

# The Establishment of “The Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” — The Knowledge Transformation of Korean Self-cultivation textbooks at the Beginning of the 20th Century

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The early 20th century was a time of rapid change in Confucianism. As East Asian intellectuals actively learned from the West in the process of modernization, Confucian classical education lost its dominant position. Western learning changed the education system in East Asia, and textbooks on self-cultivation replaced traditional Confucian literature such as the Four Books and Five Classics, the children’s textbooks and the family rules, and became the textbooks for the moral education curriculum in the new academic system. Although these textbooks are still referred to as books for self-cultivation, the knowledge has been reconstructed in the Western educational framework, and their contents are not limited to moral education. This article analyzes the transformation of Confucian knowledge in Korea under the influence of Western learning based on the theoretical explanations and the school textbooks in the Korean Enlightenment Textbook Series. It reveals that Korean intellectuals established a curriculum for moral, intellectual, and physical education, as well as a curriculum for health education, which brought the Chinese and Western cultures together from conflict to coexistence at the beginning of the twentieth century.

**Keywords:** The Education of the Heart, Head and Hand, Korean Self-cultivation textbooks, The Period of Modern Enlightenment, Determinants of Health

## Introduction

Zhu Xi’s 朱熹 (1130-1200) *Xiaoxue* 小學 was the main textbook of elementary education in the Chosŏn Dynasty, and was also the knowledge base of Korean self-cultivation education, which had a profound impact on the formation of Confucianism in Korea. Japanese educators in the Meiji period began to translate European and American moral textbooks in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and modelled the Japanese self-cultivation textbooks and ethics textbooks on ethics after the Western ones. These new-style textbooks were inspired by the Japanese philosophy of self-cultivation, which was based on the theoretical framework of the western ethics. These new textbooks were modelled on the western textbooks on physical education and intellectual education and combined with the moral education ideas of Confucianism to establish the theory of “The education of Heart, Head and Hand.” During the years

of the Korean civilization, Japanese and Chinese textbooks on ethics were introduced to Korea. Afterwards, Korean educators wrote textbooks on self-cultivation, replacing the traditional textbooks for children.

According to the Korean scholar Yi Kyukyŏng 李圭景 (1788-1856), after the opening of the Korean dynasty, there were two types of children's books: the "literacy type" and the "primary school type"; the first to be used was the *Qianziwen* 千字文 [Thousand Character Classic] compiled by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (469-521) and the *Lei he* 類合 [Classifications]. Later, Ch'oe Sejin's 崔世珍 (1473-1542) *Hunmong jahoe* 訓蒙字會 [Chinese Characters for Children] (1527) and Yu Hŭich'un's 柳希春 (1513-1577) *Sinjŭng yuhap* 新增類合 [New Classifications] (1567) were published in succession. The "Class of Primary Schools" is Zhu Xi's *Xiaoxue*. The *Xiaoxue* has six chapters: "Establishing Education" 立教, "Understanding Relationships" 明倫, "Respecting Oneself" 敬身, "Examining the Past" 稽古, "Good Words" 嘉言, and "Good Deeds" 善行, all of which were used to teach the ethics of human beings and were the basics of elementary education. In this category, Yi Yulgok's 李栗谷 (1536-1584) *Kyŏkmong yogyŏl* 擊蒙要訣 [The Secret of Expelling Ignorance] and Yu Taejae's 俞大齋 (1714-1783) *Taedong kaŏn sŏnhaeng* 大東嘉言善行 [Daedong Good Words and Good Deeds] served as supplementary texts to the *Xiaoxue*.<sup>1</sup> In 2004, Goo Hee-Jin, a Korean scholar, classified seventeen types of children's books that appeared in the late Chosŏn period at and generalized them to be in three categories, namely, "Books teaching Chinese characters" 文字教育書, "Books explaining the topic" 解題書, and "elementary books" 小學書.<sup>2</sup> All of them were centred on ethics and morality. All three categories were moral education centred on human ethics.

Undoubtedly, the spread of Western learning to the East had a certain impact on the education in East Asia, and the establishment of "the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand" also shook the orthodoxy of Confucian moral education. However, this is not a tug-of-war between old and new education, nor is it a clash of eastern and western cultures. Rather, it is a phenomenon of knowledge transformation in the process of modernization in East Asian countries. In this paper, through the translations of Korean ethics textbooks during the period of modern enlightenment and Korean self-cultivation textbooks, including *Yulli kyogwasŏ* 倫理教科書 [Ethics Text] (1906), *Ch'odŭng yullihak kyogwasŏ* 初等倫理教科書 [Elementary Ethics Textbook]

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<sup>1</sup> Yi Kyukyŏng, "On the Dialectics of Ancient and Modern Learning" 小學古今二學辨證說, *Oju yŏnmun changjŏn sango* 五洲衍文長箋散稿, <https://db.itkc.or.kr>.

<sup>2</sup> Goo Hee-jin, "19-segi chungban yujadeul ūi pot'ong kyoyuknon kwa tongmong sŏ p'yŏnch'an" 19세기 중반 儒者들의 普通教育論과 童蒙書편찬 [Publication of the Beginner's Textbooks and the Common Education Idea by the Confucian Scholars during the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century], *yŏksa kyoyuk* 歷史教育 92, (2004.12): 159.

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(1907), *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* 中等修身教科書 [Medium Self-Cultivation Textbook] (1908), *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ* 高等小學修身書 [Higher Self-Cultivation Book] (1908) and *Ch'odŭng Susin* 初等修身 [Primary Self-Cultivation Textbook] (1909), we discuss three issues: (1) exploring the educational theory of “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” introduced by Korean educators through the translation of Chinese and Japanese ethics textbooks; (2) analysing the relationship between Western ethics and “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” in the Korean self-cultivation textbooks; and (3) comparing the “Determinants of Health” of the Korean self-cultivation textbooks to analyse that while absorbing the Western studies, the Korean educators also adopted Confucian knowledge of moral education in explaining these determinants, creating a Korean concept of health.

The Historical Background of the Establishment of “The Education of the  
Heart, Head and Hand”

Under the impact of Western thinking, the education systems of East Asian countries underwent significant changes. The first one was the curriculum reform of Japanese elementary school in the early Meiji Dynasty. In 1872, the Ministry of Education established the subject “Self-Cultivation Oral Instruction” to teach the children knowledge on ethics. The five textbooks selected were all translations of primary textbooks from Europe and America, including: (1) Aoki Urakiyoshi's 青木輔清 *Shōgaku kyōyu minke domōge* 小學教諭民家童蒙解 [Elementary School Instructions for Common Children] (1874), translation of the American elementary school textbook *Morals for the Young, Or, Good Principles Instilling Wisdom* (1857) by Emma Willard; (2) Fukuzawa Fukiyoshi's *Dōmō Oshie-Gusa* 童蒙をしへ草 [Junior Book of Ethics with Many Tales from Western Lands] (1872), translated from William and Robert Chamber's *The Moral Class-book* (1861); (3) Mitsukuri Rinsho's 箕作麒祥 *Taisei kansen kunmō* 泰西勸善訓蒙 [Western Countries Encourage Children to Do Good Deeds] (1873), translated from Bonne, Louis Charks' *Premiers elements de droit usuel et pratique* (1867); (4) Abe Taizō's 阿部泰蔵 *Shūshinron* 修身論 [Discourse on Self-Cultivation] (1872), translated from Francis Wayland's *Elements of Moral Science* (1837); (5) Kanda Takahira's 神田孝平 *Seihōryaku* 性法略 [Humanistic Law] (1871), translated from the oral of Vissering Simon. Later, Japanese educators followed the example of European and American textbooks on morality and wrote Japanese ethics and self-cultivation textbooks.

In 1897, Inoue Tetsujirō 井上哲次郎 (1856-1944) and Takayama Linjiro 高山林次郎 (1871-1902) wrote *Shinpen Rinri Kyōkasho* 新編倫理教科書 [Japanese New Ethics Textbook], which was published by Kinko-do Book Company in Tokyo. It was the first Japanese ethics textbook introduced into China and Korea, and it had a great influence. In 1901, Chinese scholar Fan Bingqing 樊炳清 (1877-1929) translated

the book, naming it *Lunli jiaokeshu* 伦理教科书 [New Ethics Textbook], and it was published by Jiangchu Compilation and Translation Bookstore. In 1906, Korean scholar Sin Haeyōng 申海永 (1865-1909) translated the book, naming it *Yunrihak kyogwasō* 倫理學教科書 [Ethics Textbook]. The book was published by Posōng 普成 High School.<sup>3</sup> Park Hakrae pointed out that Sin Haeyōng's *Yunrihak kyogwasō* was translated from *Shinpen Rinri Kyōkasho* with some modifications. In the cultural exchange between Japan and Korea, *Yunrihak kyogwasō* introduced the idea of “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” from *Shinpen Rinri Kyōkasho*.

*Yunrihak kyogwasō* consists of four volumes, which are divided into five parts, namely, “Self-Cultivation Methods, Family Obligations, Kinship Obligations, Social Obligations and National Obligations.” According to the theoretical framework of Western ethics, the content of the book is based on the cultivation of one's own moral character, and extends to one's obligations to one's family, friends and teachers, society and the nation. In “Susūmhanūn To: Chongnon” 修身하는 道: 總論 [Way of Self-Cultivation: General Introduction], Sin affirms that morality is an obligation of people in this world; however, morality can be realized only through one's own inner realization, which is somewhat contingent.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, he adopts ethical principles to teach the method of self-cultivation. He pointed out that loyalty and filial piety were regarded as the main principles of human ethics in Korea, and they were the foundation of virtue for individuals and the nation. On this basis, brothers should love and give in to each other, husbands and wives should help each other and be happy, and one should emphasize trust and justice in dealing with friends. In society, individuals must fulfil social justice, respect the lives, property, and honour of others, and if they have the means to do so, they must love others and do what benefits the public good. As for the nation, people should fulfil their national obligations, abide by the law, be patriotic, and sacrifice their lives to protect the nation. Since the cultivation of one's moral character is the foundation of all behaviour, individuals should prepare themselves first to cultivate their own moral character.

In the process of establishing “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand,” moral education is certainly important, but Sin Haeyōng believes that physical education and

<sup>3</sup> Park indicated that “Over 10 years ago, it was already revealed through research in the field of history that the *Yunrihak kyogwasō* (1906, 1908) edited by Sin Haeyōng was an almost literal translation, although with some revisions, of the *Shinpen Rinri Kyōkasho* co-authored by Inoue Tetsujiro and Takayama Rinjiro, who had led Japan's nationalistic moral education from the late 19th century.” Park, “Sin Haeyōng p'yōnsurūi Yullihak Kyogwasō e taehan chaegōmto – todōk-kyoyuk hakkyeūi kwallyōn nonūie yūihayō” 申海永編述의『倫理學教科書』에 대한 재검토-도덕교육 학계의 관련 논의에 유의하여 [A reexamination on the Ethics Textbook translated and edited by Sin Haeyōng - Focusing on the discussion related to moral education academia], *Todōk yulli-kwa kyoyuk* 72, (2021): 193.

<sup>4</sup> Sin Haeyōng 申海永, *Yulli kyogwasō* 倫理教科書, vol. 10 of *Han'guk hak munhōn yōn'guso* 韓國文獻研究所 ed., *Han'guk kaehwagi kyogwasō ch'ongsō* 韓國開化期教科書叢書 (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1906), p. 9.

intellectual education must co-exist, and that one cannot exist without the other. “Susŭmhanŭn To: Chongnon” says, “Maintaining good health is the first priority in self-cultivation.”<sup>5</sup> Physical education is a necessary condition for the realization of intellectual and moral education. When people are physically strong, they can continue to sharpen their intellect and work hard to achieve academic and career success. At the same time, if people are to fulfil loyalty and filial piety, they must also have a strong body. If they are weak, they will not be able to serve the country and fulfil their national obligations, and they will not be able to support their parents, which will cause them to be worried and sad. “Susŭmhanŭn To: Chongnon” says, “If you want to fully cultivate the virtues of loyalty and filial piety and patriotic duties, you must keep your body healthy.”<sup>6</sup> This suggests that ‘health’ is the first and foremost task in self-cultivation. Sin Haeyŏng pointed out that there are five determinants of health, including diet, clean clothes, moderate exercise, adequate sleep, and appropriate labour.

In addition to its introduction in Japan, Korean educationists introduced the theory of “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” through the translation of Chinese ethics textbooks. In 1907, An Chonghwa 安鍾和 (1860-1924) translated the *Chudeng lunlixue jiaokeshu* 初等倫理學教科書 [Elementary Ethics Textbook] published by Chinese scholar Wu Shang 吳尚 in 1903. The book was divided into six chapters: “Cultivation of Self, Family, Teachers and Friends, Others, Society, and Nation.” He pointed out that because people cannot live in isolation, they need to socialize with people. The method of socializing is based on self-cultivation, and then extends to family, society and nation. Self-cultivation is divided into three sections, in the order of “keeping healthy and strong, cultivating morality, and utilizing the intellect,” i.e. physical education comes first, followed by moral and intellectual education. An Chonghwa explained that despite having a strong body, people without morality become cruel and unreasonable; without knowledge and talent, they become stupid. But at the same time, it is useless for people to have morals and intelligence if they are physically weak. Therefore, people should not be without morality and intelligence, and they should not be without a strong body. The three must complement one another for the person to be complete. In “Cultivation of Self” 修己, An Chonghwa advocates four determinants of health, including 1) clean diet, living quarters and clothing; 2) regularity and moderation of living; 3) abstinence from addictions, especially tobacco and alcohol; and 4) diligence in exercising the body.<sup>7</sup>

Traditional East Asian intellectuals have long been emphasizing the spiritual care advocated by Confucianism, which goes far beyond the maintenance of the body. Outside of moral education, physical and intellectual education had not been given

<sup>5</sup> Sin, *Yunri kyogwasŏ*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Sin, *Yunri kyogwasŏ*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>7</sup> An Chonghwa 安鍾和, *Ch'odŭng yullihak kyogwasŏ* 初等倫理教科書, vol.10 of *Han'guk hak munhŏn yŏn'guso* ed., *Han'guk kaehwagi kyogwasŏ ch'ongsŏ* (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1907), pp. 479-484.



much attention. Confucian texts directly state that people can live a long life if they can cultivate good virtues. For example, it is stated “The virtuous are long-lived.” (*Lunyu* 論語); “Rich land makes a house luxurious, virtue makes a person shine; when the mind is expanded, the body is enriched” (*Daxue* 大學); “Therefore having such great virtue, it could not but be that he should obtain the throne, that he should obtain those riches, that he should obtain his fame, that he should attain his long life.” (*Zhongyong* 中庸). They put health in the moral domain and did not regard “sport” as a professional discipline. However, with the introduction of Western ethics textbooks into Japan, East Asian countries began to translate and write their own ethics textbooks, which led to the maturation of the theory of “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” and the gradual formation of the East Asian concept of “health” education.

### The Formation of Health Education in the Ethical Framework

In the ancient Chinese language, there are words such as *jian* 健, *kang* 康, *jiankang* 康健 “well,” *qiangjian* 強健 “strong” etc. to express the meaning of being physically strong and healthy. However, they are different from the meaning of “health” in the West. In Western ethics, “health” is an ethical obligation of the individual, and it is a scientific and objective criterion for the functional status of the body as assessed by the “determinants of health.” The term ‘health’ is not found in traditional East Asian literature but was introduced as a foreign term during the Meiji period in Japan. In 1839, there was a chapter on “Preservation of Health” in *The Moral Class-book* published in England, in which the editor explained the definition of ‘health.’ It is stated, “Health is the condition of the body when every organ or part of it is sound and performs without difficulty the function or duties assigned to it.”<sup>8</sup>

In 1872, the Japanese educator Fukuzawa Maikichi (1835-1901) translated this book and named it as the *Dōmō Oshie-Gusa*, which was used as a textbook for the subject of “Self-Cultivation Oral Instruction.” At the same time, he translated “Preservation of Health” as “Nourishing one’s life” 養生の事. Western health education was thus introduced in Japan through European and American translations and widely spread in Japanese schools, while Japanese educators also wrote ethics and self-cultivation textbooks, which were later spread to China and Korea. Adopting the framework of Western ethics, the intellectuals in East Asia placed the contents of the “Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” in the items of “Attention to Students,” “Obligations to Self,” and “Obligations to the Body,” and interpreted the “Determinants of Health” to construct the contents of health education in East Asia.

After Sin Haeyōng and An Chonghwa translated Japanese and Chinese ethics textbooks, Korean educators began to write their own textbooks on self-cultivation. In 1906, Min Yōnghwi 閔泳徽 (1852-1935) founded the Hwi Mun Private School 徽

<sup>8</sup> William and Robert Chambers, *The Moral Class-Book* (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1839), p. 76.

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文義塾. Since the Confucian classics were profound and not suitable for young children to learn the principles of self-cultivation, he invited scholars in China to collectively compile teaching materials for the use of students in voluntary schools. In 1908, the editorial department of Hwi Mun Private School compiled the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* 中等修身教科書 [Medium Self-Cultivation textbook] and the *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ* 高等小学修身書 [Higher Self-Cultivation Book]. The *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ* consists of four chapters, two of which were organized into two volumes. The first volume describes the six points of attention for students, and the order of the chapters is students, friends, family, worldly affairs, country and cultivation of virtue. The second volume describes the eight duties of the student, in the order of self, body, others, family, public and affiliated organizations, nation, mankind, and all things. “Attention” refers to the things that students need to be aware of and vigilant about in their various ethical relationships while “obligations” refers to the responsibility to fulfil these things, and the two are closely related. See the table below for details:

Attention to virtue	Obligations to all things
Attention to country	Obligations to mankind
Attention to worldly affairs	Obligations to country
Attention to family	Obligations to the public and affiliated organizations,
Attention to friends	Obligations to tribe
Attention to students	Obligations to others
1.Responsibility 2. School	Obligations to the body
3.Respect for teachers 4. Aspiration	1. Self-management of life
5. Study 6. Concentration 7. Courage	2. Self-management of life (cont'd),
8. Health 9. Diet and intake	3. Self-protection of life
10. Exercise 11. Rest and sleep	4. Obligations to health
12. Cleaning 13. Exercise	5. Obligations to health (cont'd)
<b>14. Enterprising 15. Attentiveness</b>	6. Obligations to the spirit
16. Pleasure 17. Recreation	7. Obligations to the knowledge of the mind (1)
<b>18. Speech 19. Speech (cont'd)</b>	8. Obligations to the knowledge of the mind (2)
20. Action 21. Appearance	9. Judging 10. Obligation to emotions
	11. Obligation to the will
	12. Obligation to character
	13. Obligation to character (cont'd)
	Obligation to Self
<b>Six Points of Attention for Students</b>	<b>Nine Obligations for Students</b>

**Contents in the Chapters in *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ***

Min Yŏnghwi, in the Preface to the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, states, “Morality is the element of intellectual education and physical education, and self-cultivation is

the basis of moral education.”<sup>9</sup> He believes “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” are necessary for the education of self-cultivation. From the above table, one can see there are 21 texts in the chapter of “Attention to Students.” The texts in the box are related to physical education; those in bold are related to intellectual education, and the others are related to moral education. Lesson 8 on “Health” explains that physical health is essential to human happiness and fundamental to everything. It gives people the fundamental conditions for learning and developing their careers, so that they can establish themselves, build their families, and contribute to their countries. The rest of the lessons teach the “Determinants of health,” which include “Diet and Nutrition, Exercise, Rest and Sleep, Cleanliness, Exercise, Happiness, and Recreation.” In addition, the nine obligations for students begin with responsibilities to oneself and continue through responsibilities to the body, others, the public, the nation, mankind, and all things. To fulfil these responsibilities, one must first extend and protect one’s own life, and be responsible for one’s own health, intelligence, and morality. When the above three are complete, one can fulfil the “duties of the body.”

The *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ* is organized into eight chapters, each of which contains much the same content as the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, including the student’s attention to others, to himself, to virtue, and to nationality, as well as his obligations to the school, to character, and to self-cultivation. The texts related to physical education are all incorporated in the chapters on “Attention to Self” and “Obligations to self-cultivation,” with six texts on “Body, Cleanliness, Dieting, Sleep, Exercise, and Abstinence from Alcohol.” One of the important concepts in the topic of health protection is that although the strength of a person’s body is determined by his or her natural qualities and cannot be manipulated, the lack of strength is a result of his or her poor maintenance. By paying attention to the body’s intake and nourishment, people can make improvements, such as eating the right amount of food, exercising regularly, and taking in fresh air and sunlight.<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the author’s active promotion of patriotism and nationalism in the book is closely related to the political environment of Korea at that time. In 1904, Japan forced the Korean Empire to sign the First Japan-Korea Treaty. In the following year, the Second Japan-Korea Treaty was signed over the objections of the Korean people. Since then, Korea lost its diplomatic and financial power and was reduced to a “protectorate” of Japan, and the nation was on the verge of extinction. The first chapter of the book summarizes the life stories of King T’aejo and King Sejong of Korea and their contributions to the nation. It also praises the loyalty of the king and the bravery of Korean ministers, such as Yi Sunsin, and emphasizes the importance of human

<sup>9</sup> Hwi Mun Ŭijuk 徽文義塾 ed., *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, in Han’guk Hak Munhŏn Yŏn’guso ed., *Han’guk Kaehwagi Kyogwasŏ Ch’ongsŏ* 韓國開化期教科書叢書 vol.9 (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1977), p. 162.

<sup>10</sup> Hwi Mun Ŭijuk 徽文義塾 ed., *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ*, in Han’guk Hak Munhŏn Yŏn’guso ed., *Han’guk Kaehwagi Kyogwasŏ Ch’ongsŏ* 韓國開化期教科書叢書 vol.9 (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1977), p. 417.



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ethics such as filial piety, harmony between husband and wife, and harmony in the family. The first and last chapters of the book echo each other. In the last chapter, “Attention to the Nation: Unity,” the author states, “Loyalty and filial piety are the basic characteristics of the Korean nation, and they can unite the people to resist millions of enemies. Therefore, the nation needs to establish moral standards for its people, including filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty, and patriotism. The former strengthens the foundation of the nation based on the virtues of each individual, and the latter cultivates the righteousness and courage of the people to prepare for and defend against the unexpected.”<sup>11</sup> It can be seen that Korean textbooks on self-cultivation not only combine the knowledge of the “education of the Heart, Head and Hand” to expand the meaning of Confucian morality, but also respond to the needs of the nation by teaching students the duty to serve the nation and to love their country. This is also common in Chinese and Japanese self-cultivation textbooks, reflecting the contemporary significance of self-cultivation textbooks in East Asia.

Reconstructing the “Determinants of Health” – Self-Cultivation and  
 Strengthening the Body

In 1909, Pak Chǒngtong 朴晶東 (d. 1919) wrote the *Ch’odŭng Susin* 初等修身 [Primary Self-cultivation Textbook], which was used as the subject of cultivation in private schools throughout the country. In 1897, he graduated from Hanseong Normal School 漢城師範學校, and became a public elementary school teacher in Chǒllanam-do Namwǒn county. In 1898, he became a teacher at Hanseong Normal School, and in 1902, he became a physics teacher at the same school. He was a teacher who emphasized the practice of teaching in the classroom, and the unit design of the text was clear and unambiguous. The book is divided into five chapters in the following order: “Body, Ethics, Miscellaneous Writings, Good Words, and Good Deeds.” Unlike the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* and the *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ*, the *Ch’odŭng Susin* is designed for the elementary level and does not use an ethical framework to demonstrate the individual’s obligations to himself, his family, and the community, which are incorporated in the Miscellaneous Writings. It focuses on the structure and function of the body, the determinants of health, human ethics and moral education, and follows the example of Zhu Xi’s *Xiaoxue* in providing students with examples of good language and good behaviour through the chapters on “Good Words” and “Good Deeds,” using historical figures from Korea as illustrations.

Chapter 1	Body Structure and Function	1. Ears 2. Eyes 3. Mouth 4. Nose 5. Face 6. Brain 7. Neck 8. Arms 9. Hands 10. Chest 11. Abdomen
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<sup>11</sup> Hwi Mun Ŭijuk ed., *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ*, p. 470.

The Body		12. Back 13. Feet and legs 14. Hair 15. Teeth
	Determinants of Health	16. Walking 17. Sleep 18. Exercise 19. Residence 20. Diet 21. Clothes 22. Bath

**Texts of *Ch'odŭng Susin*<sup>12</sup>**

The above three Korean textbooks reflect that Korean educators have retained the commonalities of the Western health determinants but have also re-interpreted them to give them a Korean flavor.

Determinants of Health	Physical Health							Mental Health	
	Diet	Sleep	Residence	Exercise	Bath	Clothes	Walking	Happiness	Recreation
<i>Medium Self-Cultivation Textbook</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
<i>Higher Self-Cultivation Book</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
<i>Ch'odŭng Susin</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		

**Determinants of Health in Self-cultivation Textbooks in the Modern Enlightenment Period**

Firstly, the determinants of health in the three Korean textbooks on self-cultivation are basically the same and show the three functions of western “preventive medicine,” namely “preventing disease,” “prolonging life,” and “promoting physical and mental health and efficiency.”<sup>13</sup> In terms of exercise, for example, it is stated in the *Ch'odŭng Susin* that exercise can improve blood circulation and make the body strong and healthy; the *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ* states that exercise helps to consume energy, promotes blood circulation, improves appetite, and refreshes the mind and spirit. In terms of walking, the *Ch'odŭng Susin* points out that when people walk, one foot supports the weight of the body and the other is responsible for movement. Therefore, one should walk in a rhythmic manner, sometimes stopping, sometimes walking briskly, sometimes walking slowly; one should not walk in a random manner that may

<sup>12</sup> Pak Chŏngtong 朴晶東, *Ch'odŭng Susin* 初等修身, vol.9 of Han'guk Hak Munhŏn Yŏn'guso ed., *Han'guk Kaehwagi Kyogwasŏ Ch'ongsŏ* (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1909), pp. 91-109.

<sup>13</sup> Leavell, H. R., & Clark, E. G, *Preventive Medicine for the Doctor in his Community*, 3rd ed. (Huntington, NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1979).

harm the body. In terms of residence, the *Ch'odŭng Susin* states that the residence is the place where the body rests, and when the premises are clean, one is happy.<sup>14</sup>

Secondly, according to the western medical knowledge, there are scientific and objective criteria for the health determination indicators. In terms of eating and drinking, the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* points out that the stomach and intestines need four hours to digest, and during the process of digestion, if people eat again, they are prone to diseases. As for sleep, lack of sleep affects blood circulation; too much sleep makes the body weak and the spirit dim. According to physiology, the *Ch'odŭng Susin* points out that it is appropriate for people to work for 8 hours, play for 8 hours, and sleep for 8 hours. Meanwhile, the *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ* also points out that the appropriate time for sleep is 8 hours, and that staying up late is to be avoided.<sup>15</sup>

Thirdly, apart from physical health, the determinants of health take care of people's mental health. According to the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* “Happiness,” when people are calm, they are full of self-confidence and are resolute and decisive; on the contrary, when people are depressed, they are easily impatient, and they are afraid and hesitant. Meanwhile, the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* “Entertainment” points out that people who work for long hours tend to be tired and mentally unstable, so it is necessary to strike a balance between work and contentment. People can participate in recreational activities to relax. For example, they can go to nature to enjoy the scenery and listen to music; they should not overdo entertainment to avoid wasting their time, and they should not take part in strenuous games or competitions.<sup>16</sup>

Fourthly, Korean educationalists have interpreted the content of the determinants of health through Confucian moral education, giving them a Korean flavour. In terms of sports, the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* states that when playing games, people need to observe the principle of courtesy, help one another, and do not jeopardize the interests of others. As for clothes, the *Ch'odŭng Susin* states that people should wear appropriate clothing according to the change of seasons, and wash and replace it frequently to avoid bad odours that are harmful to hygiene. We must understand that the purpose of clothes is to cover the body, not to be extravagant, but to be thrifty and clean. As for bathing, the *Ch'odŭng Susin* says, “Bathing is to cleanse the body of dirt and filth and is a method good for hygiene. This is the general understanding of bathing.” It goes on to say, “The method of bathing is to cleanse the body, and by extending to the heart, the bad virtues are washed away.” This is a new meaning added to the original one. The text also quotes the aphorisms of Cheng Tang 成湯 of the Shang 商 Dynasty inscribed in the bathtub in *Daxue*, as a reminder to people to continue to strive for self-improvement. The inscription states, “If you renew yourself for one day, you can renew yourself daily and continue to do so.” From the body to

<sup>14</sup> *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, pp. 100-105. *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ*, p. 460.

<sup>15</sup> *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, pp. 179-180. *Ch'odŭng Susin*, p. 102. *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ*, p. 459.

<sup>16</sup> *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, pp. 187-189.

the mind, the function of “bathing” contains a moral meaning which is different from the original one.<sup>17</sup>

### Conclusion

The knowledge transformation of self-cultivation education in East Asia at the beginning of the 20th century was achieved through the writing, translation and dissemination of textbooks. In the period of modern enlightenment, the Korean scholars of education transformed the ancient children’s books by compiling textbooks on self-cultivation and taking in Western learning. They were the pioneers of the reform of modern Korean education, which had a great significance for the times. Traditional Confucian moral education was well-matched with physical and intellectual education, establishing the theory of “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand;” among them, physical education became the foundation, and the maintenance of health was the first obligation of the education of self-cultivation. The birth of this concept was strongly coloured by patriotism and nationalism, because in the face of a national crisis, the Korean people wanted to defend their country, and a strong body was a necessary condition.

In terms of the writing methods, Korean self-cultivation textbooks have different emphases, ranging from the construction of Western theories to the effectiveness of teaching practice. The concepts of “the Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” and the “determinants of health” are basically the same in all of them, but the structure and content of the chapters differ due to the different origins of the people involved and their motives for writing the books. Min Yŏnghwi, the nephew of the Chosŏn Kojong Empress Min, was an aristocrat, a politician, and a capitalist. He invited domestic scholars to write the *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ* and the *Kodŭng sohaksusinsŏ*, which were used as teaching materials for the students at voluntary schools. Although we have no way of knowing whether he was involved in the preparation of the textbooks, he clearly emphasized in the Preface that the key point of self-cultivation should be a “gradual and orderly progress from the cultivation of the heart, the establishment of one’s will, the speech, the action, to the family, the friends, the society, and the country.”<sup>18</sup> In other words, Western theories dominate the structure of the whole book, while the content of the “Education of Heart, Head and Hand” is mainly categorized under “one’s own duties.” In contrast, Pak Chŏngtong came from a teacher’s college; he wrote *Ch’odŭng Susin* to serve as a teaching tool for private schools across the country, so he chose the topics of “body” and “human ethics” in the book and focused on the close relationship between physical education and moral education.

The “Eastward spread of Western Learning” brought about an opportunity to reorganize the Confucian education of self-cultivation. In this process, Western learning led East Asian countries towards modernization, but East Asian intellectuals

<sup>17</sup> *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, p. 181. *Ch’odŭng Susin*, pp. 108-109.

<sup>18</sup> *Chungdŭng susin kyogwasŏ*, p. 162.

The Establishment of “The Education of the Heart, Head and Hand” <sup>157</sup>  
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the Beginning of the 20th Century)

were not entirely passive. Korean textbooks not only acquired the Western “determinants of health,” but also adopted Confucian moral thinking to explain their contents, adding humanistic colours to Western science. This blending of Eastern and Western cultures reflects the formation of the East Asian concept of health at the beginning of the 20th century.



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