

# Australian Female Volunteerism in Modern Korea (1889–1941): An Enlightenment Campaign\*

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## Introduction

The Australian diplomatic relationship with the People's Republic of China began in December 1972, when Gough Whitlam, together with Richard Nixon of the United States, ceased to recognize the government of Chiang Kai-shek (the leader of the Republic of China between 1928 and 1975). However, the foreign relationship between Australia and the Republic of South Korea was launched a decade earlier under the international economic policy of the Menzies government in May 1963. Since that time they have become close trading partners in the Asia-Pacific region. Korea is a key market for Australian minerals, energy, travel and education services, and Australia is a major market for Korean vehicles, petroleum, and electronic goods and parts. The economic relationship received a boost on 8th April 2014 with the signing of the Korea Australia Free Trade Agreement (KAFTA). The countries have also been engaged in important regional activities as active members of the G20, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) the East Asia Summit (EAS), and used to be non-permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). What, then, could have precipitated this early and steady rise of official diplomacy and forged the sound economic relationship between the two nations? In this regard, it cannot be denied that decades earlier, there were many Australian females (as well as males) involved in non-government activities in modern Korea (1889–1941). For example, an aunt of the 12th Australian Prime Minister Sir Robert Menzies spent 33 years (between 1891 and 1924) in Korea as a volunteer.<sup>1</sup> How did female

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1 In the modern era 78 Australians dedicated their lives by volunteering in Korea. Jeong Byeongjun 2006. According to Yi Yunmi (2013, 266), there were even more Australians (84 people) in pre-1945 Korea. See also Kim Seungtae / Pak Hyejin 1994, 2.

Australians come to be in Korea? What was their social motivation? Where did they primarily reside in Korea? What did they do in the poverty-ridden and politically chaotic land?

### The Student Volunteer Movement in Colonial Australia

In the 18th century Australia was generally known only as a colony of Great Britain (1788). This image was gradually transformed as Australian people started engaging in overseas activities including economic, trade, and Christian missions in the Asia-Pacific region. These types of transnational promotion predominately involved men. The role of women was limited in society, in the community, and the family. By the 1890s, the position of women in Australian society had changed, allowing them greater independence, and this happily coincided with the social campaign of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM).<sup>2</sup> The university student campaign, originally founded by the British and American student missionary campaign of Dwight L. Moody (1837–1899),<sup>3</sup> emerged from the initiative of US students who had attended a Young Men's Christian Association student conference in 1886 at the Mount Hermon School in Massachusetts in the United States. John Raleigh Mott (1865–1955), one of 251 delegates, was named as the chairman of the SVM when the organization was officially established in 1888.<sup>4</sup> The original goal of the campaign was to nurture local students to become missionaries. The SVM subsequently spread to Britain, Scandinavia, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, China, India, Ceylon, and France,<sup>5</sup> and Mott visited Australia in March 1896 to address university students from Melbourne, New South Wales, and New Zealand.<sup>6</sup> As a result, about 70 young students dedicated themselves to promoting future involvement in overseas volunteer activities.<sup>7</sup> When the American leader revisited Australia seven years later in 1903, the Australian SVM had grown to include 45 groups with 1,370 members.<sup>8</sup>

who can measure the influence of these thousands of (volunteers) spread out over the world ... (who) bring to bear the principles of Christ upon the problems of social, industrial and political life ... training Christian leaders and determining missionary policy and practice? And who can overstate the importance of (volunteers)

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2 As the missionary arm of the Australian Student Christian Movement (ASCM) as well as the Australian branch of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). See Howe 2001.

3 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 207–210; Jo Sangyeol 2011.

4 Kamsler 2012; Harder 2011.

5 Mott 1900; Tyrrell 2010.

6 Jeong Byeongjun 2005.

7 Tyrrell 2010; Garnsey / Holmes 1946, 6.

8 Hopkins 1979, 25, 33, and 105; Ryu Daeyeong 2007; Busan nohoe 2010, 138–141.

who today hold important positions in the missionary societies ... the student volunteers in all parts of the world have come into a place of recognized leadership.<sup>9</sup>

The American SVM leadership encouraged Australian university students with consequent plans for missionary work, especially in Korea, China, India, and the Pacific region, stating that “the greatest theatre of student work in the next decade will be Asia.”<sup>10</sup> The Australian SVM then launched its social movement under the organization of the Australian Student Christian Movement (ASCM).<sup>11</sup> Renate Howe suggests that

as citizens of the new Australian Commonwealth the volunteers had to work out an identity within the heart of imperial colonialism.<sup>12</sup>

She detailed that the Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union (PWMU), the Australian branch of the British Missionary Settlement for University Women (MSUW), and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission and Society (ZBMM) supported the work of women in India, China, and the Pacific. Howe criticized Australian students as “reluctant missionaries,” for there were only 49 volunteers, who sailed overseas between 1896 and 1905.<sup>13</sup> Among these 49 volunteers, 20 were female. Frank Engel described the influence of female students:

Christian women found a measure of understanding and equality with opportunities for leadership.<sup>14</sup>

However, Howe and Engel did not have a clear record of volunteers for Korea even though John Raleigh Mott had previously urged the necessity of involvement in the Korean peninsula. Is it true that no women volunteered for the social development of Korea which was going through a sociopolitical transition from the national isolation policy to the open-door policy?

There is a historical record stating that there were 78 Australians who lived in Korea during the pre-Cold War period. The report titled “Australian Student Christian Movement and Korean Mission, 1889–1942” also verifies the presence of female volunteers, mentioning that 54 female Australians dedicated their lives to working in the south part of the Korean peninsula for many years.<sup>15</sup> Not every female was sent by the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM), but the new social campaign directly influenced young educated Australian women

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9 Mott 1900.

10 Mott 1903; Howe 2001, 315; Boyd 2010.

11 Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 7f.

12 Howe 2001, 311.

13 Sixteen volunteers went to India, while 12 volunteered for China, 11 were in Pacific countries, and 10 of them were recorded as volunteers for Africa and the Middle East.

14 Engel 1984, 141; see also Howe 2001, 311.

15 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 223ff.

to involve themselves in the social transformation of Korea. According to Byung-Joon Chung (Jeong Byeongjun 정병준, 鄭秉峻), Australia and New Zealand sent 350 Christian volunteers between 1886 and 1945. If 78 volunteers were sent to Korea, then these made up over 22% of the total number of volunteers.<sup>16</sup> The fact that 69% of the Australian volunteers destined for Korea were female cannot be ignored either.<sup>17</sup> In particular, 13 Presbyterian women were sent to Korea between 1896 and 1912.<sup>18</sup> The Australian female volunteers were young, well-educated, middle-class graduates majoring in arts or medicine. Most of them came from the Protestant “ladies” colleges in Melbourne, Sydney, and Adelaide.<sup>19</sup>

When Frank Paton (1824–1907) became the leader of the Australian Student Volunteer Movement (SVM) in 1911, the Korea mission was given a new perspective through the introduction of the Forward Policy.<sup>20</sup> Female volunteers dedicated their lives as long-term volunteers and many of them remained celibate. This volunteerism of Australian females in Korea was not a temporary social campaign but rather a permanent commitment to the unknown culture of the East Asian world. They did not strive to achieve any specific benefit for themselves but instead sacrificed their young lives and education for people who were less fortunate. The nation of Korea was not only far removed from western civilization, but was in turn known as a place with many grotesque customs, multifarious superstitions, and infectious diseases.<sup>21</sup> While the Korean government did not have a steady foreign policy and there were few countries that offered the reasonable ideology of modernization, these Australian females, who were affiliated in a religious NGO, delivered Western philosophy and technology to the local communities of Gyeongnam (old transcription: Kyungnam) Province (Gyeongsangnam-do 경상남도, 慶尙南道). The influence of social enlightenment even came to challenge the colonial policy of Japan, moving the country to commence public services for the people of Korea.

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16 Charles I. McLaren was one of four secretaries before coming to Korea in 1910. When the Student Christian Movement (SCM) was developed by the Foreign Service Fellowship (FSF), Frank Borland and James Stuckey also volunteered for the East Asian nation of colonial Korea after 1927. Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 3–5.

17 There were 54 females. Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 223ff.

18 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 222.

19 Howe 2001, 312f.

20 Paton 1916; Ryu Daeyeong 2007.

21 Busan nohoe 2010, 186ff.

## Campaigns of Social Enlightenment

The international work of Australians during the Korean Empire (Daehan jeguk 대한제국, 大韓帝國: 1897–1910) era and the Japanese colonial period (Ilje gangjeomgi 일제강점기, 日帝強佔期: 1910–1945) did not consist of the independent efforts of individuals but was the result of cooperative endeavors under the perspective of global volunteerism initiated by the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (Australia). The feudal state of Korea had been under the rule of King Gojong (고종, 高宗, 1852–1919) since 1863, but as he was still a child, his father (Heungseon Daewongun 흥선대원군, 興宣大院君, 1820–1898) ruled as regent until Gojong reached adulthood. Daewongun was the main proponent of national isolationism, including the persecution of native and foreign Catholics. As the Confucian culture was predominant throughout the dynastic nation, the *yangban* (양반, 兩班) hierarchy of the society generally pursued the traditional means of education, Chinese medicine, and traditional technologies.<sup>22</sup> When the emperor of Korea became an adult, the national foreign affairs policy had been changed by the 1876 treaty of Ganghwa Island between Korea and Japan (Ganghwa-do joyak 강화도 조약, 江華島條約). The Korean government opened three ports, in Busan (부산, 釜山), Incheon (인천, 仁川), and Wonsan (원산, 元山). Western culture and civilization were gradually introduced through efforts initiated by the United States and Great Britain in 1882. Sang-Gyoo Lee (Yi Sanggyu 이상규) indicates that John R. Wolfe (1832–1915, CMS: Church Missionary Society) briefly visited Busan in 1887 and then promoted the necessity of a Korean mission, which brought the first Australian volunteers, Joseph H. Davies (1858–1890) and his older sister (Mary Davies) to Korea in 1889.<sup>23</sup> The professional school principal Joseph H. Davies suffered from smallpox and (acute) pneumonia and eventually died a few months later (5th April, 1890) in Busan.<sup>24</sup> However, his death provided Australian volunteers with the motivation to aid the local people of Busan and Gyeongnam Province (1,500,000 populations in 1890).<sup>25</sup> Educated Australian females reached the port of Busan via Japan because Australia was a trading partner with Japan from 1865 to 1896 prior to the commencement of official diplomatic relations.<sup>26</sup> The public spheres of education and

22 The social group *yangban* was the traditional ruling class or gentry of dynastic Korea during the Joseon Dynasty (Joseon wangjo 조선 왕조, 朝鮮王朝: 1392-1910).

23 Yi Sanggyu 1994, 150f, 156; Jeong Haesong 2010, 138ff.

24 Gosling 2007a, 9f. Busan nohoe 2010, 90–106.

25 Yi Sanggyu 1994, 150f, 156; N. Kwon 2010.

26 From 1876, the port of Busan became the most popular gateway of Korea entered by most foreigners who came via Japan (Shimonoseki) unless they came by land, entering the gateway of Uiju. See Yi Sanggyu 1994.

health care were the main areas of concern for the purpose-driven passion of the female volunteers.

### The Educational Sphere

Traditionally, Korea had the three schooling systems of *seodong* (서당, 書堂, village School), *hyanggyo* (향교, 鄕校, the Confucian school for regional students), and *seonggyungwan* (성균관, 成均館, the national education institution). The Confucian system was officially terminated in 1894, but the rural towns still operated according to the old style of education in the early twentieth century. Meanwhile, the new, Western method of education was spread by the efforts of Australians. This modern method of education pursued a liberal agenda striving for the social renaissance of feudal Korea.<sup>27</sup> As a result, the non-Eastern philosophy with which this method was imbued not only implanted a new worldview in Korea but also promoted social justice including human rights, gender egalitarianism and fair employment. The following schools were established based on the modern concepts by Australian volunteers:

Education \ Region	Busan (Jin)	Jinju	Masan	Geochang	Tong'yeong
<b>Kindergarten and Rehabilitation</b>	Il-Shin Kindergarten, Zion Kindergarten, Yangji Rehabilitation (1918)	Chunju Kindergarten (1913)	Eui-shin Kindergarten (1924) Woryeong Kindergarten (1930)	Myoung-Deck Kindergarten (1913)	Jin-Myoung Kindergarten (1923) Jin-Myoung Centre (1923) Dong-Bu Kindergarten (1928)
<b>Primary School</b>	Il-Shin Women's (Busanjin) School (1895)	Si-wun School (1906) Kwang-rim School (1906)	Chang-shin School (1908) Eui-shin Girls' School (1913)	Myoung-Deck (Geochang) School (1915)	Jin-Myoung Women's School (1914)
<b>Secondary School</b>	Daonaell-Shin Women's School (1909)	An-Dong School (1906)	Ho-Shin School (1925)		
<b>Vocational School</b>	Daonae Women's Vocational School (1935)		Gospel Farm School (1934)		Jin-Myoung Night School (1924) Do-Chun Night School (1926)

Table 1: The Australian Educational Institutions in Gyeongnam Province<sup>28</sup>

27 Yi Yunmi 2007; Pak Yeonho / Son Sehui 2011, 76ff.

28 See No Yeongsuk 2011, 230–235. Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 11. Munchang gohoe wiweonhoe 2001, 102–105.

The female intellectuals introduced a new culture, system of education, and ideology as the basis of regional development in Gyeongnam Province (southern part of Korea). The urban development campaign was fulfilled in the towns of Busan (부산, 釜山, 1891), Jinju (old transcriptions: Chinju, Chunju, 진주, 晉州, 1905), Masan (마산, 馬山, 1908), Geochang (거창, 居昌, 1913), and Tong'yeong (old transcription: Tongyung, 통영, 統營, 1913).<sup>29</sup> The pioneering work affected the lives of ordinary local people, as no public systems existed in the region, neither through the Korean empire nor the colonial government. The region's poor women and children were thus provided with a new social environment in which they could learn or realize the Western ideology of an egalitarian society. The local Koreans were culturally shocked by the appearance of the foreigners, and language was an issue in the beginning. The Australians also struggled to settle down in the regions, in addition to having limited opportunities to approach the local people. Yet, the external conditions of the Confucian society did not present a permanent obstacle for the young female volunteers since most of them dwelled in Korea for more than 21 years.<sup>30</sup> The promotion of social levelling, regardless of the issue of gender, was new to the male chauvinist society of the Joseon Dynasty.

Among the new volunteers, the first female volunteer was Miss Mary T. Davies (1853–1941), who came with her brother (Joseph H. Davies). From her arrival in 1889, Mary remained in Seoul, even after her brother's death, but endured hardship and contracted pneumonia.<sup>31</sup> When she went back to Australia for medical treatment, she encouraged other women to volunteer for Korea and founded a women's volunteering organization, called the "Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union" (PWMU) in 1890, which ultimately sent about forty young women abroad.<sup>32</sup> She then returned to the East Asian nation and established the Euisin Girls' School (Uisin yeoja hakkyo 의신여자학교, 義新女子學校) in Masan, which was the first modern educational institution in the region.<sup>33</sup> The second group of Australian volunteers consisted of three single women, Mary Fawcett, Jean Perry, and Belle Menzies, who came to Gyeongnam Province along with James H. Mackey and his wife (Sara Mackey) in October 1891.<sup>34</sup> The first winter they spent in Korea was so harsh that it was difficult to bear without a proper dwelling. They had to stay in an empty storehouse of a Japanese owner, for

29 The *Chosen Christian News* (Joseon Geuliseudo inhoebo 조선그리스도인회보, 朝鮮그리스도人會報) (1897–1899) and *Christ Newspaper* [*Geuliseudo sinmun* 그리스도신문, 그리스도新聞] (1897–1906) reported on the accomplishments of the social renaissance in Korea. No Yeongsuk 2011, 220–224; Yi Sanggyu 2011, 38ff.

30 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 225.

31 S. G. Lee 2009, 63ff; Busan nohoe 2010, 90–106.

32 Yi Deokju 2010, 88f; Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 5ff.

33 Munchang gyohoe wiweonhoe 2001, 81f.

34 Busan nohoe 2010, 158–166.

none of the Koreans would rent their property to Westerners.<sup>35</sup> Unaccustomed to the new environment with its freezing cold weather, Mrs. Mackey died of pneumonia that winter in Busan (Jan. 1892). The others, however, fared better. Miss Mary Fawcett worked for orphanages and blind people until 1893.<sup>36</sup> Miss Jean Perry who was born in Buckinghamshire, UK, and immigrated to Australia, likewise, volunteered to educate local children of Busan and in the orphanages of Seoul until 1895.<sup>37</sup> Miss Belle Menzies (1856–1935) of Ballarat, Victoria, stayed in the southern part of Korea for almost 33 years (between 1891 and 1924).<sup>38</sup> She strived to learn the Korean language with the help of a native Korean (Sim Sanghyeon 심상현, 沈相炫) who was able to speak English.<sup>39</sup> In 1892, she was one of the first female workers to consider the education of the local women and children in the Busan region important. Miss Menzies led the other Australian volunteers in the 1890s to further this cause, motivated by the thought that “to elevate a nation, wives and mothers must be educated.”<sup>40</sup> They started the Myoora (Miora 미오라, meaning, “refuge”) orphan school, for there were many wars between Korea and other nations (France, Japan, USA, China, etc.).<sup>41</sup> Many homeless, orphaned, physically handicapped girls or those in danger of being sold as kitchen slaves or prostitutes were under the care of the Australian volunteer.<sup>42</sup> The Il-Shin (Daily News) Girls’ School (Il-sin yeoja hakkyo 일신여자학교, 日新女子學校) in Busanjin (부산진, 釜山鎭) was established as the first women’s school in the southern part of Korea in 1895. The school not only functioned as the primary educational institution where the local women were trained as social leaders, but also challenged the traditional stereotype that “a woman’s virtue is her ignorance.”<sup>43</sup> The purpose of Menzies’ work was to train the local people to become teachers and

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35 Since the Australian winter is not that cold (mostly above zero), the first experience of a freezing cold winter in Busan, Korea, without proper accommodations negatively affected the health of all the Australians there. Yi Sanggyu 1994, 161f.

36 With Belle Menzies. Yi Sanggyu 1994, 163f.

37 Busan nohoe 2010, 180f; Perry 1906.

38 When she went back home, her lawyer nephew Robert Menzies began his political career as a member of the Victorian Legislative Council from East Yarra Province, representing the Nationalist Party of Australia in 1928. See Dongnae hagweon 1995, 40.

39 *Chronicle*, April 1907, “Letter from Miss Menzies”.

40 Bryce 2013, Jeong Haesong 2010, 144ff.

41 Such educational institutions were established following their legalization by King Gojong of the Joseon dynasty in the 1890s. The Lady Mayoress of Melbourne was involved in the “Myoora” fete in Australia to raise the money for the Myoora orphanage of Fusan in 1909. *Chronicle*, Feb. 1907, “Report of Old Fusan Station”; Dec. 1909, “The ‘Myoora’ Fete”; Aug. 1916, “Our Missionary Mail Bag: A letter from Maymoury Suh to Essendon S. S.”; Yi Sanggyu 1994, 165f; No Yeongsuk 2011; Dongnae hagweon 1995, 29f; Busan nohoe 2010, 160–167.

42 *Chronicle*, Oct. 1907, “Notes from the Foreign Secretary: Letter from Miss Menzies, Fusan, 16/7/1907”.

43 Yi Sanggyu 1994, 165f.

social and religious leaders. She used Christian books to teach Korean and Chinese, as well as providing instruction in the subjects of Japanese, history, geography, arts, math, cooking, sewing, gymnastics, music, handcraft, and sports.<sup>44</sup>

Menzies also operated a coeducational school, in which there were 55 males and 85 females. The educator's personal passion is reflected in her adoption of three abandoned Korean children (Min Sinbok 민신복, Jang Gami 장가미, and Su Mamuri 수마무리), as well as in her statement that "women and mums should be educated for the future of the nation."<sup>45</sup> A letter belonging to Jane Perry, who cooperated with Menzies until 1894, proves Menzies wanted to offer Western education to the local people:

there was no female Korean in 1891, but the local children and women started to show their interest in the western school, female clubs, and orphanage which the Australian female volunteers organized.<sup>46</sup>

The concept of initiating a social renaissance among marginal people is also reflected in her philosophy that "children are the future of Korea and the one who conquers women rules the nation."<sup>47</sup> Menzies had to return to Australia for family reasons from 1908 to 1912, but when she returned to Busan, the volunteer established a women's night school which was an innovative form of modern education for that era.<sup>48</sup> The improvement of local people's living conditions was also one of Menzies' concerns, as illustrated by her support of the 1919 Korean Independence Campaign (March First Independence Movement) for the human rights of colonial citizens.<sup>49</sup> Her efforts were effective not only at teaching Korean women to read Korean but also at promoting an improvement of living conditions through the social campaigns of hygiene and public health.<sup>50</sup> An article in the periodical *Korea Mission Field* (KMF) expressed the social development as "the concept of dignity of womanhood"<sup>51</sup>

Miss Elizabeth S. Moore (1863–1956) did volunteer work for 17 years until her retirement (1892–1913). Although she was a nurse, she worked in orphanages, such as at the My-

44 *Chronicle*, Nov. 1906, "Notices from the Foreign Secretary".

45 Even after her retirement, Miss Menzies (66 years old) expressed her love to one of her adopted daughters, Shin-Buk Min, by travelling from Australia to attend her wedding in 1930. Yi Jeongsun 2012, 53f. Busan nohoe 2010, 160–167.

46 Record, 02/1893. When Perry moved to Seoul, she cared for orphans. See Perry 1911; Yi Sanggyu 1994, 165.

47 *Korea Mission Field*, Dec. 1907, "A Symposium: the Greatest Need of Korea's Women"; Yi Sanggyu 1994, 166f; Lee Yoon Mi 2007.

48 Busan nohoe 2010, 168–171.

49 Busan nohoe 2010, 164–168.

50 Because many women in the Confucian society were illiterate and living conditions were often unsanitary.

51 *Korea Mission Field*, Dec. 1907, "A Symposium: the Greatest Need of Korea's Women".

oora house.<sup>52</sup> Moore additionally worked from 1915, with R. D. Watson, in the region of Tong'yeong.<sup>53</sup> Despite colonial persecution and endemic diseases, Moore assisted Mrs. Watson in modernizing the situation of women and children by establishing the regional educational institutions of Jin-Myoung Kindergarten (Jinmyeong yuchiweon 진명유치원, 進明幼稚園), the Jin-Myoung Women's School (Jinmyeong yeoja hakkyo 진명여자학교, 進明女子學校), and the Jin-Myoung Night School (Jinmyeong yagan hakkyo 진명야간학교, 進明夜間學校) in Tong'yeong.<sup>54</sup> Mrs. Watson and Moore also operated a business campaign for the female prostitutes of Tong'yeong.<sup>55</sup> Many arts and crafts made by these Korean women were sent back to and sold in Australia. The proceeds were given to the Korean women. Miss Agnes Brown (1868–1954) coordinated the campaign with Elizabeth S. Moore before moving to Pangyang with G. Engel in 1907. She served the people of Korea for a total of 42 years (until 1937).<sup>56</sup> A 1970's Australian missionary, Edith A. Kerr, once commented on these female volunteers, saying:

to these ... (Australian) ladies who itinerated the hard way before the advent of motor vehicles or trains and who by the witness of their dedicated lives and by their faithful teaching did so much to commend ... the Christian way of life to Korean people of Busan and its environs, too high a tribute cannot be paid.<sup>57</sup>

According to Yoon Mi Lee (Yi Yunmi 이윤미), some of the Korean women educated by the Australian volunteers became teachers, nurses, and wives of the local leaders, including a governor.<sup>58</sup>

Until 1910 private schools outnumbered public schools, but the colonial government already started to set up a public educational system in the year Korea was annexed by Japan.<sup>59</sup> The local schools operated by Westerners (including Australians) began to be

52 Miss Bessie S. Moore helped Dr. W. Taylor introduce modern medical service to the women and children of the region's islands. See *Chronicle*, Feb. 1907, "Notices from the Foreign Secretary"; May 1908, "Notes from Foreign Secretary: Miss Moore writes from Fusan, Korea, Feb. 24, 1908"; Busan nohoe 2010, 182ff.

53 *Chronicle*, April 1907, "Christmas in Day in Fusan"; Yi Sanggyu 1994, 163.

54 No Yeongsuk 2011, 232f.

55 Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 363. Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 20ff.

56 *Chronicle*, Dec. 1906, "Notices from the Foreign Secretary"; March 1907, "Miss Niven's Report"; May 1907; "Letter from Miss Brown, Fusan"; Yi Jeongsun 2012, 64ff; Dongnae hagweon 1995, 40.

57 Shapley 2015.

58 Yi Yunmi 3013, 273ff.

59 Anderson 1908; *Ballarat Courier* 11.09.1935, "PWMU Minutes". For the details of the independence activities of Korea leaders, see Pak Sangjin 2011.

controlled by the Japanese Government-General of Korea.<sup>60</sup> However, 1910–1914 was the period during which the most female volunteers came to Korea in fulfillment of the new Forward Policy of the Student Volunteer Movement (SVM). This Australian volunteering campaign was the only foreign movement promoting sociocultural modernization in Busan and the surrounding regions.<sup>61</sup> Mrs. Ethel Currell (a.k.a. Miss Anstey), accompanied by her husband Dr. Currell, was the first Australian female to come to Jinju. As women and children were treated contemptuously in the community, Ethel set up a women's school in her garden in September, 1906.<sup>62</sup> While she was the first person to establish a modern female school, the Jung-sook School (Jeongsuk hakkyo 정숙학교, 貞淑學校, 1906) in the regional capital, which later became Si-wun School,<sup>63</sup> Mrs. Currell also established a male school, An-dong School (Andong hakkyo 안동학교, 安東學校),<sup>64</sup> which later became Kwang-rim School (Gwangnim hakkyo 광림학교, 光林學校, 1906).<sup>65</sup> The Confucian society of Jinju, a place with many drinking houses and *gisaengs* (기생, 妓生, Korean *geishas*),<sup>66</sup> was transformed by the Currell family's introduction of modern education. School students numbered up to 250 in 1921.<sup>67</sup> Miss Nellies Scholes,<sup>68</sup> Miss Mary Jane Kelly,<sup>69</sup> Miss Alice Gordon Niven,<sup>70</sup> and Miss Catherine Laing also arrived to assist in local education in Jinju in 1907,<sup>71</sup> and the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital (Baedon

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60 The law of education was changed in 1915 and 1937. Pak Hyejin 2010; Yi Seongjeon 1994; Kim Seungtae 2013; Ju Chaegun 2008.

61 Yi Yunmi 3013, 268–271.

62 *Chronicle*, Dec. 1906, “Notices from the Foreign Secretary”; Jo Hun'guk 2015, 19f.

63 With her Korean teacher (Bak Sunbok 박순복, old transcription: Park Soon-buck) she taught the subjects of Korean, geography, history, math, Chinese language, and knitting. Jo Hun'guk 2015, 39.

64 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 205–306.

65 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 339–350.

66 In this regard, the Australian leader of foreign missions Frank Paton once mentioned many *gisaeng* and prostitutes in Jinju during that era. See Paton 1921, 4.

67 *Chronicle*, May, 1907, “Extracts from Miss Scholes's Letter from Choryang, Korea, 8th March, 1907”; Yi Yunmi 3013, 275ff.

68 *Chronicle*, April 1907, “Letter from Miss Menzies”.

69 *Chronicle*, July 1907, “Notes from the Foreign Secretary: Letter from Miss Kelly”.

70 *Chronicle*, Feb. 1907, “Annual Report of Chinju Mission Station”; Dec. 1909, “Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Niven writes from Fusanchin, Korea, September 25th”.

71 Scholes dedicated her life to the female education of “Jung-sook” women's school from 1908. See *Chronicle*, April, 1918, “Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Laing writes from Chinju, 3rd January, 1918”; Busan nohoe 2010, 233–237, 246–250.

gi'nyeom byeongweon 배둔기념병원, 培敦記念病院, built by Australians) was operated by McLaren, Currell, one Korean doctor, and Frances Louisa Clerke.<sup>72</sup>

Miss Agnes Marion Campbell volunteered to assist the social development of Jinju with regard to its women and became the principal of Si-wun Women's School (Siweon yeoja hakkyo 시원 여자학교, 紫園女子學校, 1911–1922).<sup>73</sup> Campbell argued for the necessity of a rescue home in the town to house less fortunate women who were forced to bear a heavy burden due to their debts.<sup>74</sup> She also led a campaign among Australians and other foreigners urging Westerners to hand over the leadership of local organizations including the Christian churches to the natives, stressing the need to focus on the education of the local leadership.<sup>75</sup> Amy Beard (?–1935) came to Masan after completing her master's degree in education in 1910.<sup>76</sup> Thus one of the most educated Australian women decided to relocate to a remote region of Tong'yeong to offer Western education to the local marginal people, for she gave special attention to girls with less opportunity. Another result of her dedication (19 years) was the establishment of a vocational farm school exclusively for women.<sup>77</sup>

Miss Jessie Reeve (who became Mrs. Jessie McLaren: 1883–1968) obtained an honors degree in English and history and a Master of Arts in philosophy from the University of Melbourne. She then became a travelling secretary for the Student Christian Movement (SCM) in Australia and New Zealand (1906–1911).<sup>78</sup> She decided to volunteer to assist the people of Korea, and founded the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital with her husband Dr. Charles I. McLaren in Jinju in 1911.<sup>79</sup> The new town made a good impression on Jessie, who noted:

72 Frances Louisa Clerke was in charge of nursing at Paton Hospital, as she had compassion for Korean women and children. She became the principal of Chinju Si-wun School as well as assisting in the kindergartens and caring for the babies there. She also reached the region of Geochang (1920–1922). Miss Catherine Laing knew the Korean culture well and assisted in educating the women of Chinju beginning in 1913. See *Chronicle*, Feb. 1910, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Scholes from Chinju, Korea, 30th October"; Yi Sanggyu 2011, 46ff; Jo Hun'guk 2015, 351–359.

73 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 105f.

74 *Chronicle*, Feb. 1914, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Campbell writes from Chinju, October 31"; Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 19f.

75 Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 230.

76 Margaret Walker, who was the Australian SCM delegate for the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in 1909, came to Korea as a volunteer with Frank Macrae and Stanley Edison. See Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 212f.

77 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 229.

78 Gosling 2007a, 7–10.

79 John Paton was the first missionary from the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (1866) to go on overseas missions. The Korean Paton Hospital was named in memory of his wife who dedicated her life to the mission. See Miller 1994; Jeong Weonyong et al. 2006.

Chinju is a very pretty place, nestling in amongst the hills, with a wide river flowing beside it, and a small lake to the west of the town.<sup>80</sup>

She displayed her love for the local children and women through education (1916–1922), as noted by her husband in the following:

It would be withholding what is due a thousand-fold, if I did not express my gratitude to the wife (Jessie) without whose unfailing courage and upbuilding help, at times when nervous and spiritual energies stalled, my missionary service could not have continued... Jessie is full of all sorts of good works ... The kindergarten school, her night school for teaching the little nurse-servant girls to read and her other night school for teaching Scripture, as well as her Sunday school, all thrive ... Jessie seems to act as a magnet, attracting all sorts of children and then bringing joy and satisfaction into their lives.<sup>81</sup>

When her husband Charles I. McLaren had to move to Seoul to fill a position in the Department of Neurology at Severance Hospital (Sebeuranseu byeongweon 세브란스병원, 세브란스病院), Jessie followed him there. She started to teach female college students at the Ewha Women's College (Yihwa yeoja daehakkyo 이화여자대학교, 梨花女子大學校) in 1935.<sup>82</sup> Her husband testified to her second round of volunteer work in women's higher education:

Jessie has been very busy out at the woman's college, laying out their site and landscape gardening there. She is also happy and enthusiastic about it.<sup>83</sup>

She herself likewise wrote about her efforts in volunteering for Korean people:

I have a few outside jobs to keep me busy – librarian of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ... but my more strenuous job is the landscaping at Ewha College and the work on the college executive ...you would laugh to see me dusty shoed and earthly fingered.<sup>84</sup>

As she also acted as a translator, gardener, and collector of books on Ancient Korea, she was seen as one of the most powerful women in the Australian Student Christian Movement (ASCM).<sup>85</sup>

80 Gosling 2007, 13; Gosling 2007 a, 7–10, 22–25.

81 Gosling 2007a, 13; Gosling 2007a, 11f. Jo Hun'guk 2015, 104f.

82 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 230f.

83 Gosling 2007, 14.

84 Gosling 2007, 14

85 Jessie Reeve (Mrs. Jessie McLaren) stayed in Korea for 32 years.

Margaret Sandiman Davies (who was a niece of Joseph H. Davies) arrived in Busan after completing her degree in education and arts at the University of Melbourne.<sup>86</sup> She was inspired to volunteer during a visit by Frank J. L. Paton, the General Secretary for Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of Australian (FMPCA) in 1910.<sup>87</sup> Her focus was on the kindergarten system, which was still in its infancy. After returning from Kwang-rim Women's school (Gwangnim yeoja hakkyo 광림여자학교, 光林女子學校) in Jinju, in 1914 Miss Davies was appointed as the principal of Il-Shin Women's School of Busan.<sup>88</sup> She was also involved in the establishment of Il-Shin Middle School (Ilshin jungshakkyo 일신중학교, 日新中學校) in 1925 and was active in the field of Korean women's education for a total of 40 years, until 1940.<sup>89</sup> Likewise, based on the influence of her father, Miss Margaret Logan Alexander (1885–1967), who studied early childhood education at Teacher's Training College in Melbourne, committed herself to the children of Busan and Tong'yeong.<sup>90</sup> She served as the 3rd and 5th principal of the Il-Shin Women's School between 1913 and 1916. In addition, she adopted Buck-soon Kim (Kim Boksun 김복순) as her daughter.<sup>91</sup> She was also concerned with cultural modernization in the islands around the region of Tong'yeong, including Yokji Island (Yokji-do 욱지도, 欲知島).<sup>92</sup> Alexander dedicated her life to pre-school education in Korea for almost 30 years until she was deported by Japanese authorities in 1941.<sup>93</sup> Miss Muriel W. Withers (and similarly Miss Elizabeth Whyte Dunn<sup>94</sup>) was involved in women's education in many places, such as Geochang (1919), Masan (1920–1922), and Busan (1923–1941). She also became the principal of Il-Shin Women's School in 1921,

86 *The Argus*, 14.12.1921, "Mission Work in Korea: Garden Fete at Scotch College"; 19.12.1934, "Obituary: The Rev. J. G. Davies".

87 Yi Yunmi 3013, 270ff.

88 *Chronicle*, Dec. 1917, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Davies writes from Fusanchin, September 6th, 1917". Jo Hun'guk 2015, 104f; Dongnae hagweon 1995, 41.

89 Miss Daisy Hocking volunteered in education at many places including Masan, Busan, and Tong'yeong from 1916. She was also involved in the Korean independence campaign in 1919. She dedicated herself to the education of the Korea people (in Il-Shin Middle School) until 1941. See *Chronicle*, Dec. 1917, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Hocking writes from Fusanchin, October 13th, 1917" f; June 1918, "Report of Myoora Institute, October, 1917, to January, 1918 by Miss M. S. Davies"; Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 371f; Busan nohoe 2010, 293f.

90 *Chronicle*, Feb. 1912, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Alexander writes from Fusanchin, November, 1912"; Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 365ff.

91 *Chronicle*, Sep. 1918, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Alexander writes from Tongyeng, 22nd June".

92 Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 367f.

93 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 229; Dongnae hagweon 1995, 42.

94 Miss Dunn served the children and women of Tong'yeong (1923–1928), Geochang (1928–1935 and 1938–1940), Jinju (1936–1937), Busan (1947–1950), Japan (1950–1952), and Masan (1953–1958). See Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 382.

when the persecution of Japan in the field of education was becoming more severe.<sup>95</sup> Miss Withers tried to save the school, but Il-Shin Women's School, the first women's school in Gyeongnam Province, finally was forced to close in July, 1939 and she had to return home.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, she reconfirmed her spirit of volunteerism when she returned to Korea between 1947 and 1950 after the country attained its independence.<sup>97</sup>

While J. E. McCague was in Busan in the 1920s and 1930s,<sup>98</sup> Miss Amy G. Skinner, who had a Diploma of Education from the University of Melbourne, became yet another volunteer who was involved in women's education in multiple locations. With Miss Ebery,<sup>99</sup> Skinner founded Myoung-Deok Women's school (Myeongdeok yeoja junghakkyo 명덕여자중학교, 明德女子中學校) in Geochang in 1915, a school that would be continuously operated for 23 years by Miss M. S. Scott.<sup>100</sup> In 1916, Skinner became responsible for the Eui-shin Girls' School in Masan.<sup>101</sup> Four years later she became the principal of Jin-Myoung Women's School in Tong'yeong.<sup>102</sup> In addition, Skinner's efforts led to the establishment of the regional schools of Jin-Myoung Kindergarten (1923), Jin-Myoung Centre (Jinmyeong senteo 진명센터, 1923), Jin-Myoung Night School (1924), and Do-Chun Night School (Dongcheon yagan hakkyo 동천야간학교, 東川夜間學校, 1926).<sup>103</sup> By virtue of her involvement in the women's renaissance campaign as well as in pre-school education in the remote region of Gyeongnam,<sup>104</sup> Miss Ida McPhee, who was a member of John Davies' (Joseph H. Davies' brother) church, became the advisor of the modern education system in the regions of Masan and Busan through her operation of the Eui-shin Girls' School 1913–1937 as well as the Il-Shin Women's School 1932–1933.<sup>105</sup> Concurrently, in 1908 Chang Shin School (Changsin hakkyo 창신학교, 昌信學校) was opened in Masan based on the

95 Dongnae hagweon 1995, 43–46; Busan nohoe 2010, 164f.

96 Dongnae hagweon 1995, 43–46.

97 Busan nohoe 2010, 296–300.

98 *Chronicle*, Sep. 1918, "Welcome and Farewell".

99 *Chronicle*, May 1915, "Our Missionary Mail Bag: Miss Ebery writes from Kuchang, Korea, 17th February"; Geochang gyohoe 2013, 28–34.

100 Geochang gyohoe 2013, 28–34. *Chronicle*, May 1918, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Scott writes from Masampo, February 8th, 1918".

101 *Chronicle*, May 1917, "Our Missionary Mail Bag: Miss Skinner writes from Masampo, February 14".

102 Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 146f.

103 Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 146f.

104 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 232.

105 Miss Ida McPhee used to be a nurse in Fusanchin until 1912. See *Chronicle*, May, 1912, "Our Missionary Mail Bag: Miss McPhee writes from Fusanchin, January 27th"; Dongnae hagweon 1995, 42; Busan nohoe 2010, 342f.

contributions of Koreans. In 1911, it had 108 students, including 28 females.<sup>106</sup> Secondary education (D. M. Lyall Memorial Secondary School, i. e. the Ho-Shin School, Hosin hakkyo 호신학교, 濠信學校) was launched by David M. Lyall (the former Australian SCM delegate for the World Student Christian Federation (WSCF) in 1907) and Alice G. Lorimer (who later became Mrs. Lyall) in 1924.<sup>107</sup> Alice was a devoted volunteer in Masan for 12 years.

The colonial government created new private school regulations to press the Western schools in 1915. One of the main purposes was excluding religious education from the official curriculum. The use of the Japanese language by teachers was additionally emphasized. During this period, Miss Edith A. Kerr, who had skills in music education, transformed women's schools in Dongnae (동래, 東萊), Masan, and Jinju into charity organizations.<sup>108</sup> There was also a shortage of financial support from Australia. Kerr, therefore, engaged in the poultry industry to make the schools self-supporting.<sup>109</sup> She founded the Vocational Farm School of Masan in 1929, where she taught the theories of child welfare, family life, and hygiene in the morning and practiced in the afternoon. The school had 45 students in 1938, 24 of whom were prostitutes, four orphans, three mental patients, four concubines, four divorcées, and three homeless people.<sup>110</sup> Kerr strived to increase the social equality of Korean females and their participation in social leadership. The attempt to break down social discrimination caused a conflict between the *yangban* (양반, 兩班, upper class people) and the *baekjeong* (백정, 白丁, lower class people), but the positive involvement of Kerr, along with that of David M. Lyall, brought the community to accept principles of equality among all human beings.<sup>111</sup> Thus, in Korea this manner of educational modernization was performed by many female workers (about 40) sent by the organization of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union (PWMU) of Melbourne. The J. B. Harper Middle School, established in Busan in 1932, was another result of their efforts. It had 192 students just before it closed in 1939.<sup>112</sup> Although the private schools were not recognized by the colonial authority, they were recognized as being equal in level to the public schools. In addition, the Australian volunteers created a supplementary school which was similar to the public agricultural secondary school in 1931, and the business school of Dong-hae (동해, 東海), Sil-su School (Silsu hakkyo 실수학교, 實修學校), played a role in female adult occupational education. Despite

106 Pak Yeonho / Son Sehui 2011, 84ff; Munchang gyohoe wiweonhoe 2001, 76–80.

107 Yi Yunmi 3013, 283f; Munchang gyohoe wiweonhoe 2001, 80ff.

108 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 107f.

109 Yi Yunmi 3013, 281f; Jeong Gapsaeng 2008, 372–376.

110 Kerr 1921; Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 21f.

111 Kerr 1909; see also Jo Hun'guk 2015, 119–127.

112 Female volunteers who arrived later, such as Miss Dorothy Fairlie Leggett (1928–1950), Miss C. Ellis (1925–1933), and Miss Rene F. Watkins (1939–1941), worked there. See Yi Yunmi 3013, 275ff.

the fact that they did not last long due to the strict rules of the Japanese government, the schools supported by Australian volunteers became places where Christian leaders and national leaders were trained in the new worldview of modernization.<sup>113</sup>

### The Health Sphere

Australian women not only volunteered for the development of modern education, but also dedicated their lives serving as professional medical experts, nurses and doctors, in Korea.<sup>114</sup> These medical experts also made efforts to train the local people in modern medicine, in addition to treating patients. A medical school and nursing center were operated in the hospitals they established. Among such volunteers, Elsie T. Edgard provided assistance at the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital in Jinju from 1929 to 1934. The first hospital in this region, the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital grew rapidly following its foundation in 1912. It admitted around 5,000 patients per year until 1918, treated 12,000 people each year from 1922 to 1932, and accepted 18,000 patients each year by the mid-1930s.<sup>115</sup> Edgard was initially sent to participate in the training of Korean nursing candidates in 1931. Among them, two Korean nurses, Ok-Soon Son (Son Oksun 손옥순) and Young-buk Lee (Yi Yeongbok 이영복) were sent to the Royal Melbourne Hospital, Australia, for proper training before being assigned to Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital in Jinju and Severance Hospital in Seoul.<sup>116</sup> Miss Gertrude Napier studied education in Edinburgh, but when she moved to Brisbane and later Melbourne, she was informed of the need for nurses at the Deaconess Training Institute (DTI) and ultimately volunteered for Korea.<sup>117</sup> When Miss Napier arrived in Korea in 1912, she worked as a nurse at the modern clinics for women and children in Masan and Tong'yeong.<sup>118</sup> She was particularly involved in training local people while in charge of the nursing training center at Severance Hospital in Seoul in 1916. Following Miss Ethel Dixon (1923–1929),<sup>119</sup> she provided medical service at the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital in Jinju with Miss Elsie Edgar from 1934 to 1941.<sup>120</sup> Similarly, Miss Frances L. Clerke (1879–1956)

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113 Yi Yunmi 3013, 277f.

114 Yi Sanggyu 2011, 40f.

115 Yi Sanggyu 2011, 49.

116 June, 1939, "Our Missionary Mailbag: Miss Elsie T. Edgard writes from Chunju, April 12th, 1939"; Yi Sanggyu 2010.

117 Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 8f.

118 *Chronicle*, May, 1915, "Our Missionary Mail Bag: Miss Napier writes from Masanpo, February 9th"; Jo Hun'guk 2015, 107f.

119 Miss Ethel Dixon was the head of the nursing department of Chunju Hospital (1923–1929). Vida Aumann also volunteered in the same town between 1939 and 1941. See Jo Hun'guk 2015, 108f, 281ff.

120 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 282ff. Yi Sanggyu 2011, 49ff. Yi Jeongsun et al. 2011.

who was a niece of the first Australian volunteer (Joseph H. Davies) was encouraged by Frank Paton to volunteer in Korea after training at the Hobart General Hospital and the University of Adelaide.<sup>121</sup> She moved to the town of Jinju (the capital of Gyeongnam Province in the era) and became involved in the establishment of the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital as a senior nurse in 1910.<sup>122</sup> For an entire decade from 1914 to 1924, she trained local nurses, and at one time in 1918, she was in charge of the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital.<sup>123</sup> When Frances was 46 years old, she became involved in the development of Korean women's social leadership through her station as the principal of Si-wun Womens' School in the same town.<sup>124</sup> According to the PWMU report of 16 March 1938, even after her retirement Miss Clerke still focused on the social development of Korea, becoming a life member and executive committee member of the national organization (the PWMU) in Melbourne.<sup>125</sup>

Sarah Anderson, who was educated at Alfred Hospital as a nurse, passed away within six months of her arrival in Busan,<sup>126</sup> whereas Margaret Davies' cousin, Dr. Jean Davies (1918–1941, another niece of Joseph H. Davies) worked for over 30 years as the first Australian female doctor in Korea.<sup>127</sup> The medical volunteer met all of the health care needs of the local people in the region of Tongyeong from 1913 to 1941. From 1918 on, Jean, who was an excellent medical practitioner, was also responsible for the care of women and children in the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital in Junju. In addition, the Australian doctor initiated the social campaign for public health.<sup>128</sup> Likewise, Mrs. Alice Taylor (nee Main) was married to a doctor, W. Taylor, who moved to Tongyeong in 1913.<sup>129</sup> As a nurse, Alice helped her husband set up a regional health care center and dispensary in order to help the people of Tongyeong (1914–1922).<sup>130</sup> They visited the island people themselves by boat to provide them with health checks.<sup>131</sup> In the case of emergencies, Alice transferred patients with her husband to the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital. In 1918 the medical couple took charge of the Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital (1923–1938). Afterward, Mrs. E. V. I. Trudinger came to Tongyeong and operated the Baby Welfare Clinic (BWC), providing health care to

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121 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 224ff.

122 *The Argus*, 14.12.1921, "Mission Work in Korea: Garden Fete at Scotch College".

123 Busan nohoe 2010, 234ff.

124 Jeong Byeongjun 2006, 227.

125 See *The Argus*, 16.03.1938, "Help For P.W.M.U.".

126 Yi Sanggyu 2011, 40f; Busan nohoe 2010, 153ff.

127 Yi Sanggyu 2011, 49f.

128 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 107f.

129 They used to be colleagues in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) before coming to Korea.

130 Kerr 1970, 77.

131 Busan nohoe 2010, 354–359.

children and women from 1928 to 1935. She was replaced by Mrs. Lane in 1935. Such medical service was provided in the remote region until 1941.<sup>132</sup>

## Conclusion

The various nations of East Asia experienced similar processes of modernization within the colonial environment in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but Korea's Gyeongnam Province (the southern part) uniquely witnessed the non-political influence of Australians (1889–1941). The foreign volunteers did not expect anything of the Korean people but merely shared their modern ideology and skills with them. Among these Australians, the female volunteers were the main instigators of the sociocultural renaissance of Korea since of the 78 Australian workers, 54 were women — 35 single and 19 married. The insanitary conditions in Korea caused many of them to contract illnesses, in addition to being overworked.<sup>133</sup> The colonists' dictatorial policy (as well as the coercion of "shrine worship", *sinsa chambae* 신사참배, 神社參拜)<sup>134</sup> created an oppressive social environment in the Korean peninsula. Nevertheless, the Forward Policy of the SVM provided a philosophical base enabling social development in Busan (1891), Jinju (1905), Masan (1908), Geochang (1913), and Tong'yeong (1913). The establishment of the local schools played a direct role in training the future leaders of colonial Korea. Many former students of these schools became leaders in the independence movement in the 1920–1930s. In addition, the support of women challenged the local Confucian concept of a male-dominated society with an egalitarian perspective. The Japanese involvement in the Second World War (1935 to 1941) eventually caused all foreigners, including the Australians, to leave Korea,<sup>135</sup> yet the volunteer activities of Australian female medical experts had by that time introduced a modern health care system into a Korean society struggling with pneumonia, tuberculosis, venereal disease, alimentary diseases, and neurasthenia. Founded by Australians, Mrs. Paton Memorial Hospital in Jinju became the first modern hospital in the southern part of Korea, where Australian medical experts not only generously treated patients but also trained the local people to become the practitioners of Western medicine. This historical retrospective has shown that the modernization of Gyeongnam Province was at least partly the result of Australian volunteerism.

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132 Yi Sanggyu 2011, 45f.

133 Jo Hun'guk 2015, 283f.

134 The pressure to change Korean names into Japanese is another example of how local people were persecuted in this era. Yi Yunmi 3013, 285f; Pak Hyejin 2010, 161–164; Jeong Byeongjun 2005, 13–18.

135 Yi Yunmi 3013, 270ff; Yi Seongjeon 1994.

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**Abstract**

The Australian government played a diplomatic role on the Korean peninsula as a member of the UNTCOK (United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea) and UNCURK (United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea) from 1943 to 1950. The political relationship continued even through the Korean War (1950–1953). Was it the first story of Australian diplomacy in Korea? If not, when did the relationship start? While Australia was able to perform no diplomatic activity in the pre-commonwealth period, Australian civilians brought a cultural transformation to the Confucian and Buddhist society of Korea from 1889 through non-governmental organizations (NGOs). They were a minority of the foreign groups in the Hermit Kingdom, but their impact was quite significant during the Korea Empire (1897–1910) and colonial Korea (1910–1945) periods. The Australians particularly influenced the social development of Gyeongnam Province (1889–1941). This paper argues that the spirit of volunteerism motivated many Australian single women to be involved in the cultural renaissance of Korea through modern education and public health.

Key words: Volunteerism, Modern Korea, Australian women, Gyeongnam Province