

Doctor: I am talking about the heart, not the uniform. They are all the same at heart; the Koreans cannot get justice in the courts of Korea today.

General: If you wish to speak like that, you had better go and see the Governor General and lay your complaint there. That is a most serious statement to make. You are raising international trouble.

Doctor: Well it is my opinion, and I have some good facts to back it up.

General: What are your facts?

Doctor: A few weeks ago you arrested eleven boys for shouting "Manse!" They were condemned to ninety blows each. They all appealed from the sentence. The jailor told them there was no such thing as appeal from a police beating. That was a lie. There is such a thing as appeal from summary police sentence. They were made to put their finger prints to a statement saying that they were satisfied with their sentence. They were beaten. Two died as a result. Do you call that justice? Would you do that to Japanese?

General: That is only one example.

Doctor: I could give you more.
General: Is there anything else you want to speak about?

Doctor: Yes, I want to show you these photographs of beaten men. (Photographs produced.)

General: Flogging is an old Korean custom which we like yourself who are educated, look upon as barbarous method of punishment, but if we were immediately to do away with such a custom, it would cause much agitation and unrest among the Korean people. You must remember that those who govern must govern according to the will and desire of those whom they govern.

Doctor: I do not think you would find the Koreans objecting very much if this brutal beating were to be done away with. I must not detain you any longer and wish to thank you for your kindness in allowing me this interview.

General: Not at all. Come and see me any time you have any trouble. I shall be glad to see you.
APPENDIX C

DR. SCHOFIELD'S RESPONSE TO
FRANK H. SMITH'S THE OTHER SIDE OF THE KOREAN QUESTION

Beaverton P.O.
Ontario

Aug 2.21.

Dear Mr. Armstrong:

Your communication from Mr. Smith has been received, considered and here is my answer.

Before dealing with the specific charges made by Mr. Smith I think it would be advantageous to briefly consider some of the conditions which exist in Korea and their influence upon mission policy.

Due to the weakness of Korea and the military strength of Japan Korea lost her independence and became not by consent but by force a part of the Japanese Empire. Few of the promises made at the time of the Act of Union have been kept. The people have suffered all kinds of injustices and have been denied the hope of ever regaining their freedom, or even self-government such as is being granted to India for instance. Japan's policy of forced assimilation has been condemned by some of her own statesmen and by most of her liberal thinkers.

The missionaries to the Koreans become more and more "Koreanized" the longer they are in the country. It is impossible for it to be otherwise; they speak the language of the Korean, read his literature and study his customs, and progressively see things from the Korean point of view. A missionary who is not sympathetic and who does not suffer when his people suffer will fail as a missionary. Can one remain indifferent to the stories of torture or to the unjust acts of the Oriental Development Company in turning Koreans off the land and renting it to Japanese? I do not mean that one has to see eye to eye with the natives in all things, especially those which are purely political. Now what must be the attitude of the missionary toward those who are responsible for these conditions which are absolutely wrong? I think it should be one of love, because love alone can change the heart of these misguided rulers. But this does not mean compromise with what he knows to be entirely wrong. He must to the Japanese as to the Koreans always stand for right, justice and truth. Mr. Smith takes a different position. He says, as in his letter "It looks as if Japan was in Korea to stay." Therefore as far as the sins of occupation go he is indifferent; he is interested only in temporizing the Japanese. I could never take this position, and to my dearest friend among the Japanese always stated that Annexation was robbery and Assimilation an ignominious policy. But Mr. Smith knows perfectly well that it would be almost impossible to temporize the Japanese in Korea, if he were to depart from their position re Annexation and Assimilation. It is like saying to a thief, "You have got away with the plunder in
in such an excellent way that I am not going to interfere in that matter but I want you to believe in Jesus because it is my job to Christianize everybody." To raise the question of the plunder would antagonize him and render your chance of Christianizing him slim. The mass of the Japanese in Korea dare not think or speak contrary to the will of the Government. This is not so in Japan.

The situation in Korea is very much like it might have been in the U.S.A. if Germany had won the war.

Let us now briefly consider some of the charges.

1. The Japanese are suspicious of the missionaries. This is quite true and for several reasons. a. The missionaries have always refused to be the government's agents advancing their policies. This has been taken as an act of unfriendliness. The missionaries were asked in confidence by the Government and unofficially by the head official to help put down the uprising but they refused. Most of the missionaries keep entirely out of politics and their love for the Koreans is considered to be evidence of an anti-Japanese spirit. b. It is most irritating to the Japanese that the Koreans love the foreigners and confide in them. This increases their suspicion of foreigners. c. The Japanese know that the missionaries are not at all in sympathy with their policy of forced Assimilation. They therefore suspect the missionaries of plotting against them.

2. They (the missionaries) have not a missionary attitude toward the Japanese. This merely means that they have not Mr. Smith's attitude toward the Japanese. Under the conditions which exist in Korea it is one of the most difficult things to be a missionary to both the Japanese and the Koreans, or to even fraternize with both. Mr. Smith complains frequently that no missionaries -- save DeCamp -- ever led a Japanese to Christ. I would like to know if Mr. Smith has ever converted a Korean! He would not have a ghost of a show if the prospective Korean knew who he was. I am sure he knows that by all the Koreans he is disliked and many hate him -- just as I was hated by most of the Japanese. The case of Mr. DeCamp was chiefly because Mr. DeCamp loaned the Japanese about $5000.00 to get him out of the hole. I think that Mr. DeCamp questions the eternal salvation of his debtor. I mention this to illustrate the true conditions. Many missionaries avoid all dealings with the Japanese because they realize that it hinders them in their work with the Koreans and it is doubtful whether they can do much more than teach the Japanese English. Is it possible for us to get very far when Mr. Imamura, Secretary to the Governor-General and one of Mr. Smith's strongest Christians, was most indignant with me for referring to the Koreans as "patriots" while to cover up the sins of the police he absolutely denied to me the existence of torture in Korea. Another case, a man -- I've forgotten his name -- came to see me to get all information regarding the atrocities. I gave it to him. He was indignant and was going straight to see the Governor-General. I met him the following day and asked how he had gotten along. He had not seen the Governor-General but he told me he had been given $20,000.00 for his church work by the director of a quasi-governmental institution.

3. "That the missionaries are a hindrance to Mr. Smith." Yes,
I should imagine they are, and chiefly for the reasons given above. Most of them see things from a totally different viewpoint to Mr. Smith. Smith is a decent enough fellow, yet he has a streak of Prussian Imperialism running through him which makes it difficult for a Democrat to appreciate him.

4. That the missionaries are bitter and lack the spirit of Christ to love our enemies.

I think Mr. Smith is wrong in thinking that most of the missionaries have a non-Christian attitude toward the Japanese. They all hate their cruelty but they do not hate the individual Japanese. There are a few who have spoken viciously about the Japanese at the time of the atrocities. But are they worse than the many Christian ministers at home who spoke words of hate about the Germans in Belgium?

We all sin here in finding ways to love our enemies; it is the most difficult of the commands. As Mr. Smith says, "I wrote the Bishop today that I might lose my religion if I had to go back to such an atmosphere." He questions whether he can love the missionaries who are so infuriating to him. I think that the spirit of bitterness which was very evident during 1919 will have passed away by now. I know that before I left many missionaries were wondering what they could do to bring Christ to the Japanese. We all realize as does Mr. Smith that they must be saved, but the method of approaching the problem we realize to be most difficult. Mr. Smith ought to remember that there were a great many missionaries endeavoring to pick up the Japanese language in their spare time. This was a great burden, yet it was for the sole purpose of being able to get into contact with the Japanese.

As to the telling of half-truths, Mr. Smith's little pamphlet, "The Other Side of the Korean Question," is a classical example. Yet he did not intend to be a liar; he was ignorant of the other half. Mr. Smith knows less about the Korean side of the case than any white person in Korea and most of us know little about the Japanese side of the case. As a result some half-truths have been published. Mr. Smith's half-truths are highly appreciated by the Government and deplored by the Koreans, while Dr. Schofield's half-truths arouse Japanese hostility and the ire of Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith is mistaken in thinking that the Japanese hate half-truths and therefore hate missionaries because they tell half-truths. They would hate the missionary quite as much if he told the whole truth — if it was an exposé of their evil.

As I read Mr. Smith's letter I felt that he has failed to grasp the psychology of the situation and does not understand human nature. However, I am glad that he has written as he did, because it will help us to see how we have failed to reach the Japanese and make us more determined to find some method of helping both Koreans and Japanese and thus some method of solving a most difficult problem.

Yours kindly,

Frank W. Schofield
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