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The evolution of the Korean family

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S.K. Dodson

Subject

The Evolution of the Korean Family
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Introduction

I

Old Environments, Restrictions, Customs, and Sanctions Governing the Korean Family

1. Housing and General Domestic Arrangements.
2. Marriage Customs.
   (1) The Head of the Home--the Man.
   (2) The Woman and Her Position in the Household.
   (3) The Children of the Home.
   (4) The Mother-in-law and Other Relationships.

II

New Liberties, Customs, and Sanctions

1. The Influence of World Civilization.
2. The Influence of the Japanese Regime.
3. The Influence of Christianity.
4. The Future Outlook for the Korean Family.
The Evolution of the Korean Family

Introduction

If the family is a fundamentally important factor in the economic, political, and social life of the nations of the West, much more is it in that of the nations of the Far East, China, Japan and Korea. Individualism as we know it in the West has had very little recognition there until very recent times. But every individual in all phases of life was very closely geared into the unit of the family, and all his thought and actions were determined by his relation to that unit. In this conception, China had set the pattern through hoary centuries of time, which Korea, and finally Japan, copied and followed somewhat slavishly. The purpose of this thesis is to show something of the structure, customs, and manner of living of the family in Old Korea, and to note some of the changes that are being brought about in the family pattern and life of many of the people now living in the New Chosen.

In order to a complete understanding of the Korean family, it would be necessary to study the history, geography, topography, farming methods, products of the soil, trade, political life, and other features connected with the life of the people. But the limitations of this paper forbid a discussion of these topics, so it will be necessary to confine our treatment to those things which have a more direct bearing on the subject in hand.
I. Old Environment, Restrictions, Customs, and Sanctions Governing the Korean Family

Any one who lived in Korea fifteen or twenty years ago, or by reading learned something of the life and customs of the people, is conscious that many changes have taken place since that time. This is perhaps in no instance more true than in regard to the family life. Here in many cases a very radical evolution, progression, or some think, retrogression, has taken place. In order that we may understand something of the conditions from which many of the Korean families are evolving, it will be necessary to discuss the immediate environment in which we find them, and then the relationships, private and public, that characterize the family.

1. Housing and General Domestic Arrangements—The usual Korean house of the middle classes consists of three or four small rooms, eight by eight feet square. The sokpang, or family room, the anpang, or women's quarters, the sikpang, or kitchen, and the sarang, or guest room. However, many of the homes have neither a general family room, or a guest room. The kitchen has no floor except the earth, for the heating flue being located here, must be on a lower level than the other rooms. The walls of these houses are constructed by plastering a tough mud or slime over a kind of lattice work of split bamboo, the roofs are usually covered with rice straw thatch, though the homes of the well to do are covered with tile. The floors are constructed in such
a way as to permit of a unique heating system. Flat stones are laid with tunnels between them branching out from the kitchen flue and finally converging in one opening to the outside of the house where the smoke escapes. No fire is required except that which is used to cook the meals, for the heat from the kitchen flue goes under the living room and heats the stones of the floor which, once heated, will remain so for many hours. The guest room, however, may be heated with a separate flue. The fuel used is either brush, leaves, pine needles, or grass, the cost is only a few cents a day, and in the country districts can be secured from the mountains for the cost of transportation only.

These flat stones that compose the floor are plastered over with mud and over that is stretched a very tough oil paper, though in many homes rough grass mats are used. The Koreans have no chairs or beds, but sit on the floor in the day time and lie on it at night with only a wooden block for a pillow and without mattress, sheets or quilts. So most of the rooms are almost devoid of furniture, the only exception being the chest containing the wedding garments and other articles of the wife when she was a bride. On the walls, however, are a number of wooden pegs on which are hung many small family articles.

In the kitchen are the rice pot over the flue, a number of earthenware pots and jars arranged on the ground around the wall, a stack of small individual eating tables in one corner, and the brass eating vessels arranged on shelves
along the walls. When meal time arrives, one of these small tables, about a foot high and eighteen inches square, is prepared with food for each individual male member of the family, the women folks eating what may be left in any time that can be snatched from their very exacting duties. The regulation Korean meal consists of a bowl of rice holding about a quart, a small dish of kimchi, or pickled turnip or cabbage, a piece of dried fish, a dish of stewed greens which is sometimes only weeds, and a black salty sauce that they sip along with the rice. In the richer homes, or when a feast is spread, there are a great many meats, candies, cakes, fruits, and other delicacies, all arranged in a very artistic and attractive manner.

The Korean house usually stands on a very narrow street, and in a yard twenty-five or thirty feet square. This is either inclosed by a wall constructed of stones and mud, or of broom corn stalks bound together by grass ropes. There is just one gate leading from the street into the yard. This is usually, though not always in front of the house. In the front yard, just inside the gate, may be an outhouse constructed much like the dwelling house, but without a floor. This outhouse may contain the store room, stable, pig pen, and the privy all under one roof. In this latter the human excrement is mixed with ashes and used for fertilizer. An earthen jar used, as a urinal, often stands right by the door of the guest room. Sometimes it isn't emptied for days and days, becoming very offensive to a Westerner's sense of
smell, to say nothing of the unsanitary condition which it creates. In the back yard are a great many earthen jars, containing kimchi, salt, and other foods. Here too is the well, if the family doesn't use the village well, and strange to say, flowers, thus making the back yard much more attractive than the front.

Koreans under the old regime knew little or nothing about sanitation, and so hygienic conditions were often bad in the extreme. While they sleep, for example, all doors and windows are closed air tight, and the room is kept at a very high degree of temperature. The result is almost constant colds and a great deal of tuberculosis. In regard to sanitary conditions in Korea some years ago, Mrs. H. G. Underwood says: "All sewage runs into filthy, narrow ditches, which are frequently stopped up with refuse, so as to overflow into the street, green slimy pools of water lie undisturbed in court yards and along the side of the road, wells are polluted with drainage from soiled apparel washed close by, quantities of decaying vegetable matter are thrown out and left to rot on the thoroughfares and under the windows of the homes. Every imaginable practice which comes under the definition of the unhygienic is common. Even young children in arms eat green and raw, unpeeled, cucumbers, acrid berries, and heavy soggy hot bread. They bolt quantities of hot or cold rice, with a tough, indigestible cabbage, washed inditch water, prepared with turnips and flavored with salt and red pepper. Green fruit of every kind is eaten with
perfect recklessness of all laws of nature, and with impunity (and I must say with an average immunity from disastrous consequences) which makes a Westerner stand aghast. The only solution that I have ever reached, and that I hold but weakly, is that in which according to the law of the survival of the fittest none but exceedingly hardy specimens ever reach even early childhood, and having survived the awful tests of infancy, they are able to endure most trials which befall later. Add to this the fact that the Koreans were ignorant of any scientific use of medicine and surgery, depended very largely on the use of wild herbs, magical practices, and the use of the needle for the release of an evil spirit from the body, it is little wonder that the death rate was exceedingly high and that whole families were often swept away in a very short time.

2. Marriage Customs—As the marriage relation is the basis of the family, it will be in line with our purpose to inquire into the matter of marriage customs among the Korean people. Children of the higher class are usually betrothed at birth, but so often the record of it is lost and so a new betrothal has to be made before a marriage takes place. The Korean marriage age under the old regime was very young, ranging from about twelve to twenty for the boys and from ten to sixteen for the girls. There was no such custom as young people mingling together, so of course there was no courtship. In

1 Mrs. H. G. Underwood, Fifteen Years Among the Top Knots, pp. 132-3.
fact neither party had any voice whatever in deciding whom their mate should be. The parents, through the medium of a go-between, or daysman, would arrange the marriage contract some months before the wedding was to take place. No money dowry was given by the groom for the bride, but a roll of silk and a beautiful bridechest with brass handles was provided by him and sent as a pledge to the bride's father. Both in the selection of the mates and in fixing the date of the marriage, the advice of an astrologer, or sorcerer was sought and of course a handsome price was paid for it. On the evening before the wedding when the bride's father sent out the marriage contract to the father of the groom by a number of men bearing gay lanterns, a company of men also with torches started out from the groom's house bearing the dowry of silk for the bride's trousseau. When they met somewhere on the way, there ensued a contest for the possession of the road. This sometimes resulted in a serious fight and even fatal wounding of some of the men. If the betrothed girls party was routed, it meant bad luck for her, but if the future groom's party was routed, it meant bad luck for him. In any case one of them was bound to meet with ill luck according to this custom. While this contest was going on, the parents of both sided were making sacrifice at the family altar for the future welfare of their children in their new adventure.

Marriage meant emancipation for the boy. Before that event he was a nobody and had no voice in affairs, even if,
to take a very unusual case, he were forty years old. A boy in Korea may be distinguished from an adult by his hat and the manner in which his hair is worn. Before marriage, he wears it down the back in a long plait so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the boys from the girls. On the day before the wedding, however, one of his friends shaves the hair off the crown of his head, leaving only a fringe of long hair around the edges. These are gathered into a knot on the top of his head, forming what has become famous in Korea—the top knot. Over this is placed the mangan, or crownless skull-cap, a fillet of horsehair, without which he is never seen afterwards. Above this is placed a small yellow straw hat which must be tied on by a cord passing under the chin. He is now a full fledged adult and is ever after addressed as Mr. or honorable so-and so. In a few months he will discard the straw hat by which the people recognize him as newly married and will don the regulation black horse hair hat worn by all the men. Thus from being "a nobody", he has become "a somebody."

A girl is secluded in the women's quarters of her father's house from about the age of seven years, according to the teaching of Confucius. At marriage she passes to the same quarters in the home of her father-in-law, there to be under the tutelage and command of the all powerful mother-in-law, that she may learn the art of becoming a good housewife and servant. It is her manifest "destiny", and as it is "custom," there is usually no complaint. There are no old maids in Korea.
On the day of the wedding, a bridesmaid, one of the brides' girl friends, changes the virginal hair plait to the coiffure of a married woman. The eye brows are pencilled, much of the hair on the temples is pulled out one by one, the rest is reinforced by switches to swell its bulk, the plaits are wound around the head, the ends done up in a knot at the back and fastened by a long silver pin. A great deal of white powder or paste is smeared over the face, touched up with red in the cheeks, and the eye lids are sealed tight together by paste that there may not be even a glimpse at the groom nor any other man present. The bride must maintain absolute silence, both on her wedding day and for several days afterward.

The wedding usually takes place at the home of the groom. When the auspicious day has arrived, about an hour before noon, the groom on horseback and in court dress, goes forth from the house attended by his father, older brothers, and near friends, bearing unlighted lanterns. Two men go before him, one bearing a white umbrella and the other a wooden goose, the emblem of conjugal fidelity. After awhile this procession returns, the groom takes the goose from the man, enters the house and places it upon the platform where the ceremony is to take place.

The bride comes to the wedding in a palanquin, or closed chair. She must come no matter what happens. The author remembers an instance on a cold January day when the thermometer was down to zero where a young bride froze to death while
being carried in one of these chairs to her wedding. She was willing to meet death rather than break custom and speak to the men carrying her that she might be made more comfortable.

The wedding ceremony itself is quite simple. No license is required of the government for a marriage, nor must there be an agent of the government present to perform the marriage or be a witness to it. The parents of the bride and groom sign a contract, but that is not a real part of the transaction. The groom and bride are placed opposite each other on a raised platform. She bows twice to her future lord and he bows four times to her. This "salutation" ceremony alone constitutes valid marriage. After that if he repudiates her he cannot take another wife, though he may form other illicit relations through concubines and otherwise. After the salutation, a cup of wine is given to the groom who drinks a little. The bride tastes it, but does not drink.

After the ceremony, in the men's quarters, a wedding feast is served. Of this the groom may partake sparingly, but the bride eats nothing, either then or for several days thereafter. These feasts are usually very costly. That together with the clothes that are worn by the participants, cost of transportation etc., often amount up into hundreds of dollars. These thing are considered an absolute necessity, no matter how poor the groom or his parents may be. It is often true that a man mortgages all that he has and keeps himself and family in debt the rest of his life.
After the bride has been received by her father-in-law and mother-in-law, to whom she bows four times, she returns to the home of her own parents, her eyelids are unsealed, and the paste is washed from her face. Soon after the groom arrives, but returns to his own home the next morning without the bride. This process is kept up for several days and sometimes months, after which the bride is finally taken to her future home and assigned over to the care, and many times the curse, of her mother-in-law. Her husband may after a few days go away and stay for sometime, it not being considered good form for him to pay too much attention to his new wife. She does not receive, nor does she expect any demonstration of affection.

The name that was given to the bride soon after her birth by her parents is dropped and she is now known as "the wife of Mr. so and so," or if there are children, as, "the mother of so and so." Silence and obedience to her husband and mother-in-law are considered her highest duty. He may treat her with respect, but never as a companion. It is no wonder that her life is often miserable. And yet there are many happy and contented Korean wives. They become conditioned to that, sort of life. And indeed, it is not without its compensations, for does not the wife look forward to being the mother of sons, an almost transcendent honor amongst Orientals? And too, there is the hope of one day becoming a mother-in-law herself, when she can be the chief ruler in the women's quarters of the home.
b. Relationships in the Home-- Society in Confucian countries rests on the Five Laws, the Five Virtues, and the Five Elements. Recently a Mr. Yi Wung Geung has written a reader for girls and in the opening chapter he begins: "The doctrine of men rests on Five Laws. Between father and son it requires chin (friendship); between king and courtier, eui (righteousness); between husband and wife, pyul (deference); between old and young, saw (degree); between friends, shin (faith). Allied to these are the Five Virtues, in, eui, ye, chi, shin, or love, righteousness, ceremony, knowledge, faith. These five syllables are pronounced as one word, and all the people use it, the coolie as well as the statesman, or gifted man of letters. Another five must be called in and then we have the fifteen that round out the circle. These are the original elements, metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, keum-mok-su-wha-do, also a single word in its frequency of application. The Oh-ryum (Five Laws), the Oh-sang(Five Virtues), and the Oh-hang(Five Elements) govern the Korean world of thought. The Five Elements serve as foundation, the Five Laws as pillars, and the Five Virtues as the firmament above." ¹

(1) The Head of the Home-- It doesn't come within the scope of our present treatment to consider all of these relationships, but we will take up that of the relation of man and wife in the home. In this treatment, the man as the head of the home will naturally come first.

¹J. S. Gale, "Korea in Transition," pp. 95, 96.
The husband, if his father is not still living, is the head of the household. As such, he is supposed to maintain the dignity of the family. This is done in several ways. First of all, his word is law in the household. Not only the servants and children, but all the wives and concubines must obey him absolutely. In the well regulated Korean home there is no question about that, but as a matter of fact in a great many Korean homes it is a mere fiction and in thousands of other cases there is not submission without some protest and a great deal of talk.

Another way in which the head of a high class Korean home maintains the dignity of the family is by getting himself recognized as a scholar. He must be a close student of Confucius, Mencius and other Chinese models, be able to quote them on all occasions and to write Chinese characters readily. The Chinese scholar is looked up to in Korea as a real gentleman. He may know practically nothing of geography, little of history except Chinese history, and possess nothing but a long inheritance of debts, yet if he knows the Chinese Classics, he is "Honorable Sir." Riches add little, if any thing, to his social position, especially if he is a butcher or in some similar calling. Along with being a scholar the profession of teaching, or being in a government position is looked upon as most desirable. Both of these positions are usually geared up with his scholarship. Next to these positions, that of farming is considered the most honorable, that is if a man is able to hire someone else to do all the work.
This latter is another way in which the dignity of the family is to be maintained. The man of the house, if he would be a real gentleman, must strut around in his shiny white robe every day and do absolutely no work. No matter how much his wife has slaved to make his robe white, that has no bearing on it. He is a gentleman because it is white and in spite of her arduous toil. Every one in the household must wait upon him. Even his pipe has such a long stem that he cannot reach the bowl of it, so it becomes necessary that a servant light it for him. When he goes forth on the road, he must not carry anything heavier than the ever present pipe and fan.

Perhaps the office of highest dignity that the head of the household performs is that of being high priest of the family. On all special days he must lead the family in sacrificing meats and other foods before the ancestral tablet and to the spirits who are supposed to rule over the household. This latter service, however, is often committed to a sorcerer or magician who are supposed to have special power in conjuring and appeasing the evil spirits that might trouble the family.

Such is the husband of the lowly wife. Usually she cannot read, even the unmoon, or native script. Her life is confined and narrow. What a gulf then there is between the two! They could hardly share each others social world, even if they should want to do so. And as long as general conditions remain as they are, it may be just as well that they
are not expected to live on terms of social equality. We will now proceed to describe the Korean woman and her position in the home in more detail.

(2) The Korean Woman and Her Position in the Household——

Perhaps in nothing is the influence of the Chinese sage, Confucius, stronger than in the status accorded the Korean woman in the family scheme. Confucius did not recognize woman as having any moral or social existence. She was a nonentity as far as these were concerned. Growing out of that influence, the Koreans think of woman as occupying a very low place in their social life.

Women practically have no name. At birth the parents give her a kind of surname which is applied to her by her parents, relatives, and close friends, but which at the age of puberty only her parents can use. To outsiders she is known as the sister of one of her brothers, or by number if she has no brothers. After marriage, she is called by the name of the district in which her husband lives, or if children are born to her, she is usually called the mother of the last child, as "Pak Gamie's mother," or "the mother of the three." Her husband in addressing her directly, never calls her by name, but simply says: "yubbo" (look here), and in speaking of her to others says: "the inside of my house."

Amongst the middle and upper classes, the woman is kept very closely in the women's quarters, being allowed to go forth only when her duties demand it or on special occasions. In Seoul the capital, however, there was formerly a rather strange custom in regard to this. After the curfew bell rang
at o P. M., the women were allowed to roam the streets freely until a very late hour, all the men being compelled to stay at home during that time. When the women of the upper classes do have to go on the streets in the day time, they wear a veil or kind of hood over their faces to protect them from any possible gazer. With the lower classes of women these restrictions are not so severe because their duties require that they mingle more or less freely with men, and also because they haven't as much "face to lose."

Under the tyranny of these old customs women were not allowed to speak to a man outside the family or well known neighbors who were pretty well up in years. Even if an intruder should break into the seclusion of the women's quarters, and attempt to violate one of the inmates, she did not dare to cry out, for if it were known that a man had been seen in her private apartments, she would be forever disgraced. Even the minions of the law could not come in to extricate a criminal husband who had taken refuge there, unless he had committed treason.

A woman was looked upon as the slave of her husband, as the potential or actual mother of his children, and as the instrument of his lustful pleasure.

As his slave she was just as much under his authority as the slaves of most any age of the world since abject barbarism. Grinding toil, especially in the middle and lower classes, was her constant lot. Practically all the duties of the household and garden plot fell to her hand.
This meant an enormous amount of labor where the machinery, utensils, and scores of modern appliances were not to be had. For example, the preparation of a meal involved the husking of the rice by pounding it in a mortar, the fanning away of the chaff in an oblong basket-like holder, washing it and placing it in the pot, feeding the fire with leaves or brush for almost an hour, getting the kimchi or pickle relish out of a covered jar in the backyard, fixing a bit of fish and greens, placing all on the table for the male members of the family to eat, and washing up the vessels after they have finished.

One of the most strenuous tasks that the women have to perform is that of washing and ironing the clothes of the family. This washing is done without soap by paddling the clothes on smooth stones by a stream, or by the village well. The task of ironing is a still more tedious one. It is accomplished by spreading the garment on a very smooth stone and beating in the starch with two sticks shaped like a policeman's billet. The music of these sticks can often be heard way into the night, long after the husband and sons have retired.

Besides these special duties there are many others connected with the keeping in order of the Korean house. Sewing for the family, ginning cotton with a crude machine, spinning it with a still cruder one, keeping the house, yard, and out houses in condition, making the garden, and even doing some of the field work in busy seasons. The well to
do families have an "outside man" to do this latter and to bring the fuel from the mountain. But it must be kept in mind that the majority of Korean families are not in that class.

The second major duty of the Korean woman is to become the mother of children. This gives her a semblance of honor which otherwise she does not possess. A barren woman is looked upon as a pitiable creature. And even if she should become the mother of a number of girls and bear no sons, her disgrace is almost as great. In either of these cases she is often scorned and sometimes beaten unmercifully. Under the old regime in such instances, she had no recourse to law, but had to submit and grimly bear whatever punishment her husband saw fit to impose. On the other hand, the woman that became the mother of a number of sons was the envy of all her acquaintances who were not so fortunate. In cases where a woman bore no sons, it often happened that her husband would divorce her and take another. This was looked upon as a legitimate ground for divorce under the teaching of the Confucian regime.

A third position of woman in Old Korea was to be the toy and tool of man's whims and pleasure, especially that of lust. The Koreans are a passionate people and one reason for early marriages is that their young people "may not fall into sin." But marriage does not always mean that those who take the vows are entering on a life of purity. Though the woman at marriage takes the vows of chastity and will be
dealt with rather severely if she is discovered in not keeping them, the husband is hardly expected to be altogether free from loose living. He may have as many concubines as he is able to support, and like Solomon, some of the rich have a great many.

The "kesaing" or dancing girl (Japanese geisha), were very noticeable in numbers around the king's court and in the homes of the rich in times of feasting and special entertainments. Their dress and manner of dancing were very modest and they were not always unfortunates. But usually they were of doubtful character and were considered to be extremely low in the social scale. They were always selected for their beauty, grace of body, and ability to entertain. Thus they were the toys and slaves of men. They were not segregated in houses or certain quarters of the city, but each one was regarded as belonging to certain courts or households. However when they died, they were buried in a kind of beggar's cemetery to themselves.

Notwithstanding the above facts concerning women, it was possible for them to obtain a degree of respect if they were faithful, submissive, and fortunate as to motherhood. This became more likely as they advanced in years. By the time they reached the mother-in-law, or grandmother stage, there really was a chance of being almost "a somebody." It was also true that, in spite of the hard lot of the Korean wife, she accepted her fate patiently and uncomplainingly. And if there were few really happy marriages in
Korea, it may be truly said that there were many contented ones where the wife was well treated. Not knowing the freedom and privileges of the Western woman, and being ignorant of the affection which Western husbands bestow, she yet took pleasure in her children, her humble home, and the narrow life of her village which consisted mostly in gossiping with her women neighbors around the village well, or at the common washing ground down by the river side.

(5) The Children of the Home—There is no evidence of either race suicide or birth control in Korea. There are children everywhere one goes—in the homes, on the streets, in the fields, or on the roads—crowds of laughing, playing, scuffling, and often times fighting children.

Korean parents are very fond of their children and try to take care of them, but they are so ignorant of their needs and of sanitary and hygienic conditions that infant mortality is very high. Like the Indian squaws and all Oriental women, the mother or older sister carries baby on the back, papoose fashion, until he is well able to walk, and sometimes until he is four or five years old.

Children under eight years of age, before the boys and girls are separated from each other, seem to be perfectly normal and usually happy in spite of the poverty and miserable environment in which they live. Both boys and girls usually go stark naked in the summer time, and hardly have enough clothes to keep them warm in the winter. The children
of the lower classes are so often very dirty and go in an unkempt condition. Open sores and foul skin diseases are very prevalent among them. But turning again to the more pleasant side of their lives, a writer on life in Korea says concerning the children: "Judging from the toys of the Corean children, and from their many terms of affection and words relating to games and sports, festivals and recreations, nursery stories etc., the life of the little Kim or Ni must be a pleasant one." Only to tabulate the names of all their toys and games would require many pages, so only a few are given as samples. As to toys- paper pulp effigies of tigers, tasseled umbrellas, fringed hats, toy chariots, flags and drums of officials are a few of those that are popular and represent in minature the life going on around them. As to games: transfixing with a stick a ring hid in a pile of sand, running with pinwheels of paper, or a toy windmill on the end of a stick, flying kites, "bring rain," "playing dinner," see-saw (chal-pak chal-pak), a game of dabbling in water, dominoes, "treading the bridges," "the meeting of the star lovers," and "mouse fire" are a few of those played.

At seven or eight years of age the girls are secluded in the women's quarters and the boys are placed in the village school, if there is one and the parents are able to send them. In this school, both teacher and pupil sit on the floor, the pupils shouting at the top of their voices as they repeat over and over again the names of Chinese

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1 Wm. E. Griffis "Corea the Hermit Nation," p. 256
characters, or repeat whole pages of the Chinese classics. The characters must be learned by tongue, eye, and pen, or rather brush. To become real scholars, the whole of the Classics must be learned in this way. In addition to that, they learn the multiplication table up to nine times nine, the four simple rules of arithmetic, and how to add, subtract, multiply, and divide on the abacus or adding machine. Very little of any other branch of knowledge was ever learned in these old Korean schools. The result was that the Korean scholar ran to seed in the matter of the Chinese Classics and so often had little practical knowledge. From earliest infancy the Korean child is taught to reverence the father who is supposed to rule with an iron hand. The son must be very punctual in saluting the father according to the Confucian code. On the other hand the mother, with whom they spend the greater part of the time, exercises little control over them. So the training of the usual Korean child is very incomplete, and thus they grow up very greatly spoiled and with little respect for real authority.

The Korean is very anxious to preserve the family line through his sons. He must have sons to sacrifice to his spirit when he is dead. If, therefore, no son is born by his regular wife, he can either put her away and secure another one, or take on a concubine as Abraham did in the case of Hagar, the Egyptian. Or, failing in this, he may take one of the sons of his younger brother, or near relative, to be his own. Though in order to be legal, this must be registered at the office of the Board of Rights.
As to inheritance, primogeniture is the rule. Younger sons may receive gifts of property according to their rank when they marry, but the older son receives the bulk of the estate. He is the head of the family and the younger brothers must look to him as their father when the real father or grandfather are not living.

(4) The Mother-in-law and Other Relations--Korean relationships are so complicated that a foreigner finds it next to impossible to keep in mind all the various distinctions. There is a separate word for older brother and younger brother, older sister and younger sister, aunts and uncles on the mother's side are counted as an entirely different relationship from aunts and uncles on the father's side, and there are distinctions between an older and younger brother or sister of the father or mother, a cousin on the mother's side being a different relationship from the one on the father's side etc. One learning the language almost throws his hands up in despair when he comes to lessons on Korean relationships.

The mother-in-law (mother of the husband, not of the wife), is a personage of very great importance in Korea. The bride usually comes to her new home with a great deal of trepidation, for she knows she must be under the tutelage and subject to the every whim of that dreaded personage.

The membership of a Korean family is not complete without mention of the "outside man" or musim. He may be a boy with plaited queue of hair down his back, or a grown man. His duties are to do the work in the field, bring the fuel
rom the near by mountain, and anything else that his hands find to do. He is often seen carrying as much as 400 lbs. on his back by means of the jikey, or carrying frame. He is usually some poor relative of the family and works for his board and keep, perhaps getting a few yen a year over that to help feed his own family.

In spite of genuine affection between parent and child, there are many factors obtaining that prevent the Korean household from becoming a home in the western sense of the word. The separation of the children at an early age, the fact that the mother must stay in the women's quarters and the father spend most of his time with his male friends, is against the unity of the family as we know it.

(5) The Wider Relationships of the Korean Family--Instead of the family being an independent unit as it is in the West, it is only the fragment of a clan, a segment of the great circle of the kindred. "All the kindred, even to the fifteenth or twentieth degree, whatever their social position, rich or poor, educated or illiterate, officials or beggars--form a clan, a tribe, or more exactly, one single family, all of whose members have mutual interests to sustain. The house of one is the house of the other, and each will assist to his utmost another of the clan to get money, office, or advantage."1

Following the clan idea, they do not live in single houses out in the country as we do in the West, but in

J.S. Gale, "Korea in Transition," p. 106
villages. Korea is a land of small villages, there being very few cities in the nation. Often a large village is composed of only one clan or family. Villages that look very much alike to the foreigner are rated as low, middle, high etc. by the Koreans, following the social position of the clan living there.

So in Korea there has been this system of Patriarchal authority beginning with the family and finally heading up in the king, the father of his people. Individuals had little recourse or recognition aside from their relation to the family and tribe. In social and political relationships the people functioned as a clan or village through their local magistrate.

So there could be little or no independence of thought in Old Korea. On this subject Dr. Gale says: "Society is so interlocked and bound together by the patriarchal system that, not only is independent thought out of the question, but there is no room for patriotism, no room for sincerity, no place for accuracy. Chief among the many fathers is the father of the family. Then there is the father of the state, the king, and as the father of the family has power absolute within the limits of his own home, so in state affairs the king is absolute....... Then there is the provincial father, or magistrate. He too within a narrow circle is absolute, and can reprimand, and order, and berate as he pleases. Then there is the literary father, the schoolmaster, once greatly held in esteem, now fallen among
the debris of ancient systems and ideals. There are many
other fathers, all of whom hold sway within their own spheres.
Such being the case, independence of thought or action is out
of the question."  

But now we turn to a brighter side of the picture in the
next section.

II.

New Liberties, Customs, and Sanctions

We round in the preceding section of this discussion that
the old Korean social order was built up on the basis of the
Five Elements, the Five Relationships, and the Five Virtues.
Every thing was done in reference to these and independent
thought was not dreamed of. As Dr. Gale says: "As it was
in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be," was written
over all things Korean.....For generations the Korean has
walked by instinct and not by reason......But new conditions
and a new world have come crashing into his ancient domain,
and where is he?" 2 And in another paragraph he says: "Under-
neath this social structure with its Ohsang, and its Ohang
great charges or dynamite are exploding. They have come
about through the opening of the gates, the incoming of
the missionary, and the invasion of Japan." 3 As these things
influenced the nation in general, it was inevitable that

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1 J.S. Gale, "Korea in Transition", pp. 113-4
2 J.S. Gale, "Korea in Transition", pp. 99
3 J.S. Gale, "Korea in Transition", pp. 119
they should influence the family life of the people. We will consider these influences in a little different order than that suggested by the above sentence.

1. The Influence of World Civilization on the Korean Family

This influence may be said to have begun at the top and to have simmered downward to the lower stratas of life in the nation. The government of Korea being a paternal monarchy, whatever influenced the government sooner or later reached every family in the realm. When then was this influence of outside nations first felt in Korea? From ancient times this little kingdom had posed as the "Hermit Nation", forbidding all foreigners except Chinese to set foot on her soil. However, since the beginning of the Christian era Japan had invaded the country on many occasions and forced the settlement of a number of her nationals in the land. In 1876 Japan succeeded in signing a treaty of friendship and commerce by which these long barred doors were opened to the world. The United States of America, Great Britain, and Germany soon followed her example. Then followed the three fold struggle of China, Japan and Russia to get the upper hand, culminating in the Japanese-Russian war in which Japan was successful. Little by little Japan made further encroachments until 1910, when Korea was annexed outright to Japan. But the special influence of this nation is reserved for discussion in another section.
By the beginning of the present century Korea was becoming fairly well known to the outside world. American capital had put in electric street cars in the capital, the city of Seoul, and in 1901 built a railroad from this city to Chemulpo, a port on the west coast. This was soon extended to Pusan on the southern coast and northward to connect with the trans Siberian railroad of the Russian system. Thus was Korea connected up with Europe and the outside world and soon visitors and merchants began coming from these western nations as sightseers and with commercial aims in view.

During the Russian Japanese War newspaper correspondents from many lands sent the news from Seoul by telegraph and cable all over the world. The Korean were not slow in realizing the great advantage that western civilization had at its disposal, and many of the young and wide awake were anxious to put their nation in line for these benefits. And although Korea was known as the Hermit Nation, there was no special prejudice against foreigners as in China and Japan. So along with this new awakening came in also many imports from other countries—foreign foods, tobacco, cotton cloth, woolen goods, hats, shoes, and other articles of clothing. Oil and tobacco found a more ready market than any thing else. The Standard Oil Company began to call themselves "The Light of Asia" and to manufacture small glass lamps by the millions to stimulate trade in this commodity. The British and American Tobacco Company adopted
a slogan of putting a cigarette in the mouth of every human being in Asia. So there was a thriving trade in that until Japan made tobacco a government monopoly.

All these things had a widespread influence on the average Korean family. Numbers of the younger men began to discard their long stem pipes and to smoke American or British cigarettes. Instead of fish oil and the old cup lamps, glass lamps were used with the American oil. But especially was the influence of world civilization seen in the use of Western or European clothes. This has increased to such an extent that in all the large centers, as well as many smaller ones, a great many of the young men wear European clothes, especially hats and shoes, in many instances retaining their other garments. Young women's clothing too has been greatly modified, though seldom does one see a Korean young woman in full Western dress. They wear Western shoes and stockings with their own native skirts greatly abbreviated. As to hair styles, the up to date young man or boy either cuts his hair American style or shinggles it close like the Japanese.

As yet, however, a great many of the people, especially the older generations, still cling to the top knot, just as they do their own style of dress. The women still wear their hair mostly the old style, which is not so different from the old style in America. Change to European dress is not only cheaper in the long run, but saves the women a vast amount of work in washing and ironing. There is not
much change as yet in the eating and sleeping habits of the people, though the younger generation is not averse to the American customs here where they are able to follow them.

To what extent Western civilization has influenced family relationships in the home it is yet difficult to say. The low status of woman and her seclusion from men, the early marriages of children, the tedious forms of children salutations to their parents etc., have changed a great deal, except in some very conservative homes and communities. Much of this however is due to western education and other influences brought in by Japan and the missionaries, which is reserved for another topic.

As to the fact that the new world outlook has had a tremendous influence on the youth of the land, Rev. W. J. Anderson, a missionary of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A., says in the Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire for 1923: "The present state of mind of the young people in our churches is practically the same as those outside. They are full of life, have ambitions for self-betterment and the betterment of the church and society as a whole, and a desire to become a part of the world society. In fact there is practically nothing in the world society of which they are not cognizant and for which they do not crave if it is within the bounds of decency, and accords with their religious scruples. They wish to improve their personal appearance and dress, to make their homes real
homes and not just places in which to eat and sleep, ....
and to raise the standard of living in every way." 1

Another factor influencing the life of the modern
Korean family is that of the press. Scores of news papers
with world connections not only spread the news of the
world daily over the land, but discuss political, economic,
and social problems designed to be of benefit to the thousands
who read them. And though there may be a great deal of un-
wisdom in these, there is also much that is good, and at
least they set the people thinking along the lines of prog-
ress and general betterment.

Another educational agency somewhat akin to this is the
thousands of Young Mens Progress Clubs that have sprung up
in the land. The stimulus that prompted these young men to
form these clubs arose very largely from a knowledge of what
is going on in other nations. These clubs have been of
great benefit to the young, for they not only discuss problems
that have to do with social progress, but attempt to apply
them in a practical way. One of the things they do is to

1 "The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire", 1923, p. 495
is giving his impression of American life and the influence of Western education on his own people. Today there are hundreds of Korean students in Japanese, American, English, German and other universities. What they are thinking will have a far reaching influence on the thinking and customs of many Korean families of the futures. But to revert to the article in the "Asia", and incident in this story shows also the great influence of the West on the relation of the sexes. Under the old regime there was no courting, or even talking of young people together. In this story, however, the author while on a train in Japan, falls in love with a fair young lady and before the end of the journey he is carrying her baggage and conversing with her. He also relates by way of contrast in this connection the marriage of a beautiful cousin, according to the old custom, to a man whom she had never seen and could not love. Soon after this the young man's father tries to marry him off in the same way, but he rebels and runs away, finally reaching America where he continued his education. Thirty years ago he could hardly have committed a more serious offense. This goes to show that old family sanctions are breaking down and that new liberties are taking their place. The world is moving on and it's civilization is breaking in on the family of the Hermit Nation.

2. Japanese Influence on the Evolution of the Korean Family

Although Japan, when she came into possession of the
country in 1910 had saved Korea from possible absorption by China and oppression by Russia, yet the majority of the people felt that it was out of the frying pan into the fire for their little nation. From ancient times Japan had, by invasion and the committing of depredations against the Koreans, made themselves objects of hatred. On this point Dr. Arthur Judson Brown has to say: "We should frankly recognize from the outset that the Japanese were handicapped in Korea, not only by chaotic conditions that prevailed, but by the fact that if domination by some foreign power was inevitable, the Koreans would have been better pleased if that power had been some other than Japan. The two nations had been hereditary enemies for a thousand years. Japanese invasions had been numerous and the one in 1592 had wrought such devastation that Korea has been a wretched and dilapidated country ever since. After his observant journey through the Far East, Lord Curzon wrote: 'The national race hatred between the Koreans and Japanese was, and is, one of the most striking phenomena in contemporary Korea.'" ¹

In justification of Japan's occupation, the same author says: "And first, we should bear in mind considerations that have been mentioned before, and that will bear repetition as fundamental factors in the situation, namely: that the Japanese justification for taking Korea lay in the ines-

capable facts that if Japan had not occupied the peninsula, Russia would have done so; that Japan's national safety would have been imperilled by Russian occupation; that Japanese ascendancy was far better for the Koreans than Russian ascendancy would have been; that the Korean government was so hopelessly rotten and the condition of the country so pitiable that there was no possibility of political regeneration from within; and that the interests both of Korea and of other people concerned made it imperative that Japan should undertake the work of reconstruction."

Considering the Japanese influence on the Koreans from the political viewpoint, there were several factors that favored the Japanese in their acknowledged policy of Japanizing the nation. In the first place, there had for a long time existed a Japanese party among the Koreans who had quite a following, and so it was not surprising that many were ready to look with favor on the Japanese occupation. Another factor is, that those in authority in any government have the natural advantage of prestige and so are able to impress and to a great extent mold the customs and habits of the people by setting the patterns for them to follow. And although the government has never attempted to force any social custom on the people, there have been a few who have adopted the patterns set by those in authority, either because they thought it might give

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them social prestige among the people. So in the capital and some other large centers where there are a great many Japanese, we find a not inconsiderable number of the younger Koreans adopting many of the Japanese customs as to housing, clothing, and other domestic affairs. More often, however, although there is a great deal of adoption of Japanese customs in public dealings, when it comes to their own homes, they follow their own domestic customs.

From a purely social standpoint also there is a factor that facilitated the influence of the Japanese on the customs and manners of the Korean family. And that is the fact that many of the Japanese family customs are very similar to that of the Korean because they both originally came from China. This is true of marriage customs, reverent salutations of children to their parents, eating on an individual table, eating with chop sticks, leaving the shoes outside when entering a room. This is not due entirely to Chinese influence, but also to the fact that Japan originally received much of her civilization from Korea.

Referring again to the political phase of the matter, one thing that is now destined to have far reaching influence on the future of the Korean family, is the Japanese regulation as to the marriage age. Whereas, under the old Korean regime, it was possible for mere children to marry, the present law is that the girl must be sixteen and the boy eighteen. There must also be a recording of the marriage with the civil authorities, the result being that it is not so easy to discard wife or husband and take another.
Japanese custom has also had some influence in weakening the old Korean habit of separating the sexes, and not allowing them to have any social intercourse. And while the free manner of the West in which young people mingle together without much restriction is frowned upon, even by Japan, yet much more freedom is allowed here than formerly. As the people have been kept so tight under the old customs, however, even a measure of freedom along that line has often proved disastrous and led to moral tragedy. It is like admitting the light too suddenly to the tender pupil of an eye that has long been blind, but now cured.

Among the benefits to the Koreans, and, therefore, to the Korean family, is the establishment of competent courts and police force for protection of person and property in place of the old scheme of official whims and greed; facilitating transportation by building roads, railroads, and government ships; of communication by telephone and telegraph; fixing a stable currency; establishing a commission on lands and boundaries; reforestation of bare hillsides; establishing of model agricultural stations for the encouragement of better farming; establishing of government hospitals and general sanitary measures; the building of public works, encouraging industries such as growing mulberry trees and raising silk worms; the establishing of juvenile courts, and the act forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors to minors.
The benefits of Japanese education to the younger members of the Korean family deserves a more extended treatment than that given to the things listed above. The old system of Korean education was very inadequate and reached only a few of the male sex, leaving out the girls altogether. The Christian Church immediately laid plans for education in a limited way when it began work in the land. That, however, will be touched on in another part of this paper.

There is little doubt that the education of young Korea is Japan's major problem. But they have attacked it with great courage and determination. For sometime they have been working toward establishing Primary and Grammar Schools in every official District, Higher Common Schools in the larger towns in the County, High Schools in the Provincial towns, and all heading up in a great University in Seoul. And before this is completed, they encourage a large number of students to attend the Imperial University in Tokio. In this system of education, girls are given a part as well as the boys which is a great forward step in the Far East. Most of the subjects that are taught in the West are also taught here, English being greatly emphasized, for every young Korean or Japanese is very eager to learn English.

One unfortunate thing for the Koreans, however, is the fact that practically all the subjects are taught in the Japanese language, it being the official national language of Korea, an attempt being made to do away with
the native language, and attempt that will prove futile if history means anything. But that is a part of the Japanese policy of assimilation.

By means of modern education the young Korean has a world wide outlook, but one of the sad things that happens in the family is that it often creates an impassable gulf between him and his old father when the latter is a Confucian scholar of past generation type.

Although Japan insists on the separation of education and religion, Emperor worship is taught, and on certain occasions the students are forced to bow to the Emperor's picture. Ancestor worship is also taught and: "A textbook on ethics, issued by the government for use in all schools, includes among its illustrations three Koreans prostrating themselves before the graves of their ancestors, on which there are sacrificial offerings. The accompanying text reads:

**LESSON 17 - ANCESTORS**

'These persons have swept the grave clean, and prepared and set out in order the various kinds of sacrifices. It will not do at all for any one to neglect the sacrifices to his ancestors.'

In spite of these things, however, the new education provided by Japan is a great boon to young Korea.

There are, however, some distinctly evil influences upon the Korean family brought in by the Japanese regime.

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1 Arthur Judson Brown, "The Conquest of the Far East", pp. 600-01
One of these is the social evil. The Japanese people have heretofore in their own country regarded rather lightly this evil and have given over a large area of their cities to the license quarter. Dr. Arthur Brown says on this point: "Although improvement has been made in recent years, licentiousness is still regarded as a rather venial offense, and it involves less reproach to men and women than in any other country in the world which lays claim to civilized standing. Ten and three tenths per cent of the children are illegitimate.....

In old Japan, the young girl willing to sell herself to a life of shame to relieve the poverty and distress of parents would be considered virtuous, because filial piety was regarded as a higher virtue than personal chastity." ¹

Although there was a great deal of immorality in Old Korea among the rich who were able to afford concubines and dancing girls in connection with their establishments, houses of professional prostitutes were not known. With the Japanese regime came this institution to demoralize the young life of Korea and to bring misery and disease into tens of thousands of homes. Many Japanese Christians and some high officials are laboring to do away with this evil, be it said to their praise.

Another evil winked at by the Japanese which affects

¹ Arthur Judson Brown, "The Conquest of the Far East, pp. 376-8
the Korean family is that of the morphine and opium habit. The importation and sale of these is contrary to the Japanese law, but it is not enforced, for both the Chinese and Japanese smuggle it in and peddle it out among the people. To quote again from Dr. Brown: "The traffic is contrary to Japanese law, but is conducted more or less openly by Japanese, especially in the country districts, where peddlers spread the morphine and opium habits among multitudes of Koreans. .... Thousands of Koreans are learning the use of the morphine syringe from these Japanese venders, and as they are like children in the indulgence of their appetites, the evil has grown to serious proportions. Every hospital in Korea now has to treat opium and morphine fiends. It so often happens that the one on whom the family is dependent for support falls a victim and thus is the family brought to dire poverty and it may be to beggary."1

The policy of the Japanese government in Korea is one of complete assimilation of the Korean people. In 1910 Viscount Terauchi in his "Instructions to the Japanese Residents in Korea", said: "The aim and purpose of the annexation is to consolidate the bonds of the two countries, removing all causes for the territorial and national discriminations necessarily existing as separate powers, so as perfectly to promote the mutual welfare and happiness of the two peoples in general. Consequently, should the

the Japanese people regard it as a result of the conquest of a weak country by a stronger one, and speak and act under such illusions in an overbearing and undignified manner, they would go contrary to the spirit in which the present step has been taken............ Let them always bear in mind that they are our brothers and treat them with sympathy and friendship........"1 In pursuance of this policy of assimilation, the Imperial Government in 1910 gave sanction to intermarriages by betrothing Princess Nashimato, a daughter of a Prince of the Imperial family, to Prince Yi Jr., who was Crown Prince of Korea when his elder brother was Emperor. The wedding took place Jan. 21, 1919. In commenting on this Dr. Brown says: "With the encouragement of such an example, marriages of Koreans and Japanese are becoming more frequent than formerly. It is doubtful whether such unions will become general, at least for a considerable period, for the rather matter of fact reason that Japanese men deem their own country women far more attractive and congenial than Korean women.. ....The average Japanese considers himself superior to the Korean and with reason ect."2

It is perhaps natural for one who was in Korea only a few months to make a statement like that, but the fact is that the two people are of the same race and cannot distinguish one another when dressed in the same manner. In

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1 Arthur Judson Brown, "The Conquest of the Far East", p.369
2 Idem, pp. 367-368
the magazine "Asia" for March, 1931, Dr. Younghill Kang, a Korean, relates how while a student in Japan he was travelling on the train one day and thought a young Korean girl was a Japanese girl because she had on a Japanese kimono and spoke Japanese. My own personal experience in Korea is that there is such a deep seated hatred of the Japanese by the Koreans that there will practically be no marriages between them for several generations. Any immediate change, then, in the condition of the Korean family will not come from that source. But the constant example of those in authority and the Japanese education of the youth of Korea along lines of Japanese culture will inevitably have a strong influence in changing the Korean family of the future.

3. The Influence of Christianity on the Korean Family

The general influence of Christianity on the social condition of the Korean people is reflected in the writings of eminent authors as they have viewed the situation. We quote first from the books of two Koreans who wrote in English, Dr. Henry Chung, and Dr. L. G. Paik. Dr. Chung makes the statement: "The present day Korean is awakened under the guiding influence of Western culture and Christian democracy."1 Dr. Paik says: "The rapid growth of the Christian communities, the early naturalization of Christianity in the Korean environment, and the far reaching influence of the religion on the thought and life of the

1Henry Chung, "The Case of Korea", p. 57
people, have been a marked achievement."1 And again he says: "The establishment of the Protestant Missions influenced the nation in many ways. It furthered a better understanding of the West by imparting a knowledge of the superior material science, and the trustworthy and upright character of the Westerners. The introduction of Western educational methods was also useful....The establishment of schools for girls and women was a distinctive contribution. The idea of institutional philanthropy was introduced through the hospitals and orphanages... Another monumental effect.... was the revival of the Korean script. The Korean alphabet should have been one of the best instruments in the history of Korean culture, but scholars had despised it and had substituted for it Chinese characters."2

If we analyze this general influence, which must sooner or later affect the family life, we find at least four ways in which it is felt. First of all we may note the influence of the truths of the Christian religion as they bring about moral practices in the lives of the people. For example this practical effect is seen in the testimony of some Korean farmers who appeared one day in the study of Rev. H. G. Underwood and asked him if he had any thing to do with the Christians in Haing Ju? On his replying in the affirmative, these farmers said: "Well, we should

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1L.G. Paik, "History of Protestant Missions in Korea", p. 2
2Idem, pp. 152-153
like to buy the books that teach the doctrines they are practicing there, we want to learn that doctrine in our village too." 1 Again this same author records in regard to a question which was asked an unbeliever: "Do you believe also?" "Oh, no," was the reply. "These Christians spend their time and money doing good to others, I must do for myself, I cannot afford to practice this doctrine."

And again another one is asked: "Then why do you not believe? The reply was, "Oh, I sell liquor, that is my business, I cannot do that and be a Christian." 2

A second element in the influence of Christianity that is greatly affecting the Korean family is that of medicine, surgery, and sanitation brought in through the means of Mission Doctors, clinics and hospitals. We have already spoken of the work of the Japanese in this field, but the missions had already established the majority of their hospitals and clinics before the Japanese began to do anything along this line.

The Koreans of the old regime had little or no knowledge of medicine and healing. They looked upon disease as possession by an evil spirit and which must be released from diseased portion of the body. This they attempted to do by the injection of the chim or needle and by the use of certain magical rites. Often the office of medicine

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1 Mrs. H.G. Underwood, "Fifteen Years Among the Top Knots", p. 183
2 Idem, p. 189
3 Idem, p. 189
man and magician were combined in one person. If his incantations and esoteric rites were not successful in driving the spirit away, he would then inject a needle, often dirty and never sterilized, in the most reckless manner, causing much suffering, and serious results sometimes following.

Something of the general ignorance of sanitation and hygienic conditions may be realized from the following quotation from Dr. Arthur Brown. He says: "The common people know nothing of sanitation. They throw garbage and offal on the ground and leave it to breed every kind of zymatic abomination. They cast all slops into an open trench beside their huts. The trench ends a few yards from the house and the filth seeps into the soil, often near wells from which drinking water is drawn. Open ditches along the sides of the streets become choked with refuse and form pools of filth, in which mangy, quarreling dogs prowl for refuse, and the scavenger hog wallows. In the hot, wet months of July and August, a Korean city becomes a steaming cess-pool of malodorous slime."

In spite of suspicions and deep seated superstitions, medical missions had a wonderful success from the first. The first Protestant missionary, Dr. Allen (1804), was asked by the Korean government to take charge of the government hospital along with his missionary work. This

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is doubtless one secret of the success that attended mission medical practice from its incipiency. Here was an influence that would spread rapidly from the very highest family in the land to every other one, no matter how low it might be. In fact Dr. Allen was able to save the life of the Prince, Min Yong Ik, who had been the victim of an assassin's knife. Dr. Paik says of this incident: "The reward was gratifying, for the spectacular exhibition of Western skill won the confidence of the court and paved the way for open missionary labor."

By the beginning of the new century, the Methodist Episcopal and Presbyterian Missions had established hospitals and medical dispensaries in almost every important center in the land, besides two leper hospitals which have done so much in curing scores of lepers and arresting the disease in hundreds of others by the use of chaulmoogra oil. By 1924 there were 24 mission hospitals ministering to the bodies of tens of thousands of individuals and bringing health and happiness to a vast number of Korean families. The general influence of the medical work on the thought and lives of the people was heightened when the cholera outbreak of 1896 called forth special devotion on the part of the missionary force. Concerning this incident Dr. Paik records: "They toiled indefatigably for the sick and dying, performing offices from which the

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\(^{1}\text{L.G.Paik, "History of Protestant Missions in Korea", p.94} \)
bravest Koreans shrunk, exposing themselves without stint, and saving hundreds of lives." 1 And concerning the same incident Mrs. H.G. Underwood has to say: "All these recoveries made no little stir in the city. Proclamations were posted on the walls telling people there was no need for them to die when they might go to the Christian hospital and live. People who watched missionaries working over the sick night after night said to each other: How these foreigners love us! Would we do as much for our own kin as they do for strangers?" 2

But perhaps more widespread than this by product of the medical work, was the influence of the teaching of the Doctor and his staff of helpers and nurses as to general hygiene and sanitation. In almost every annual Station Bible Class where men and women came in from all over the country, the foreign Doctor or some of his staff would lecture on sanitation and hygiene. This with the influence of the patients returning home from hospital and clinic has had a far reaching effect on the general cleanliness and sanitary conditions of thousands of Korean homes.

A third great factor in the evolution of the Korean family brought in by Christian Missions is that of education. Since the early eighties Korean students have been anxious for Western education. And the government in 1861 sent commissions on education and students to Japan and China. "In the spring of 1885 the king of Korea

1 L.G. Paik, "History of Protestant Missions in Korea", p. 203
2 Mrs. H.G. Underwood, "Fifteen Years Among the Top Knots", p. 144
requested General John Eaton, the Commissioner of Education of the U.S. to nominate three young men competent to teach in the government school. The choice fell upon George W. Gilmore of Princeton, D. A. Bunker of Oberlin, and H. E. Hurlburt, of Dartmouth. The school did effective work and turned out men useful in government service, but did not prosper as it deserved on account of peculating officials diverting the funds to their own private use."

All the Missions founded both Boys and Girls school almost from the first and these have finally headed up in two A class colleges, the Union Christian College of Pusan and the Chosen Christian College of Seoul, beside two Theological Seminaries, one of the Methodist and one of the Presbyterian denominations. Founding of schools for girls was a new step for Korea, but one that has become very popular and a mighty force in the emancipation of Korean womanhood. The first girls school was founded in 1886 by the N. Presbyterian Mission and was named Ewa Haktang, or Pearl Blossom Institute, by the queen of Korea. It is hard to overestimate the influence of the education of the girls of Korea on the future homes of the land.

The aims of education in Korea have not been merely literary and cultural, but industrial and practical as well. Rev. C. G. Hounshell of the S. Methodist Mission declared in 1906 that Korea "needed an education that

\[\text{L.G. Paik, "History of Protestant Missions in Korea", p.118}\]
will save her young men: an education that will purify and strengthen the will, inspire the heart, and teach them how to do things."¹ He agreed with Baron T. H. Yun that Korea's need was industrial education. Out of these intentions grew the Anglo-Korean Industrial School of Songdo. And now all the missions either have industrial schools or teach the industrial feature in connection with their regular literary schools. The influence of both these types of school on the young life of Korea and on the future family is doubtless incalculable. Both young men and women after learning through the schools something of world thought and of home conditions existing in other lands, will not be content with their own homes, but will demand changes in many things.

The educational value of the home life of the missionaries themselves has not been without its influence on the family life of the Korean people. Concerning this Mr. L. G. Falk says: "Mission work must not and does not stop with instruction in class rooms, healing in hospital wards, Sunday preaching, and the administration of religious rites. A missionary's life and deeds are the most important part of his work, for preaching by deeds is more effective than words. By their wholesome family life of love and mutual respect, the early missionaries to Korea

won the admiration of the people. This fair dealing in business matters such as the purchasing of real estate, proved their upright character and trustworthiness.

... It was in the days when the missionaries did not have the liberty of preaching, but the Christian homes and Christian lives exercised their sweet influence, and good was accomplished in ways and by means of which the missionaries had never dreamed.¹

There is a fourth influence of the Christian regime, perhaps growing out of the first one we mentioned, but so important as to deserve separate treatment. And that is the Christian principles of love, freedom, and equality as they have to do with the status of woman. We found that in the old Korean attitude and way of living woman usually occupied a very low sphere. She was either the toy or the tool of the male, and consequently his slave. But under the influence of Christian belief that is being changed in thousands of homes.

This may be well illustrated in a quotation that Dr. Gale makes from Dr. George Heber Jones, who was for many years a Missionary to Korea under the Methodist Episcopal Church. He says, quoting in turn the words of a Christian Korean woman: "'Before Christ came into our home,' said one of our native Christian women, 'I never knew what it was

¹L.G. Paik, "History of Protestant Missions in Korea", pp. 144-145
to eat a meal in the same room with my husband. His meals were served to him in the *sarang* (guest room), while I had mine on the earth floor of the kitchen. He always spoke to me in the lowest grade of servant talk and often called me by insulting names. Sometimes when he was angry or drunk, he used to beat me, and my life was miserable as that of most of all the heathen Korean women. But now that Christ has come into our hearts, everything is changed. My husband has not struck me once since he became a Christian. We have our meals and prayers together now in the *sarang* and he always addresses me in a kindly manner. The past was a bad dream, the present is a foretaste of heaven."

Though there have been conferences among missionaries and Korean Christians on social problems, the white slave traffic, and the living wage etc., as yet very little direct social work has been done. This is freely admitted in the report of a social survey recently made of the country. In that report there occurs the following language: "Still it must be admitted that along social lines work has been haphazard and desultory rather than intelligent and sympathetic."

The truth is that the various Christian Missions have been so overwhelmed with the magnitude of the task of Christianizing the people, that they

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1J. S. Cole, "Korea in Transition", p. 94
2"Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire", 1924, p. 412
have had very little time for this great work of socialization which all admit to be of very high importance. Yet it must be said that through the medical plants, schools, and even in the work of direct evangelization, much has been accomplished which, though it is not called by the name social, has nevertheless been real social service.

As to the future of the Korean family, the outlook is hopeful. But it must be admitted that there is a long long way to go before there will be any appreciable attainment to Western standards of life. If one takes a cross sectional view of Korean families at the present time, he will find that a few are approaching the Japanese conception of the family and its life, others are trying to pattern after the Western family life but largely ignorant of the moral principles that underlie the Western idea of the family, and still others are trying to apply those principles by a trial and error method that may result in something different from the family life of the West but may after all be the best pattern for the Orient. But the majority of the families in Korea are still holding on to most of the old manners, customs, and beliefs that they have held dear through thousands of years. As to the final outcome, we cannot dogmatize, but can only wait, work, and hope for the best.
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