Social Organization of Upper Han Hamlet in Korea

by Chungnim C. Han
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DR. HAN, CHUNGNIM C. presented her doctoral thesis, *Social Organization of Upper Han Hamlet in Korea*, to the University of Michigan in 1949. The Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, offers Dr. Han’s work to its membership in 1987 in the belief that her description of life in a small village in Hamgyŏng-do, a province now i. north Korea, just after Korea’s liberation from Japanese colonialism and before the outbreak of the Korean War is both interesting and instructive. Some minor editorial changes have been made in the text, and a few footnoted comments have been added where the editor felt some explanation was necessary. Other notes follow the end of each chapter. The McCune-Reischauer Romanization follows the forms Dr. Han wrote; these occasionally represent Hamgyŏng-do dialect forms, especially for kinship terms.

Barbara R. Mintz  
Editor  
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Social Organization of Upper Han Hamlet in Korea

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Chungnim C. Han

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan

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June 1949
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PREFACE
The Problem, The Purpose, and The Method

Problem

This is a case study, covering a period approximately from 1920 to 1935, of an agricultural society, Upper Han Hamlet, one of six such hamlets in Omae Village, Sŏkhu District, Pukch’ŏng County, South Hamgyŏng Province (Map 1) in Korea. The hamlet is the smallest administrative unit in the country. The objective of this study is to isolate the basic social patterns of the hamlet and to demonstrate their interrelations and integrations. By so doing it is hoped to re-examine the hypothesis of functional anthropologists and sociologists, which the author has provisionally accepted, that is, that society may be regarded as an integration of functionally interdependent parts.

On the strength of this hypothesis, the author views society as a state of equilibrium obtained by the integration of numerous social patterns. The latter are expressed only through human activities or behavior. Therefore, human activities are the primary data of the study. General thought habits, not those of special individuals, are included in human activities.

The study of social patterns through human activities can best be made by following the actual life wherein these activities occur. Hamlet society functions as if there were many circles, each completing its own cycle periodically, and each integrated with and interdependent upon others. These cycles are life cycles, daily, annual or seasonal cycles, all of which function within the framework of the family and are essential to it. The family is, however, permanent and has no cycle. However, one cannot include all human behavior patterns in a study of this sort; therefore, only the salient patterns which recur systematically year after year have been selected. Careful selection of these patterns is one of the important elements of this study. Moreover, the real meaning of a social pattern cannot be understood if it is treated as an isolated phenomenon, for the chief significance of each pattern lies in its relation to the whole.

Society, then, must be studied in its entirety whether it is a large unit such as a nation or a small village or hamlet. For a beginner it is much harder to undertake a study of a large area. The choice of a small area is advantageous because the social and economic boundary lines as well as the interrelationship and integration of each part within the boundary are comparatively easily observable.
Purpose

The ultimate concern of the author in making this study is to provide a basis for the imminent reforms* of various types in Korea, some of which will be conceived within the country and others imposed upon her from the outside. Knowledge of the basic structure and functioning of Korean society is essential for the guidance of social planners who wish to help Korea's readjustment to modern conditions in the Far East.

In Korea, there are two types of agricultural village, one which is composed of households and families descended from the same clan, like Upper Han Hamlet, and the other of families of many different clans. One may assume that a study of Upper Han Hamlet will establish the basic patterns of similar villages and also, to a certain extent, those of the other type, since these different types of villages function interdependently through marriages and marketing.

The basic patterns of the agricultural hamlet are important because future social reforms for Korea will have to deal with villages such as Upper Han Hamlet since such communities held over 90 percent of the total population of Korea until 1935. These people are greatly in need of improved conditions whereby they can obtain a minimum satisfaction of daily needs and some opportunities of learning.

In the past, reformers undertaking planned changes for any part of Korea have consistently dealt with the problem as belonging solely to one specific field, such as economics, religion or politics, etc. Such reforms are based on the assumption that a society can be neatly divided into many independent categories.

For example, the poverty of the farmers was well known to young Korean intelligentsia in the early 1930s. Various solutions to the problem were suggested. Some were sure the cause of poverty was ignorance; others explained the situation from religious, economic or political points of view, and still others found the cause to lie in the absence of industrialization. Many tried to elevate the standard of living of farmers by changing one or the other factor according to their conviction. Some made progress in one respect at the sacrifice of others. Most of them failed, and the situation remained the same. The fundamental cause of such lack of success lies in the failure of reformers to view society as the integration of interdependent patterns.

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*Various reforms were being planned for the nation after its 1945 liberation from Japanese colonial rule (ed.).
Method

As for method, though some published material, largely in the Korean and Japanese languages, has been used, the major portion of the study has come through interviews with the following informants.

Informant A was born in 1914 as the fifth son of a Han clan family, and is the author's husband. He was raised in Hamlet until 1926, the year he graduated from Sŏksin Primary School in the village. The same year he left for Seoul, where he graduated from high school and later from college. In 1938 he came to the United States for further study. He studied at Syracuse University and Harvard University receiving A. B. and M. A. degrees in political science. At present he is a graduate student at the University of Michigan.

Between 1926 and 1938 he visited his hamlet on an average of once a year, each visit lasting from several days to two months. His last visit was made in the summer of 1938. He maintained contacts with the people in Hamlet until 1941. In 1945 he renewed correspondence with members of his family who had come to live in Seoul. The letters from his brothers are good source material.

Informant B is Dr. T. M. Kang, a member of the Kang clan, of Changan Village, Pukch'ŏng County, about one and one-half miles north of Omae Village. He was married there, had a child there and was the chief mourner at his father's funeral ceremony. He later taught in the village school until he was in his late twenties, and he left for the United States in 1927. He has studied in Seoul, Japan, and the United States. He holds a Ph.D. degree from New York University.

Informant C, the second brother of Informant A, was born and lived in Hamlet until 1945. The author visited him twice in the summer of 1946 in Seoul.

Informant D is the third brother of Informant A, and was born and raised in Hamlet. He left Hamlet for Hamhŭng to go to high school, later to college in Seoul in the early 1920s. He was the first man in Hamlet to leave for a larger city. He later returned to propagate Christianity in Hamlet. On various occasions he returned to live in Hamlet for periods lasting from several weeks to over one year. He later settled in the northwestern part of Korea. He came to live in Seoul in 1946.

Informant E is the fourth brother of Informant A. He, too, was born in Hamlet and was raised there. He visited Seoul many times, but the family house in Hamlet was his headquarters until he came to Seoul in 1945.
In addition to these informants, the author, in the summer of 1946, visited members of Upper and Lower Han Hamlets who were refugees living in Seoul. They were one college student, one high school student, and a farmer and his wife, all of whom had lived in Hamlet until 1945 or later.

In presenting data, the author has followed the sequence of actual life as closely as possible. At the same time, various incidents which seem to occur without any definite connection with the day-to-day life must not be completely ignored. Some of these are seemingly independent and accidental, but often these lead one to understand a certain phase of Hamlet society. One can hardly record, however, every incident which occurs in a given society; therefore, only salient events are selected for this study.

The first chapter deals briefly with the geography and history of Korea. This is followed by a description of the physical setting of Upper Han Hamlet. The second chapter covers the present economic and demographic situations; the third chapter describes familism as a controlling force, age-groups, authority within the society, and various incidents and occurrences which do not seem to belong to any of the recurring patterns but which are important to the make-up of Hamlet society and contribute to its understanding.

Chapters four to eight cover other essential phases of Hamlet society. The social structure described in chapters four and five explains family and various lineage systems, which reveal the fundamental principles of this society. The sixth chapter deals with reciprocal behavior, accenting the intra-familial relationships which occupy a great part of one’s life in Hamlet. The author wishes to make it clear that the intra-familial relationship presented is the basic pattern for all kinds of relationships among persons in undertaking social, economic and religious matters. Farm economy, social functions and religious activities are presented in chapters seven and eight. These make up the dynamic side of the social structure. A conclusion is given in the ninth chapter.

For a study of this sort, field work for a considerable length of time is the best approach. The author, being unable to do much systematic field work, had to depend on a limited number of informants. In most cases they presented the life of Hamlet as accurately as possible. However, there was a tendency among some of the informants to interpret the life of Hamlet. It is obvious that their views are colored by their own experiences. The author, being conscious of these limitations, made special efforts to reinterpret data through her own knowledge of Hamlet people and of Korean village life in general.
One can justify a work such as this on the ground that there is a great need of scientific studies of Korean society. This effort, even though far from being complete, may be a beginning of more comprehensive studies to be made in the near future.

Notes

1 The Korean rendition is Hamgyŏngnam-do, Pukch’ŏng-gun, Sŏkhu-myŏn, Omae-ri, Ut Han-mal. The Korean administrative divisions are as follows: province, to, county, kun, district, myŏn, township, up, village, ri or ch’on. The village is further divided into hamlets, mal.


2 The clan in Hamlet is the group composed of male members of the patrilineal lineage, and their wives who are not related by blood. Therefore, for Hamlet clan is slightly different from the term used in the field of social anthropology, in which it means a group of close knit individuals descended from the same ancestor.

“Family” includes conceptually all primogeniture descendants and their wives. A functioning “family” in each generation consists of parents, their children and grandchildren, whether they all live in one or many households.

“Household” includes persons living under one roof; it may include the entire family or it may include only a portion of the members of a given family. See also Chapter IV, Family Segmentation.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide a frame of reference for the study of Upper Han Hamlet. Hence the reader will be given a historical background of Korea first; then a brief discussion of Korea's geography; a fairly minute description of the local of Upper Han Hamlet; and finally an account of its economic and social boundaries.

History

The traditional history of Korea starts with Tan'gun, the mythical founder of Chosŏn. He was succeeded by Kija, a semi-mythical person who was supposed to have come from China in 1922 B.C. Whatever these traditions may mean exactly, before the dawn of history the Korean peninsula appears to have been settled by two distinct and widely separated branches of the Ural-Altaic family, one of which entered from the north across the Yalu River and the other by sea along the south coast. Later on, a Tungusic strain was superimposed and there has been considerable infiltration by Chinese during the intervening centuries.

The Han invasion in 108 B.C. made the northern half of the Korean peninsula a colony of the Empire of China. This colony was divided into four provinces: Nangnang, comprising today Kyŏnggi, South and North P'yŏngan, and Hwanghae Provinces; Intun, which is now Kangwŏn and the southern part of South Hamgyŏng Provinces; Hyonto, in present-day North Hamgyŏng and the northern part of South Hamgyŏng Provinces; and ancient Chinbŏn, the territory of which has not been determined (Map 1). By 80 B.C. the Han Empire withdrew its forces from the eastern provinces and maintained its power only in Nangnang Province, which remained under Chinese rule and influence until 313 A.D. At that time the rising power of the Kingdom of Koguryŏ, whose beginning was in Manchuria before the Christian era, drove the Chinese from the peninsula.

Before the Christian era, the extreme south of Korea, inclusive of the southern half of Kyŏnggi Province, was settled by three tribes: Mahan in the west, Chinhun in the east of the Naktong River, and Pyŏnhan in the west of the river, between the two tribes. Of the three, Chinhun in
Map 1. Korea-Provinces

I-North Hamgyŏng; II-South Hamgyŏng; III-North P'yŏngan; IV-South P'yŏngan; V-Hwanghae; VI-Kangwŏn; VII-Kyŏnggi; VIII-South Ch'ungch'ŏng; IX-North Ch'ungch'ŏng; X-North Kyŏngsang; XI-South Kyŏngsang; XII-North Chŏlla; XIII-South Chŏlla; XIV-Cheju.
the southeast came to acquire the greatest historical importance. In 57 B.C. this tribe founded the Kingdom of Silla. In the territories of Mahan and Pyŏnhan, the invaders from the Kingdom of Kokuryŏ established the Kingdom of Paekje in 18 B.C.

These three kingdoms, Kokuryŏ, Paekje and Silla, were united under the Silla dynasty in 660 A.D. This was the beginning of the unified national state. The Kingdom of Silla, enduring for 99 years, left the peninsula united and homogeneous in race, culture, and language, although it looked towards China for cultural, political and technical inspiration. During this dynasty the influence of Buddhism was paramount; in later years it was replaced by Confucianism.

The revolt led by Wang Kon against the reigning Silla dynasty succeeded in establishing the Kingdom of Koryŏ in 935 A.D., from which the name of Korea is derived. The first century of Koryŏ was marked by a break with Chinese tradition and a vigorous nationalist revival. This was followed by the rise of a priestly hierarchy of Buddhism which became the power behind the throne.

Though a Khitan horde was repulsed in the eleventh century, the invasion of Genghis Khan early in the thirteenth century further weakened the power of Koryŏ. The downfall of the dynasty was hastened by yet another invasion of northern Korea by the barbarians across the northern border and by raids of Japanese pirates in the south. General Yi Songge saved the country from these foreign enemies. He later led the bloodless revolution which marked the end of the Kingdom of Koryŏ. In 1392 the Yi dynasty was officially begun with the general as king, and the name Chosŏn was adopted.

The new dynasty was marked by a complete break with the past, the principal feature of which was the liquidation of the political power of the Buddhist hierarchy. The revival of native strength brought about the golden age of the dynasty during its first two centuries. The phonetic alphabet hanguil which was developed made a beginning in freeing education from the paralyzing burden of the Chinese ideograph; and movable type for printing was used.* Art, literature and science all showed the new national spirit. This growth was brought to an end by the Japanese invasion of 1592 which lasted for six years. Even though the Japanese were ultimately forced to retreat to their islands, the devastation they wrought was so great that Chosŏn as a nation never regained its former strength. In 1630 the Manchus invaded the land and forced the country to close its frontiers to all but China. For the next 300 years Korea was a hermit nation until, as in the case of other Far

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*Metal movable type had been developed in Korea during the preceding Koryŏ dynasty (ed.).
Eastern nations, its isolation was broken late in the 19th century. In 1876 a treaty was signed with Japan, and from 1883 onwards relations with the United States and European countries started. The opening of the country was followed by missionaries of many kinds, all of whom played their parts in the political and religious life of the people.

At the end of the 19th century Japan, Russia, and China were all particularly interested in Korea. China and Russia played into Japan's hand and both were drawn into wars with Japan for which they were unprepared; each was defeated, China in 1895 and Russia in 1905. A Japanese Protectorate was established over Korea which lasted from 1905 to August 22, 1910, when a treaty of annexation was signed. After this, the administrative and economic powers passed entirely into Japanese hands and so remained until 1945. This was the first time since the peninsula became a national state under the Silla dynasty in 660 A.D. that Korea was ruled by a foreign power.

From the start it was Japan's policy, like that of any other power of the period, to make the new colony a granary, an assured source of raw materials, and a protected market for Japanese manufacturers. In order to accomplish these aims, the Japanese government introduced many innovations: currency was placed on a sound basis; railroads, roads and harbors were constructed; and rice production was increased by the introduction of fertilizers and irrigation works. The resulting volume of trade was exclusively with Japan. Benefits from these innovations were disproportionately small for average Koreans, who were mostly farmers with no training other than that of tilling the land. No attempt was made to protect Korean farmers from Japanese capitalists, with the result that vast tracts of the best farmland passed to Japanese ownership. Yet more land was appropriated for semi-official corporations such as the Oriental Development Company. This economic policy was accompanied by a systematic campaign to destroy Korean culture and national pride. The educational system was reorganized.

The situation, growing increasingly worse, culminated in the 1919 Revolution. Thirty-three Korean nationalist leaders drew up a declaration of independence, and this was followed by nation-wide demonstrations. Even though the revolt was crushed by force, the spirit or rebellion remained in the mind of every Korean. This was an important cause of Admiral Viscount Saito's civil reforms which introduced a limited degree of local autonomy, even though almost all seats in the provincial and district advisory councils were taken by Japanese residents of Korea. Although Japan's control over "dangerous thought" was never relaxed, a nation-wide students' revolution broke out in 1929 but was repressed.
With the increasing tension of Japan's national situation after the Manchurian Incident, a repressive policy was introduced by Generals Minami and Ugaki. The late 1930s were marked by the expansion of industry and extensive railroad construction for war purposes. Disproportionate exports of Korean rice made Japan's self-sufficiency possible, but lowered the standard of living in Korea. This economic policy was accompanied by further repressive measures until the end of World War II in 1945. During the last ten years of her administration of Korea, Japan tried every means to obliterate the national character: use of the national language and wearing of national clothes were forbidden; Korean place names and surnames were changed to Japanese, etc. However, it should be noted, very little change occurred in the small villages; for the introduced changes merged with the indigenous culture leaving very little trace.

Since the end of World War II, Korea has been under divided influence: Russia wields its influence north of the 38th parallel, the United States south of the parallel. Korea remains an unsolved international problem.

Geography

The area of Korea is 85,228 square miles, including the peninsula projecting from the mainland of Asia and the islands along the coastline which is about 5,400 miles long. This area is slightly larger than the state of Utah, and a little smaller than New York and all the New England states, except Maine, put together. The longest distance in the peninsula from north to south is 463 miles; the broadest distance from west to east is 170 miles. In the north, Korea faces Manchuria across the Yalu and Tumen Rivers, and the latter also separates Korea from the Maritime Provinces of the Soviet Union. The eastern shore of the peninsula is washed by the Japan Sea; the western by the Yellow Sea; and the southern by the Chosön Strait, which separates it from Japanese Islands.

The principal mountain ranges run from the White Head Mountains (Paektu-san) in the northern frontier southeastward, with lateral branches and spurs extending in a southwesterly direction, leaving the southern part of Korea fairly level. The slopes to the east are steep and abrupt in contrast to the slow and gentle west. The mountain range divides the north into east and west. Northern and southern Korea are separated by a graben which cuts the country in half, and this division

*Now the Straits of Korea (ed.).
marks roughly the line of cultural differences between the people in the north and those of the south.

The climate of Korea varies both in winter and summer and in the different regions. Although there is more precipitation in the south than in the north in winter, snow may stay long on the ground in the north but it melts quickly in the south. The frost-free period varies from 130 days in the northern interior (Changhojin) to 178 days in the center (Seoul), and to 226 days in the south (Pusan).7

Summers everywhere are hot and humid with a marked concentration of the annual rainfall. Regional temperature contrasts are not so sharp in summer as in winter, although the northern interior and northeastern littoral are cooler than the south. Within Korea precipitation varies: the highest amounts are over 60 inches along the Sobaek range in the south, and the least, less than 25 inches, occurs in the sheltered Tumen basin. Since most of the precipitation takes place during the growing season, agriculture is normally well supplied.

The land under cultivation totaled 11,034,342 acrea in 1936.8 About 75 percent of the people (1940 census) live on the land, but centuries of intensive cultivation have impoverished the soil, so that crop yields are low. Korean agriculture is characterized by the intensity of human labor and the use of only the simplest tools. Double cropping is common in the south, where weather conditions are more favorable. Korean farming is keyed to the cultivation of rice, which occupies one-third of the cultivated land. Barley, the second important crop, is the principal food for most people, especially in the north. Soy and other beans, millet, white potatoes and sweet potatoes also are important crops. Cotton is grown in various parts of the country.

Cattle are the most important domestic animals, but swine and chickens are also raised in all parts of the country.

Throughout Korea, especially in the south, tenancy problems and debt are of tragic concern. As late as 1931 and 1932, 48.4 percent of the farm households were tenants, and 29.6 percent part-tenants, a total of 78 percent of the farm households.9 In general, tenants are more numerous in the south than in the north. The most prevalent rent is about one-half of the yield, but it may be as high as ninetenths.10 The resulting poverty of the farmers does not need any further description.

Industrialization was a part of Japan's national emergency program. In the late 1930s it appeared that Korea was to be made, to a certain degree, a self-sufficient economic bloc. For this purpose, four economic regions were organized: the southern region, inclusive of South and North Kyōngsang and Ch’ungch’ŏng, and southern half of
Kangwŏn Provinces, was to become the center of light industries and the granary of the country. The central zone, which includes Kyŏnggi and Kangwŏn Provinces, was to be the center of fabricating industries. The western area, North and South P'yŏngan and Hwanghae Provinces, was to be the center of iron and steel industries. The northern region, the newest of all and now occupied by Russia, has become the most important center of the chemical industries. This region includes North and South Hamgyŏng Provinces.

Our interest centers in the northern region, for it is there that Upper Han Hamlet is located. The mountain ranges in this sector run from the northeast towards the southwest and divide the district into north and south. The northern portion is relatively high and mountainous; the southern section possesses many valleys made by many small streams and plains between the low hills. In these numerous valleys, farm and fishing villages are found. The north supplies electric power for the new industries of the south. Untouched by outside influence though Hamlet may seem to be, it has felt the impact of industrialization in that many young men have been drawn to the new industries in the region.

The Location of Upper Han Hamlet (Map 2)

Upper Han Hamlet is one of six similar hamlets in Omae village, which is in the Sŏkhu District of Pukch'ŏng County. This village is on the northeastern shore about five ri inland from the Sea of Japan coast in South Hamgyŏng Province (ten ri is about three miles). Hŭngnam, the largest chemical industrial town, is approximately 200 ri southwest of Hamlet; and the nearest industrial and commercial town, Pukch'ŏng, is about 30 ri north.

Neither Upper Hamlet nor Omae Village is widely known in Korea. Probably people in Seoul have never heard the name of either one. Therefore, it may be profitable to relate the location of Omae Village to Seoul. This, in turn, will clarify its situation in the country.

The Kyŏngwŏn Main Railway Line runs from Seoul to Wŏnsan port in the east coast. From Wŏnsan there is a choice of either of two ways: one is by boat to Sinch'ang on the eastern coast, the port nearest to Omae Village. Many people used to take this road until the early part of the century when the railroad north of Wŏnsan was completed. Another route is by the Hamgyŏng Main Railway Line which runs northward along the eastern shore of the Korean peninsula, from Wŏnsan to Unggi. This line passes through many important cities and towns: Hamhŭng, the provincial capital of South Hamgyŏng Province;
Map 2. Upper Han Hamlet Location
Hüngnam, the most important chemical industrial city in the country; and Hongwŏn, a mining town, before it reaches Sŏkhu, the junction station to Pukch’ŏng. Omae Village is between Sŏkhu and Pukch’ŏng. All these places are within two-hundred ri of Hamlet. The main railroad line runs farther north along the coast and passes the mining town of Iwŏn, and the industrial ports of Sŏngjin and Ch’ŏngjin before it reaches the northernmost ports, Najin and Unggi.

Omae Village is about 10 ri from Sŏkhu to the north, and can be reached in about an hour’s walk at a slow pace. At the northwestern side of the Sŏkhu railroad station, a dirt road, wide enough for two large cars to pass, runs along the northeastern shore of Lake Pŏn’gae to Omae Village. Near the northern end of the lake, the road forks. One branch runs southeast towards Oiho; the other leaves the lake northeastward and runs through the fields and finally reaches the intersection where the Pukch’ŏng-Yanghwa highway and the K’ŏngae-ch’ŏn, Big Stream, meet. Upper Han Hamlet is situated west of the stream and southeast of the highway.

The seat of Omae Village consists of several valleys formed by small streams and branches of Aphae Mountains which surround its three sides on the north, west and east. Many small rivers flow from the north to southeast and run into the Pŏn’gae Lake before entering the Sea of Japan, which is clearly seen from the village hills. There are stretches of rice fields in the lower plains on the eastern and western sides of Big Stream; and dry-fields are found in north of Hamlet and near the mountains.

The valleys formed by the streams and hills are the seats of the six hamlets which make up Omae Village. These are Upper Han, Cho, Chŏn, Yi, Kim and Lower Han Hamlets. Big Stream flows southeastward and runs through the center of Omae Village. Cho and Chŏn Hamlets are located on the northeastern side of the stream, and Kim, Yi, Upper and Lower Han Hamlets on its southwestern side. Obviously the names are derived from the dominant clans in each hamlet; however, none of them is populated solely by one clan. There are Kim families living in Cho Hamlet, Chŏn families in Kim Hamlet and Pak in Yi Hamlet. One Yi and two Kim families live just outside Upper Han Hamlet. A few Han families reside in or near-by other hamlets. Two Han hamlets occupy about one-third of Omae Village and own most of the outlying fields in the southwestern side of the stream.
Economic and Social Boundaries

Inasmuch as the whole of Upper Han Hamlet is the object of this study, it is necessary to determine its social and economic boundaries. As is often the case, the social and economic boundaries are coterminate. However, this does not necessarily mean that the center of economic activities is also the center of social functions. In fact, the centers of these two kinds of activities are located in different places in Hamlet.

The economic sphere of Upper Han Hamlet extends beyond the cultivated fields where most of its food is raised. Forests on the Aphae Mountains and its branches are the main sources of fuel, and Pön'gae Lake and the Sea of Japan supply fish. Market places are situated in Pukch'ŏng, Sŏkhu and Yanghwa. Here the people sell their cash crops and purchase supplies of manufactured goods. When the farmers of Hamlet wish to sell or buy a cow, for example, they have to go to Pukch'ŏng market, even though it is 30 ri distant, for that is the only cattle market in the vicinity. As for other commercial centers, Yanghwa 20 ri away is easily reached in three hours; and Sŏkhu market, which is most frequently visited, is about 10 ri distant. All of these features—houses, fields, mountains, lake, sea, and market places—are indispensable to the economic life of Hamlet.

Although Upper Han's economic boundaries may be said to extend to Pukch'ŏng county, social functions center most heavily in the houses and in the cemeteries which are located in the mountains of the village. These activities are almost negligible in the outlying fields and market places. Nevertheless, since marriages are usually contracted with families residing anywhere in Pukch'ŏng county, the outer boundary of social functions, as is the case with economic activities, can be said to be coterminate with that of the county.

Obviously, both social and economic boundaries are flexible. They change as the life of Hamlet changes. Even in the late 1930s, social and economic activities may be said to have extended to Hamhŭng and Hŭngnam, for many young men worked in factories in the newly developed industrial cities and sent their earnings to their families in Hamlet. However, such activities have had only indirect influences upon the life of the people and are, accordingly, regarded as lying beyond the scope of the present study.
The Weather and Work Calendar

Since Upper Han Hamlet is an essentially agricultural community, the weather and the attendant occupations of the people determine its functioning rhythm. Since Hamlet is only 5 ri from the sea-coast, its weather differs from the interior regions. This coastal district has a cold winter, with three months below 32 degrees, and a warm but not extremely hot summer. The mean annual precipitation in the central part is 28.5 inches; at the southern end, because of the topography, it is almost twice as much. Upper Han Hamlet is located in almost the southern end of this climatic region.

Two kinds of calendar, solar and lunar, are in use in Hamlet. The first is an official one used in the government and school; the latter is employed for the everyday work of Hamlet. Economic and social functions are all marked and remembered according to the lunar calendar. Farmers often complain of the unsuitability of the solar calendar by saying, "It is February according to the calendar, but who would believe it is spring! The weather is more like the severe winter months of November and December."

Spring starts late in February and is marked by the melting of snow, muddy roads, and the appearance of green grass on the sunny sides of the hills. Spring ploughing is well under way by March while short rains are frequent. Summer comes in June, and there is a long rainy season in the month of July. Fall, the shortest season, comes in the middle of August. The leaves start to drop, and the weather becomes crisp in the morning and evenings, and clear days continue for weeks. Winter, the longest season, sets in by the middle of October. Average snowfall is not very deep, but it is frequent and remains on the ground all through the cold season. Winter weather tends to be periodic. It is said, "Three cold days are followed by three mild days." Even though the thermometer often falls below the freezing point, the brilliant sun makes it possible for children to play outdoors. The growing season does not exceed six months, from April to September.

Annual holidays mark the beginning of seasons. Sŏl, the first day of the first lunar month (January-February), starts the new year; Hansik in the third month begins the farming period and is the beginning of spring; Tano, the fifth day of the fifth month (May-June), starts the busy summer season; Ch'usŏk, the fifteenth day of the eighth month (August-September), celebrates the approach of autumn; Sije, the day of clan ancestor worship in the beginning of the tenth month, marks the end of harvest and the beginning of winter. These days are celebrated by ancestor worship, communal feasting with special foods, change of
clothing for the coming season, and much merry making. These celebrations give rhythm to year-round economic and social activities.

Notes

2 The series of excavations undertaken by Professor Sekino in the beginning of the century succeeded in clarifying the locations of the three provinces.
6 The geographic coordinates are at the eastern and the westernmost points 130°57' and 124°11' longitude, the northern and southernmost points 43°1' and 33°7' northern latitude.
8 Ibid., p. 237.
9 Ibid., p. 159.
10 Ibid., p. 240.
CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND ECONOMIC CONTROLS

In a setting such as we have described in the previous chapter, the people live and move and have their being. But before we can understand in detail the complexities of their ways of living, it will be necessary to have some general view of their activities. Hence this chapter is devoted, first, to a very general description of the people. After this, their economic situation is described under such general headings as standard of living and occupations.

General Description of People

In the dawn of history it is believed that people ethnologically different from those of the south settled in the northeastern region, North and South Hamgyŏng Provinces. Although the people of this region appear somewhat taller, bonier, darker, and more active than the southerners, most of the ethnological differences seem to have disappeared from the country due to frequent intermixture. In support of this statement one may cite the official registration records of North and South Hamgyŏng Provinces which show that a majority of their populations are descendents of groups from Kangwŏn, North and South Kyŏngsang and North and South Ch’ungch’ŏng Provinces. Furthermore, one finds that the manner of speaking in this northeastern region is similar to that of North and South Kyŏngsang Provinces in the south, and that their house types are alike.

The inhabitants of this region are known for their determination and physical endurance. They are nicknamed ḫŏn t’u u ("bull fighting in the mud") implying that they never give up even in the face of impossibility. A man born in Pukch’ŏng continues to be regarded as a Pukch’ŏng man as long as he lives, even if he has long left his natal town.

From 182,575 in 1930 the population of Pukch’ŏng county grew to 194,803 in 1935. Since 1935 no statistics for the county were published, but one could estimate, assuming the same rate of annual increase for the following five years, that the population reached approximately 207,000 in 1940. Of the 1935 total there were 1,694 Japanese and 241
other foreigners. The population of Sŏkhu district was 7,217 and 7,774 in 1930 and 1935 respectively. There were 36 Japanese and two other foreigners in 1935; they were officials of government or of big concerns in towns.

Omae village, one of several villages in Sŏkhu district, in the 1930s was said to have about 300 households. Of these, about 30 households were in Upper Han Hamlet and 60 in Lower Han; therefore, there were about 150 and 300 persons in the respective hamlets. About 90 percent of the population in each hamlet were members of a single Han clan.

Most of the people of Upper Han Hamlet live their entire lives within the hamlet and only occasionally do they mingle with the people of Lower Han Hamlet. Their activities, at the most, are contained within Pukch’ŏng county. The isolation of Hamlet is almost complete; the only outsiders who have visited Hamlet were a few American missionaries, who used to come to stay overnight occasionally, and the tax collectors. Most of the older inhabitants mistrusted the missionaries, who were believed to have forbidden ancestor worship; and all farmers disliked the tax collectors. Young men carry on business with the Japanese officials in Pukch’ŏng and Sŏkhu, but between the Japanese and the Koreans there have been always unbridgeable mistrust and hatred which prevented the Upper Han people from learning anything from the Japanese.

In the latter part of the 1930s, the people began to accept the fact that the most energetic young men and sons of the wealthier families would leave for larger cities to study. The zeal for learning, an important cultural heritage in Hamlet, was transferred from the old to the new system of education. Energetic young men, who were not fortunate enough to inherit family property, also left for cities and towns to try out their abilities as workers. The successful ones, both students and workers, remained in the cities, but they kept alive the ties with their families. The young men who returned were mostly those who failed in their work, and they had to re-submit to the authority as well as the economic power of the elders. The unsuccessful young men who returned to Hamlet from larger cities were often told, "‘You can do as you please in the cities, but you are back and you must pay respect to the older relatives.’"

The main factors which disrupt the old pattern of life are the young men who have left the Hamlet for larger cities and towns but who make occasional visits to their natal houses. Each visit brings new things and new ideas, which influence other young men to leave Hamlet. Students studying in Seoul are particularly envied by residents of Hamlet. To the old members, these students represent the glory and prestige of the
scholars of old days; to the young, they are the symbols of a new life and better living for themselves. The young men have lost confidence in the old, for they have learned the uselessness of the old learning in modern society. They also have learned that twenty to thirty years of training in the classics fail to provide economic security, whereas knowledge of the Japanese language and of simple arithmetic that can be learned in school in the comparatively short time of six years, enable them to get positions in the county government. The old, on the other hand, have never stopped mistrusting what they regard as the superficiality of modern knowledge.

It should be noted that the mutual distrust between the old and young is not so much a revolt of the young against the authority of the elders as it is a revolt of the young against the inefficacy of the old learning. Yet the authority of the aged over the youthful, the fundamental working principle of Hamlet society, has remained conceptually unchanged even though the old learning has been giving way to the new since early in the 1920s.

Almost every man in his late teens and early twenties has tested his ability and luck, if not in the large cities, in the small market or industrial towns. This draining out of its young men has been the major disrupting factor in Hamlet. Nevertheless, the basic pattern of Hamlet life has not changed greatly because those who revolt strongly against traditional customs usually do not return, and those who do return have been defeated in cities and are therefore willing to accept the Hamlet way of life.

The Standard of Living

Since are no established criteria for evaluating the Korean standard of living, any discussion of this topic is an arbitrary one. However, a reasonable judgment may be made by comparing the standard of living of Hamlet with that of other Korean farm villages. Higashibatake’s study is worth quoting in part for the picture it gives of the struggle for existence:

... the farmers with their fall grain barely make ends meet until the spring wheat is harvested. Their greatest and only concern in life is how to secure enough food stuffs for families so that they may escape starvation... In fact, the revitalization plan for Korea can hardly talk about anything beyond food. There are a great many farmers who are faced with the problem of ‘spring hunger’ every year. ‘Poverty in spring and the extreme difficulty in securing food stuffs until the wheat season’ is
an often heard remark in the farming villages from olden days. This phrase tells the difficulties which farmers face for a period from the time the fall grain is exhausted in the early spring until the June wheat is harvested. This is the situation not only with the tenant farmers but also with the owner-farmers. The number of poverty stricken farmers in the spring of 1930, according to the investigation of the Government-General, was about 90,000 owner-farmer households (18 percent of the total owner-farmer households), about 320,000 part-owner-tenants (38 percent of its total), and 840,000 tenants (67 percent of the total). These figures make 48 percent of the total agricultural households in the year 1930.6

Moriya's investigation of 1933 gives the number of the poverty stricken farmers as 3,000,000 households, 76.2 percent of the total agricultural households.7

In consideration of these figures, one may arbitrarily take the threat of starvation as the dividing line between poor and adequate living standards among the farmers. Apparently, 48 percent of farm households in 1930 and 76.2 percent in 1933 were below the danger line.

Upper Han Hamlet, in comparison with the national situation, stands far above the average, for there has never been a household which actually succumbed to starvation. Some might not have had enough grain, which is the staple food, left in spring, but they still had potatoes. Han residents of Seoul say: "If we cannot earn our living in Seoul, we can go back home. There, we will have something to eat."

Wealth is determined by the amount of land, particularly rice fields, owned by each family or household. Villagers measure the extent of a piece of land by whether it can be ploughed in one day, two days, or a matter of weeks. However, even in these terms, it is very difficult to know the exact amount of land owned by each unit, inasmuch as plots held by one group may be scattered all over the village. In reality, the number of hired laborers in a family is a better measurement of wealth. Another gauge is the extent to which property owners lease their lands for panjak ("tenant farming"). Families which hire many farm hands and rent a part of their fields to tenants are considered to be wealthy.

The Han chongga, which is equivalent to the clan primogeniture family, has five grown-up sons, hires two farm hands all year round and several more during the farming seasons, and has a number of tenant households working for it. The family of Informant A's uncle hires one farm laborer all year round and two during the busy seasons. This family rents out most of its land to tenants because neither the father nor his only son works on the farm.

Farm household income is mainly derived from the land, and cash is obtained by selling harvested grain. The use of grains other than rice
has increased in recent years because of the impact of money economy on the agricultural villages. Farmers have to pay cash for taxes, tobacco, shoes and all daily commodities other than agricultural products. Grain is the sole commodity which brings cash to Hamlet. Of all kinds of grain, rice is the only one which is always sure to find buyers. Most farmers in Hamlet, as in other villages, sell their rice for cash and eat other grain, or use the income to buy cheaper foods.

Rice fields occupy a very small proportion of the cultivated fields in South Hamgyŏng Province as well as in Hamlet. Most households, even if they were to keep all the rice they produced, would not have enough to feed their members. Occasionally, weather households buy rice from less fortunate ones, but mostly the rice goes to the cities and to Japan. As they learned that rice was the only commodity produced in Hamlet having an assured market at a reasonable price, the more industrious members attempted in the 1920s through the early 1930s to build upland rice fields by utilizing nearby streams. The purpose was to produce more rice so that one could bring in badly needed cash. The total failure of the project was primarily due to lack of knowledge of irrigation.

Most households keep an ox whether they are owner-farmers or tenants, for without an ox farming is impossible in this region. Those who are better off may own three or four head. Skillfully managed cattle trading brings a lump sum of cash. Until the late 1920s, the better off households owned a donkey or two for traveling and transporting heavy goods, but since the late 1930s, there has been no donkey in Hamlet.

The hand loom was an important item of family property until the late 1920s, inasmuch as weaving was woman’s most important industry. Now hemp as well as silk cocoons are sold in order to get extra cash, and, as a result, weaving is almost abandoned.

Every family, rich or poor, owns a house consisting of a kitchen and four rooms or more, depending on the size of the group. The house is built of stone, mud and wood by the inhabitants and close relatives. If the size of a family increases after the house has been built, rooms may be added at the back, so that the older boys may bring in their brides. Without a house, one cannot establish a family of his own. There are two to six huge iron kettles and a large water jug in the kitchen. Brass dishes and chinaware, the latter having been added for summer use in recent years, and brass spoons and chopsticks are essential items of each household. There are a few chests for clothing which a bride brings with her at marriage.
The two wealthiest families were able to send their sons to Seoul for high school educations. Han chongga financed a son in high school for five years; and the other family sent its primogeniture son to a high school in Seoul for five years and for two years of college. For the latter, his family had to sell some land in order to meet his college expenses, for the cash income from the sale of crops was not sufficient to support the son in Seoul for so long. Other families, less well-off than those mentioned, have sent their sons to town high schools where the cost of education is less expensive.

In the 1930s out-of-town high school and college students in Seoul needed 20 yen per month in cash. The boys in smaller towns could manage with 10 yen or even less if they were provided with grain as a part payment for board. No family in Hamlet was able to finance two sons in Seoul high schools or to support one for eleven years, the period required for both high school and college; even the wealthiest family in Hamlet does not seem to have more than 200 yen excess cash income per year.

Another measurement of living level is daily diet. Rice is the most coveted grain in Korea as it is in Japan and China, but rice pap is not regularly eaten in Hamlet. Only the wealthiest families are able to provide their male members with rice pap. Han chongga is the only household in Hamlet whose male members eat rice pap three times daily. Some are able to give rice pap to the household heads daily; others provide it only to the primogeniture male descendants. Mixed grain pap of wheat and millet is the most common food for the majority. The poorest families eat millet and potato-pap. Women and young children of average means have rice pap on their birthdays, the harvest festival day, and New Year’s day, or when they are ill.

People in Hamlet eat on an average of three times a day. During the busy seasons there is not much difference among various households. The most important part of each meal is a large bowl of pap consisting of millet, wheat and soybeans, and sometimes potatoes. Better-off households have more wheat than millet and potatoes, and poorer ones use more millet, soybeans and potatoes. The poorest ones have pap of millet and potatoes or soybeans. Pap is never omitted, but other items may be changed or left out. A small bowl of kimch’i, pickled cabbage and turnips, is eaten usually three times daily. In addition, a large bowl of vegetable or fish soup, or a plate of cooked vegetable salad is served. It can be said that 80 to 90 percent of the farmers’ diet consists of grain and potatoes. Fish is eaten almost daily. Meat is the rarest item on the meal tables. The wealthiest household may be able to get a pound of beef for six or seven of its members once in a week or two. Others may
never buy any meat except for ancestor worship ceremonies. Eggs are also rare delicacies, reserved for male members or guests. Various fruits are plentiful in the summer and fall, but fruit is not a regular part of the meal. During the winter, between the New Year’s celebration and the spring ploughing, farmers are usually free from hard work. In order to save enough food stuff for the time when every one has to work harder, most households omit one meal during this period. Only two regular meals are served. More and more potatoes and soybeans are added to pap as spring draws near, so that one is sure to have some kind of pap until the June wheat is harvested.

Most of the grown men in Hamlet have two sets of cotton clothing for spring, fall and winter; two sets of coarse unbleached grass linen clothing for summer; and a pair of rubber shoes or home made straw sandals. A set of clothing for a man consists of a jacket, a pair of trousers, and stockings; for a woman, it consists of a jacket, a pair of trousers and petticoat, a skirt, and a pair of stockings. Each set of clothing taken eleven to thirteen yards of thirty-inch cotton goods, and about the same amount for lining.

Wealthier households usually provide older members with silk clothing and two or three extra sets of garments for young men and women. A bride may have a trousseau of five or six sets of rayon dresses at the time of marriage. Married couples always have a set of bedding, two quilts, two mattresses and two pillows. These are indispensable items in a dowry. Regardless of the economic status of one’s household, there is very little difference in clothing for children, who are never given any silk garments.

Poor as it may seem, Hamlet has maintained a standard of living far above the average for agricultural villages. There has never been a death from starvation or cold. This standard of living is made possible because first, every member adheres to the unwritten regulation never to sell cultivatable land except to Han clan households. One may sell a house to outsiders who are planning to move the construction materials away, but land is never sold. As a result, no stranger or landlord from a distant city has been able to purchase farming fields or timber growth in Hamlet. Secondly, the wealthier households hire clan members as tenants even though they cannot exact the same share of the harvests from them that they could from strangers. Some poor households have left Hamlet to seek their fortunes, but those who have remained are provided with opportunities to meet the average standard of living. Also, there is a large tract of arable land and forest which belongs to the Han clan of Upper Han Hamlet and is administered by the clan elders. The poorer clan households are sure of the opportunity to become
tenants on the clan’s property. Lastly, there has been a slow but steady flow of emigrants from Hamlet so that the land is not over-burdened.

Whatever the real cause of the comparative prosperity of Hamlet, the inhabitants attribute it to the land which never fails to produce abundantly as long as people work hard. It appears that as long as they depend on the land to maintain their prosperity, they will fight to retain their accustomed patterns of land use and ownership.

**Occupations**

The people’s needs, their attitudes toward various types of work, and the opportunities afforded by the region form the economic and social factors which determine the development of various occupations in an area. These economic, environmental and social factors work interdependently to provide a balance of varying kinds of occupations, which in turn help to maintain the society’s equilibrium. In Hamlet these factors serve to develop a suitable proportion of occupational distribution by restricting the unlimited exercise of individual opportunities. That is, men and women are, in most cases, socially predestined to engage in certain occupations rather than left free to choose their jobs.

Farming is the task of the bulk of the population—male and female, old and young. Some are farm owners and others are owner-tenants. Some raise rice chiefly; others work on the dry-fields for the production of wheat and millet. Men do the heavy work in the fields and woods; their wives lighter work in vegetable gardens. Children also work side-by-side with their elders in the fields. The universality of farming as the main occupation of Hamlet is due to the fact that for centuries the people have made their living mostly by working on land. Becoming a farmer meant, therefore, that one obtained the only skill that guaranteed economic security. The importance credited to farming in this society gives the occupation a high status, which, in turn helps to maintain a maximum number of farmers at all times.

At present, even though farming does not seem to require the labor of all the members of Hamlet, they all continue to be agriculturalists because the society desires an assured supply of food and the inhabitants believe that the land will never betray their honest efforts. As long as the soil is thought of as the best source of maintaining economic security, there cannot be any better method of achieving security than by training every person to be a farmer. Han people often say, “Your money may be stolen and your cattle may die suddenly, but no one can
take your land away from you.’” This statement is as inaccurate in Hamlet as it is in any part of the world. Many families have lost their lands as easily as they have lost their cash. They all know it but they do not admit the fact, inasmuch as such an admission would weaken their sense of security.

There are few professional traders in Hamlet, in the sense of those who are exclusively engaged in trade. Professional traders are despised, for they are believed to be invariably dishonest. “Merchants cannot make money unless they lie.” it is said. “They buy a bit of merchandise for 10 cents and sell it for 14 cents.” One Yi family operates the only store in Hamlet, not from choice but because it does not have any land to cultivate. There is also a landless Kim family, which engages in fishing and sells the catch in Hamlet. These families of traders are not as well thought of as farming folk.

Economic and social factors play their roles in balancing the distribution of occupations by assigning differing degrees of prestige to various pursuits. No matter how profitable a merchant’s business may be, for example, people are hesitant to take up merchandizing because the occupation has a very low social status. Farming, on the contrary, has so highly respected a status that the latter provides a motive for many people to continue farming as long as possible. As usual, differences of prestige in these cases are not entirely rational, for there have been more farmers than merchants who have made money by lending grain at high rates of interest. One must look elsewhere for the real reason for the discrepancy in status. Farming seems to be highly regarded because of its important survival value for the group.

Simple as life in Hamlet may be, there are many needs for specialized occupations. Unquestionably there are needs among others for carpenters, tile makers, butchers9 and builders. Though everyone practices farming, there are times when individuals serve as midwives, carpenters, grave diggers, etc., according to the needs of the moment. Such services are rendered without any compensation other than meals while at work. Acceptance of payment is below one’s dignity: each person expects others to do the same for him in times of emergency. Reciprocity is the established rule.

Although most people are engaged in farming and help each other in time of need by performing necessary functions, there are a few specialized occupations in Hamlet. The professional scholar has the most honored and coveted position. Scholars were the persons trained in Confucian philosophy and Korean history and law from early childhood to middle age. One was seldom recognized as a scholar before he reached the age of 40 or over. Appointed as government officials with
high salaries, scholars were sure to become rich and to live without hard toil in the old days. Such scholars were indispensable, for they were the leaders of society. Because the honor was shared by his family and clan, it was the highest ambition of each social unit to produce at least one scholar in a generation. It must be remembered that the responsibility of training the scholar belongs to the family and clan, not to any single individual, and the decision in selecting candidates for training is made according to established custom which gives marked preference to an eldest son. Once again we find that there is no room for unlimited competition which might endanger the peace and order of Hamlet society.

However, Japanese rule from 1910 to 1945 minimized the usefulness of the old-time scholars who can no longer assume the leadership in Hamlet. Informant A's oldest uncle was the last of the recognized scholars of the old school, yet although his scholarship was known throughout the county, he never had a chance to serve in the county government. Without some knowledge of the Japanese language, it was impossible to serve in government agencies under Japanese rule. Following this change, imposed from the outside upon Hamlet society, the scholars' service to the community has become negligible; accordingly, there remains very little trace of the old-time prestige.

In the early 1920s, the Sōksin Primary School of the first four grades was established in Omae Village, which replaced the old way of training scholars. This might have been a frank recognition of the uselessness of the old scholars in a rapidly changing world. Instead, attention was turned to the training of county government workers and school teachers. Nowadays it is every farmer's ambition to be able to send his eldest son, after graduation from the Sōksin Primary, to a city school. Such students, it is believed, should not do manual work while studying. Partially because of the costs involved, therefore, even today learning beyond the fourth grade is reserved for the most part for privileged primogeniture descendants.

In recent years, replacing the old type of scholars, the most honored occupation has been the principalship of the Sōksin Primary School. The best educated man of middle age in the village is appointed to the position by the school council. He is usually a high school graduate and has had some teaching experience in other towns. Since the beginning of the school, members of Lower or Upper Han Hamlets have occupied the coveted position. The principal does no work as a farmer, even though the other members of his family are engaged in agriculture. He is not only the principal of the school but also the counselor for the villagers on all matters relative to the county government. He is paid with
grain and some cash by the school council. In general, he has a position comparable to the village scholars of the old days.

It is natural that every individual should want to be a scholar or to become the school principal. But scholars do not add any material gain to the society. Hence, various social patterns such as the restriction of education to primogeniture sons, the hard, long years of involved training, and the family system which demands complete submission of younger to older member have prevented Hamlet from producing an overabundance of scholarly, but economically non-productive members. Nevertheless, a scholar is thought of as having the best of occupation and holds high social status.

Another important but non-agricultural personage is the herb doctor. The training needed for this profession is based on Chinese classics. He visits patients’ houses and prepares herb medicine prescriptions for them. No fees are charged, but the families of patients are expected to pay in grain according to their means. To ask a fee is considered below a gentleman’s dignity. As a consequence, an herb doctor’s family is never wealthy and can scarcely make ends meet.

One of the last herb doctors of Hamlet left for Japan nearly two decades ago. Immediately another man took up the profession, so that a physician might be available for the people. There has always been only one doctor at a time in Hamlet. The reason for this may be found in the interplay of social and economic factors. As has already been stated earlier, one doctor in Hamlet can hardly make a living. Had there been more than one, they would have been forced to resort to competition, and a gentleman prefers not to compete with others.

There is no professional mudang (“priestess”) or pansu (“blind-diviner”) in Hamlet. If a need arises, people invite such practitioners from the nearby towns of Pukch’ong or Sökhu. They are feared by the inhabitants and not welcomed in Hamlet. Respectable people, it is believed, do not become madang or pansu. It should also be recognized, of course, that traditionally these people do not engage in any productive work.

Economic security or high social status are the objectives for which men strive in Hamlet. By allowing profit to accrue from some tasks and great prestige from others, the balance of occupational distribution is maintained and excessive competition for the same goals is avoided. Thus the economic factor of gain and the social factor of high status check one another and help to safeguard the equilibrium of the society.
Notes

1 Nihon kokusei soran (Tokyo, 1934), II, p. 316.
2 Hisao Sawata, compiler, Nihon jamei dai-jiten (Tokyo, 1938), III, p. 36.
    The 1930 and 1935 figures are from the above sources respectively.
4 Ibid.
5 Probably the actual figure is smaller than 30 households for the exaggeration of figures is a common practice among the farmers.
    The coverage for the figure of 1933 appears to be different from that of the 1930 figure.
8 The main part of each meal is pap, boiled grain, such as rice pap, wheat, barley, millet pap, etc. In Hamlet, the mixed grain pap is most commonly eaten.
9 Butchers are considered to be the lowest class of people in south Korea, but in Hamlet this job is undertaken by everyone and the slaughtering of animals is not despised.
CHAPTER III

THE PEOPLE AND SOCIAL CONTROLS

In the preceding chapter, Hamlet’s present conditions are described in very general terms, but it is axiomatic that many social factors are involved. The more important of them are discussed in this chapter.

Hamlet society, like any other, may be defined as a group of people who have lived and worked together long enough to become organized into a number of mutually adjusted units among each of which self-consciousness has developed. As is true universally, Hamlet social organization contains three distinct elements: an aggregate of individuals; an accepted system of interpersonal behavior patterns, and an esprit de corps which provides motive power for the expression of these patterns. It is the purpose of this chapter, therefore, to explain various aspects of Hamlet society such as familism, individual status, age-grouping, authority and the training of members, all of which are accepted as matters of fact and which play important roles in molding personalities, public opinion, and interpersonal behavior patterns.

Familism

The primary cluster of individuals is found in the family. Conceptually, the family is a permanent institution. That is, a family is not merely a temporary group of persons which comes to an end with the death of its members, but it is a lasting institution composed of its past, present, and future adherents. Continuation is carried out along the patrilineal line and by this agency society is enabled to endure beyond the limits of a single generation. Family permanency provides the basis for esprit de corps. Accordingly, there are various mechanisms for achieving this end.

The Korean family is patriarchal, unilocal-patrilocal, and patrilineal. A brief definition of each word here may help us to understand better the following discussion. The patriarchal family may be defined as that which is ruled by the father or the oldest male member; the patrilineal family is that which continues along the line of paternal descent. The phrase unilocal-patrilocal residence means, quoting Professor Titiev’s definition, “that a bridal pair moves into and merges with...the
husband's household." All these three are only means to an end, the permanent family. None of these characteristics operates independently of the others, but all function interdependently. Therefore, we shall examine these three characteristics as they are expressed in various events of life.

The patriarchal character of Korean familism is well demonstrate by the marriage institution. However, it should be made clear that patriarchal authority is not limited to marriage but penetrates the entire social system. Marriage is an event that concerns the whole family; the final decision on the choice of spouse is made by the patriarch, who considers the welfare of the family as supreme in importance. The marrying couple have no other choice than to obey his decision. Marriage being the first step for family transition from one generation to other, it is undertaken for the family as early as possible in one's life. Up to 1910 a male married as early as ten. The oldest son married at an earlier age than his younger brothers. Beginning from 1920 most people of both sexes married between the ages of fifteen and twenty. If an unmarried girl reaches eighteen, neighbors start to talk, accusing the girl or her parents of being fussy. Under pressure the parents may then decide to marry a girl off to any man, even to a widower. Everybody gossips about such a marriage: people say that the bride is ugly; or that her parents married her off for money; or else that the marriage was contracted in desperation. Even nowadays parents try to have their daughters married before they are twenty. As a result there is neither a spinster nor a bachelor in the Hamlet.

The unilocal-patrilocal characteristic is indisputable and is well demonstrated also by the marriage institution. A young married woman merges into her husband's household. In the meantime her ties with her natal family come to an end. Unilocal residence in the case of the eldest son lasts for life. On the other hand, other sons usually move out to new houses where their own individual households become established.

Marriage is, from the viewpoint of Korean familism, a means to the establishment of a unilocal-patrilocal family. The permanence of the family is well guarded by various customs. First, the abhorrence of divorce may be cited. Once married, no one can break the marriage vow without disgracing one's self and family. Divorce never existed in Hamlet until the late 1920s. Even though divorce is obtainable legally at court, it is not popularly accepted. In recent years, a man who has moved to a city may seek divorce in order to marry a city girl. The parents seldom accept their son's decision if they are consulted. Even after such a legal divorce is obtained, a man's former wife usually
remains with her parents-in-law. In such a case, the new wife is not accepted in her husband’s family as a rightful member; therefore, the son lives with his new legal wife in another place; and the latter does not and cannot come to the Hamlet.

Divorcing the eldest son’s wife after she has given birth to a son is traditionally impossible. Even if such a divorce is obtained legally, the wife’s position is unaffected, and she remains in the family. The wife, as well as other relatives consider such a case as an affair of youth, and they expect the groom to come back to the family at a later date.

Abhorrence of divorce may be illustrated by an incident which occurred in Hamlet. An eldest son of a wealthy family was married and had a son in Hamlet before he went to study in Seoul. Later, he divorced his wife and married a city girl. Even though he had legally obtained a divorce he could not stay in Hamlet because of the neighbors’ criticism. He finally left for another town with his new wife. His first wife and her son remained with her parents-in-law. However, a few years later the child died, and the mother was then sent back to her natal home. It was rumored that her father-in-law gave her a plot of land so that she could support herself. This act was thought of as a calculated maneuver to send her out of the village. When the son came home with his new wife, the latter was not accepted by the people because she was still a concubine in their eyes. The couple had to leave Hamlet again.

Secondly, the unilocal-patrilocal characteristic of the Korean familism is strengthened by restricting the remarriage of widows. A widow who has means to support herself and her children seldom marries again. A widow who remarries for other than a pecuniary reason is criticized for unfaithfulness to her dead husband. If she does marry, she usually selects a widower living in a distant village, and she takes it for granted that her children will remain with their paternal grandparents or other patrilineal relatives. Remarriage of a widow terminates her tie with the former husband’s family, and she become a member of her new husband’s family.

To illustrate this point, the following story may be told. Informant A’s nephew went to work in a factory. He was married at twenty-two to a girl of eighteen. The same year he died leaving no child. His wife, with the consent of her parents-in-law, remarried a man in another village, thus terminating her ties with the former husband’s family.

It is very significant to note that not only is the marriage of a widow discouraged but that her status is lowered in the second family into which she marries. A twice-married woman has a lower status than a wife who marries for the first time. “She is not a wife who unbraided
her hair for the first time with her husband," is an often heard expression about a remarried woman. Unmarried girls wear a long braid down their backs. On the wedding day, for the first time, the bride wears her hair up. The expression implies that she has already lost her virginity before the marriage, a fact which implies the worst for women. Her husband's children call her emi or mother but refer to her as sŏmo, "mother by virtue of being wife of one's father." This word makes clear that she has been married before. At death she will not be buried together with her husband, for only his first wife holds that privilege. Thus, a woman who married a second time lowers her status in this world as well as in the world after death. These standards are exceptionally strict, and give permanency to the unilocal-patrilocal family which was established by her first marriage.

Quite the contrary to the restrictions imposed upon the remarriage of a widow, a widower is often encouraged to marry again. It is generally believed that there are always plenty of unmarried women for widowers. Very seldom does a young widower of some means marry a widow. Only an old and poor widower with several children may marry a widow. There is the same marriage ceremony for a remarrying widower if the bride is a maiden, but none for a bride who has been widowed. The most commonly expressed concern for a widower is that he should be taken care of by someone. But the real reason for remarriage is for the continuation of an once established family.

The patrilocal family is continued along patrilineal lineage. The birth of sons is especially important because they alone can continue the family line. Procreation, particularly of male offspring, is the supreme purpose of marriage. Accordingly, child-bearing is encouraged. In order to fulfill one's duty as a wife and daughter-in-law a woman must bear children. In view of this, one can easily understand the increased importance of a woman's position in her husband's family after the birth of a son. Only then does she become a real member of the family.

There has not yet been made any study of the fertility of women in Hamlet. Therefore, a few case histories may give us some light on this topic. Informant A's father was married at 16 to his mother who was then 20. She was 72 and her husband would have been 68 in 1946 if he were living. Together they had six sons and one daughter. The first child, a son, and the sixth, a daughter, died in infancy. Five sons were living in 1946, aged 47, 44, 42, 38 and 32. The first son would have been 51 if he were living. The youngest child was born when the mother was 40 and the father 36. The mother was considered to be a very fortunate person because she had raised five grown sons and only two of her children had died.
The oldest brother of Informant A was married at 12 to a 17-year-old wife. They had eight children. Five of them died in infancy and one at 22. Two sons, 20 and 7, were living in 1946. The first child would have been 32 if she were living. The first child was born when the mother was 20 and the father 15, and the last child was born when the mother was 45 and the father 40.

Informant C was married at nineteen to a 17-year-old wife. Together, they had eight sons and two daughters, the first child being born when the mother was 19 and the father 21 and the last child to date when the mother was 41 and the father 43. Two sons and two daughters died in infancy. The second child, 21, is the oldest child and the last was one year old in 1946.

These case studies reveal that women give birth to as many children as possible. The bearing of many children is often explained by Westerners as a sort of social security, which may be only partially true. Such an explanation rests on the fact that aged parents depend on their sons. But this is not an independent phenomenon, having no relationship with other social patterns in the society. It should be remembered that parents are cared for only by the eldest son. The bearing of many children is not the result of purely individual desires, but is demanded of all married couples by the society so that patrilineal familism may be maintained permanently.

A careful observation of the attitudes of people at death sheds a new light on the meaning of bearing many children whose ultimate purpose is to maintain the patrilineal lineage. More than half the Hamlet children die at infancy. People do not regard children under seven years of age as permanently theirs, for there is hardly a family which has not lost an infant child or two. Furthermore, it is not difficult to find women who have lost seven or eight of their ten children. In the hands of spirits lie life and death, the villagers believe. Therefore, it appears that the duty of women is to bear as many sons as possible with a hope that a few survivors may continue the family.

Children who attain seven years of age are expected to live to be old, that is, at least to forty-five years of age. The death of a youth, consequently, is considered as an accident or a curse upon the family. Especially to be feared and pitied is the death of young men or women before marriage. They are feared because their ghosts are believed to be lonely and evil, and liable to cause the death of other young persons in the family. They are pitied because no one is responsible for the worship of the unmarried dead, without which one cannot enter paradise. If the dead happens to be an only son, sadness is doubled for the dead as well as for the bereaved family.
Death of a newly married young person arouses fear that the soul will come to get the surviving spouse. *Death of a young father or mother* brings sadness which is not entirely unrelieved. One hears people say, "She at least gave birth to a son," or "He died but he has a son to look after the family."

The death of older persons after sixty-one years of age is much grieved by their descendants. The older the dead and the more children he has, the more complicated are the ceremonies that follow. The descendants and relatives of the dead are concerned about the proper ceremonies so as to pave his way to paradise where, in a measure, he remains a member of the family and looks after its welfare. Friends and relatives exchange such comments as these: "He has many grown-up sons, so he did his duty to his family" or "His spirits will be taken care of by the sons" or "I am sorry for him to have died now for he would have enjoyed watching his own sons prosper."

On the whole, death is looked upon as a matter of fact as long as one has a son to continue the family, an event for which every person strives. The only solution to the constant threat of death appears to be in increasing the number of children. In Hamlet, family continuity and permanency in the patrilineal line is an all-important matter, and this is given meaning and strength by the patriarchal and unilocal-patrilocal practices.

Before leaving the subject of familism it should be made clear that the *esprit de corps* of Hamlet society is centered in the family; therefore, it is familistic in the sense that it functions primarily in and for the family. In the meantime, it is completely anti-individualistic. Individuals live and work for their family rather than for society at large or for themselves. These characteristics of Hamlet society, which exist throughout Korea in varying degrees, have a great bearing upon the culture patterns of Hamlet people.

**Individual Status**

In Hamlet society there are two distinct status positions for each individual: one is in one's own family; the other is in the larger society. We shall, therefore, proceed to explain these in order.

One's status within a family is of a dynamic nature: each individual moves on from one to another position as he goes through life. A Hamlet family is not a mere aggregate of individuals, but it is composed of members each of whom holds a different position and degree of authority in relation to other members.
In Korean families the better treatment of male children compared with that of their sisters is plainly noticeably; sex is a basis of status differentiation. Parents refer to a son as “the person who is going to wear deep mourning costumes for us” or “he who will carry on the ancestor worship ceremony for us and other ancestors after we are gone.” It is believed, therefore, that boys are more important to the welfare of society. Moreover, a daughter is not a permanent member of her natal family. Parents often say, “She will soon leave us and join her husband’s family.” Because she is not a life-long member of her natal household and family, she has nothing permanent to contribute to the continuation of the family line.

In the light of these circumstances, it is not uncommon for a younger sister to get less milk from her mother in order that her big brother may continue to nurse longer. One of my informants, an eldest son, suckled his mother until he was four years of age even though he had a younger sister who was deprived. If the family has some special food, the grandmother sees to it that the grandsons get more than the granddaughters. The reason back of these actions is stated thus: “He should have more because he is a boy and he will continue the family line.”

Quite often, too, a girl finds herself in the wrong, simply because she is a female. If she fights with her brother, inevitably she is reprimanded by adults: “You are a girl,” they say. “You must not fight with your brother” or “You must never hit your brother....”

It is also universally accepted that a husband occupies a more dominant position than his wife. The husband represents and controls his family and its property. However, it is interesting to note that he refers to the family property by uri chip (“our house”) or uri ttang (“our land”) but the word nae (“my”) or (“mine”) is never used. The father is, in no sense, free to dispose of the house or land for himself alone, for the property belongs to the family not to the individual, and is controlled by a man only with the consent of the other members of his family. Occasionally one finds some husbands or fathers who use their authority arbitrarily, but such cases are exceptions.

From these observations one may conclude that the status of individuals in a family is determined only by sex and this apparently expresses the superiority of male over female economically and socially. In support of this assertion it may be pointed out that male members alone are engaged in administrative work and that they alone have the privileges of using club houses, going about freely, and pursuing studies. Furthermore, the family name is transmitted solely from father to son, and so, too, are family properties. All these privileges are denied to female members.
The most common criteria for judging male dominance in Western societies are based on the greater economic power and social freedom of the one sex as compared with the other. These criteria presuppose that economic power and social freedom are the primary aims of individuals, that people compete for these goals, and that it is through competition that the equilibrium of society is maintained. Secondly, such judgments usually assume that economic control lies in the hands of the person who legally owns property. If these suppositions, which are the usual standards for judging Western social systems, are accepted as applicable to Hamlet society the conclusion that female status is inferior economically and socially may be correct. However, only some of these criteria apply to Hamlet social organization, and these tell only part of the story, that is, there are factors other than sex which determine an individual's status.

In evaluating the status of members of a family, one must remember that Hamlet society strives for the maintenance of the group as a whole, rather than for the welfare of particular individuals. Therefore, one's status must be understood from the society's view point; that is, with reference to the continuation of the family line. In view of this assumption it may be said that individual status within a Hamlet family is based first, on age, and second, on sex; and differentiations rest primarily on one's role, potential or actual, in the established family.

It is interesting to note that if a child dies before marriage, he does not retain his membership in the family. That is, he is not included in ancestor worship ceremonies; whereas a person who dies after marriage is always remembered by the living. Thus, it is marriage that makes one an adult and a real member of the family. Consequently, the status of a child of either sex is lower than that of an adult.

A son does not and cannot exercise any authority over his mother and other older feminine members of the family. The mother has complete authority over her son. Though he may be the legal representative of the family and the legal owner of the family property, he must still obey his mother if she insists. The mother's authority rests on the fact that she is a parent and a member of the older generation.

Finally one reaches the conclusion, viewing these customs from the society's view point, that an adult's contribution is greater than that of child, for procreation is the basis of family continuation. A husband's status is superior to his wife's because he is the successor of the family. Males are more important than females because the former continue the family line. A combination of these factors determines the varying status of individuals whose interrelationship maintains the equilibrium of a Hamlet family.
A person’s status in the larger society is usually identical with that of his family. He is respected if his family is respected, and he is despised if his family has a bad reputation. When one is successful, the credit goes to his parents who represent the family. “Everything is due to my parents” is an often-heard expression from well disciplined children.

This inseparable connection between the status of an individual and that of his family restrains a person from doing anything contrary to the accepted pattern as well as prevents him from undertaking any original enterprise. For the last two decades, no Hamlet family has made a special reputation or has lost one; and the same applies to all the individuals except those who have become Christians; one’s status in a larger society is static. It should be made clear that families, not individuals, maintain the equilibrium of the larger society.

Age-Grouping

Familism is the foundation of Hamlet society. However, the dynamic emphasis of family ties is solely vertical; that is, its impact goes from one generation to another within each family. A society cannot function as a larger unit if families remain completely independent of each other. There must be, of necessity, horizontal connections which bridge family units and group them into a whole. It is the age-grouping pattern that plays this role; this is, individuals of similar age who are members of different families are loosely organized into age-groups. In this case, as in most social practices, sex dichotomy is strictly observed.

Female

For young women there is scarcely any age-grouping due to the fact that they are married off early and go to reside in different places. Even before marriage female children, unlike boys, remain close to their mothers and other female relatives. Occasionally, girls of the same age may get together, particularly on holidays, to play. Because their responsibilities are chiefly within the house, opportunities of being together are limited. After marriage, young wives may occasionally join other women in the Hamlet on holidays but such opportunities are very rare. On the whole, there is no age-grouping to speak of among.
Male

In contrast to the insignificant role of feminine age-grouping, the male age-groupings play a very important role in the functioning of the Hamlet. However, it should be made clear at the outset that this age-group is thoroughly informal, with the exception, perhaps, of tongkap-kye or mutual aid guild which will be explained subsequently. The Hamlet people may not be conscious of their age-groups. Consequently, there is no rule for their organization. A beginning is usually made by a group of boys of similar age who play together constantly. They gradually form themselves into a more or less functional unit. Sometimes such a unit may include boys of other nearby hamlets.

As these boys begin to take on the responsibility of herding cattle, they all take their animals to the same hills, changing from one family’s pasturage to another. In recent years, the village school provides even greater opportunities for boys to play together.

Thus a boy of seven or eight finds friends of his own age, with whom he goes through his life. He does not sever the tie with them as long as he remains in the Hamlet. This bond is very different from that in his family. It is free and informal, and a boy is not bound by any obligations. There does not appear to be any economic motive, other than a small scale collective guild in childhood, nor does any social prestige attach to membership.

By the time the boys reach twelve or thirteen years of age, they become conscious of their ties. Even though the unit is not systematically organized, its activities are more or less loosely fixed by common agreement. During the busy seasons, these boys work as a group at one’s family field one day and move to another field next day. In addition, this working unit also functions as a play group. Sometimes youngsters attack boys of another village and start a fight on holidays. Likewise, if one of their group gets into trouble with other villagers, his fellow members are sure to defend him.

When, after marriage, one becomes an adult, it marks the end of childhood and of childish play. It is interesting to note that a band of boys steal the groom, who is a member of their group, from the house on his wedding day, and beat him thoroughly. He is returned only after promising a feast for them exclusively. After marriage the young men gather in the sŏdang ("hamlet study hall"). Some members drop into the sŏdang every night and play chess and cards or talk about farming and marketing.

At gatherings in the sŏdang men are comparatively free from those
formalities which they have to observe in other places. They can freely joke with each other and often ignore the use of proper language form; occasionally even the generation distinction is discarded. Hence the age-grouping functions partly as an emotional outlet for men. It is believed that unhappy husbands spend most of their leisure hours away from their wives among this group in the sŏdang.

As men grow older, each becomes increasingly important in his own family; accordingly, the group as a unit gains greater esteem in the Hamlet. As the members reach middle age, they begin to gather in the toch’ŏng or club house for older men, where they discuss farming and marketing and make decisions on various matters affecting the Hamlet. If a problem is village-wide, all the olders get together and reach an agreement. In recent years it has been the group of oldest men in Omae Village that has chosen the representatives to the village school council. These olders are unofficial policy-makers and representatives of the Hamlet. Nothing can be done without their consent.

Sometimes these men become quite wild at drinking parties that celebrate, among themselves and away from their families, the birth of a grandson, or the marriage of a child. Such celebrations are simple and informal. A man who has just become a grandfather brings rice wine to the toch’ŏng where his friends are gathered. There, they drink and congratulate the host of the party. Customarily, too, this group of friends is invited to the family feast on one’s sixty-first birthday.

If one dies, members of his group are sure to be at the funeral; and often they follow the funeral procession. As members die away in the course of time only a few are left; and gradually several groups tend to be consolidated into a single unit which includes most of the men over 50 or 55 years of age. This consolidation results in bringing members of different generations into one group. Consequently, much joke making and freedom are lost, for the members of the older generations feel called upon to maintain their dignity.

Before coming to an end on this subject, a few words should be said regarding tongkap-kye, or the same age mutual aid guild, which existed until the last decade. This institution, differing from other activities of the age-groups, was well organized and managed by the elders for the benefit of young people. The purpose of the guild was, as the name indicates, to give financial assistance in time of need. Each boy paid a given amount of money, monthly, quarterly, or annually to the guild, and the money was invested by the clan council. Each member received a certain sum at the end of a period decided upon. Even though this type of guild disappeared, nowadays adults organize various kinds of
mutual aid societies among themselves, such as, wedding, funeral, sixty-first birthday guilds, etc. The purpose of these guilds is to provide money when one is in need of extra cash.

Each age-group provides an emotional outlet to its members, who tend, otherwise, to be restrained all through their lives. Among one's own age-mates one finds complete relaxation; but this is not the main function. The male age-grouping pattern has been continued because it has played a part in the survival of Hamlet society. As stated previously, each family is represented by its members in at least one of several age-groups, and through these members each family is linked to the whole society. Hamlet, therefore, is not merely an aggregate of family units, but each unit is integrated with the others through the cross ties arising from age-group membership.

**Authority of Society and Social Control**

The descriptions of family, individual status, and age-groups have brought out the matter of authority in Hamlet. In general authority is in the hands of the old, but its nature needs further explanation.

The concept that honor and authority are inseparable plays an important role in molding the temperament of Hamlet society. Men do not strive for honor or authority as such, but these are essential elements of old age. The young can neither fight to achieve honor and authority nor can the old relinquish their prerogatives. Age alone carries the right to authority and only death has the power to take it away. The basis of these attitudes appears to lie in the "experience" gained by living for many years. This implies that the elders hold higher positions both in their own families and in Hamlet society than do the young. One is born to a lowly status and moves on to higher positions as one goes through life. There is no incentive to competition among individuals, for struggling holds forth no promise of anything more than that which comes to a person automatically. Therefore, people learn to be patient, while they "wait for their turn" to achieve honor and authority. Moreover, in Hamlet as well as in a family one seldom exercises one's authority over others. Instead, one is expected to live up to his position so that others may follow his example.

Acceptance of this situation has become an ingrained habit of every member of Hamlet. Consequently, there is an abhorrence of youthful impatience or aggressiveness. Nothing good is expected of a young man's unchecked enthusiasm. Youth, it is felt, is a transitional period through which one must pass in order to begin acquiring authority and honor in middle age.
Within the family the oldest member, male or female, has the greatest authority over domestic affairs. In general, however, the world of women is so greatly separated from that of men that men do not directly interfere with the affairs of women, and vice versa.

In addition to the recognized authority of the old there are other intangible social controls. Every male knows that he must chōmjan-hae ("be gentlemanly") and every female yamjŏn-hae ("be lady-like"). However, the qualifications required for chōmjan-hae and yamjŏn-hae are different from those for the gentleman and lady of the Western world. Furthermore, the qualifications change as one goes from childhood to adulthood. Consequently, there are several ideal types of men or women; and to live up to these ideals is the goal of every person of a given age and social status.

A boy or a man who does not hit back when he is struck or who overlooks another's mistakes is chōmjan-hae; but one who fights is not chōmjan-hae even if he is in the right. Moreover, a man who flirts with a young woman or who interferes with housekeeping or pays too much attention to food or clothing is not chōmjan-hae. Ideally, an old man is, in most cases, naturally chōmjan-hae, and to a certain degree, he is a model for younger men.

A little girl who does not talk in front of guests is yamjŏn-hae; so is a girl of marriageable age or a newly married woman who stays home and devotes herself to house work. A young woman who does not exert herself too much is yamjŏn-hae, but an over-ambitious woman is the direct opposite. An older woman who does not gossip about her daughter-in-law or the neighbors is yamjŏn-hae. However, an old woman, by virtue of her age, acquires the same quality of chōmjan-hae as an old man and she is no longer required to be yamjŏn-hae. In other words, she may now exert herself without being unduly criticized.

From such examples, we find that these virtues are mainly of a negative nature. These two are differentiated from each other. Man's virtue, chōmjan-hae, is the state of "dignity" reached by controlling one's desires and activities. In Hamlet, one achieves this condition by learning to act like an old man who is regarded as being above competition and conflict. Woman's virtue, yamjŏn-hae, lies in the "appropriateness" of submitting gracefully to subordination. The first is the voluntary negation of one's wishes; the second is the willing acceptance of a subordinate status. These two subtle factors play an important role in maintaining order in the society. In a community like that of Hamlet, which is so minutely organized that one moves mechanically from one position to another from birth to death, the willing restriction of one's desire and voluntary subordination are excellent means of outlawing
personal competition. It should be noted that *chōmjan-hae* and *yamjŏn-hae* are also the basic principles governing relationships among individuals.

**Training of Individuals**

It is axiomatic that a society survives only when most of its members act in support of the social system. Accordingly, the object of this section is to examine how Hamlet members are trained for this purpose. For the most part this is done very informally in the family through the operation of complicated intra-familial relationships. However, some aspects of formal education deserve special attention.

The modern educational institution in the Hamlet is comparatively new, for the Sŏksin Primary School was established in the early 1920s. Prior to that, classical training of male members in the *sŏdang*, starting from six or even earlier, was the sole method of formal instruction in Hamlet. The classic teaching system was administered and financed by the clan elders like any other project. The elder of the Han clan chose the Hamlet teacher who had the best classical training, and he was given complete authority over the school. The teacher was never paid with cash, but the clansmen gave him a certain amount of grain as an annual gift, and the parents of pupils sent presents of rice, cakes, etc., at seasonal holidays. Every male child attended school free, but usually only the eldest sons remained in school until seventeen or eighteen years of age, and they alone were privileged to study all the time since parents required the labor of younger sons for farming. Therefore, the result has been that only one or two in a generation learned enough to become county officials.

This educational system was given up in the early 1920s when the Sŏksin Primary School was established. This school has been supported by the Han clan in cooperation with other clans in Omae Village. In this school like others under Japanese rule, Japanese, arithmetic, Korean, civics, penmanship, gymnastics and ethics were taught. In 1937, the teaching of Korean language in school was forbidden by law. In the beginning, girls did not go to school at all; but by 1925 some girls of the Han clan and a few others from near-by hamlets did attend. Even though they studied in the same room with the boys they avoided each other in and out of the school compound.

Most people are born and raised in their natal families, and they have very little to do with the outside world. A mother nurses her baby at any time of the day and night if the child cries. She carries the baby on her back most of the time; and the child often takes a nap on her
back. The father does not take a part in rearing infants. It is not his responsibility to change dirty diapers for his child. He may enjoy watching the baby play on the floor, but he immediately calls his wife or some other female relative if the child begins to cry. If the grandparents are living, the baby may spend much of its time with them, especially with the grandmother, except for nursing. There are also other members of the household with whom the child comes into contact and from whom it learns various patterns of the society.

An infant is always well covered with clothing until a year old. A girl continues to wear clothes which cover her body, and adults see to it that her sex organs are well covered. If her vagina is exposed by accident, grown-ups make a great deal of fuss and shame the child. Therefore, a girl learns to hide her private parts almost unconsciously by the time she reaches four years of age. On the other hand, boys are often completely naked in summer until six or seven years of age. The grandparents as well as other older members of the family often complement the boy’s sex organ.

Inevitably, under such circumstances, the male child becomes conscious of his sex status and a female learns that her younger or older brother is more important in the family than she. A girl learns to behave submissively to be non-complaining; that is, she becomes a yamjŏn-hae girl. This childhood training provides the basis of sex dichotomy, and in later years submissiveness becomes more voluntary and even a self-imposed womanly quality. Thus, a woman gains satisfaction and feels natural when she is submissive. In other words, this trait becomes a part of her character.

As a child learns to speak, the mother and grandmother speak to the others in its presence, using the proper form of speech that the child should use. For example, the mother addresses her mother-in-law not as emi or mother, but as halmae or grandmother and speaks to her as if the child is addressing its grandmother. Likewise, the mother calls her husband aebi or father in front of her child, and she talks as if she were speaking to her father, not to her husband. Before long, the child learns both the proper kinship terminology for every member of the household, and also the appropriate term for each relative according to his status in the family and clan. Whenever a child uses a wrong form the adults, correct him by shaming him as if he were a little child for not knowing the proper term. Thus, as the youngster learns the correct use of language and kin terms, it means that he has also learned the status positions of individuals in the kinship system. It will be shown later that this is a basic feature of adult behavior in Hamlet.
As he reaches six or seven years of age, the boy stays away from his mother and grandmother more and more, and finds himself increasingly in the company of males. At first, he is ignored by the older men; but occasionally he may be asked to do errands for them. He is treated as a little fellow who must be obedient to his elders, and he becomes aware of the fact that his mother and grandmother cannot intercede for him. He also realizes that jif he sought to stay with his grandmother he would be ridiculed for being a baby. He must be chŏmjan-hae in every way. So, most of the time, he remains with men in the sódang during the day, and eats, works and sleeps with them. Because of his pride in being grown-up, he bears all difficulties without complaint.

When he is among a group of men, a boy learns that his male superiority is meaningless by itself. He is now surrounded by men of higher status based on age and generation and who expect him to behave as an inferior. Therefore, the behavior habits he had acquired among women are no longer suitable, and he must learn a new pattern. He is no longer waited on by others; instead, he is forced to wait on the older members. The father, grandfather and big brothers are not consoling in time of despair; rather they are disciplinary. He learns gradually that submission to older generations is the accepted form of behavior among a group of men. The boy, for the first time, learns to control his desires.

Among the group of men, he takes on his life-time duties and develops the proper behavior of a man. He works in the fields with his father and older brothers, and learns from them how to plough the land, to spread manure, to seed, weed and harvest. He is not deliberately taught, but he imitates his elders, and soon he, too, becomes a skilled farmer. He is, in a way, a replica of the preceding generation. He does everything in a certain manner because his father has done it the same way. Older men are always much resentful of a boy who does not follow the traditional ways. Everything old is regarded as best simply because it is old.

A girl learns to respect the older women and to take part in the daily routine work around the house. In addition she is from an early age being oriented to accept her forthcoming role in her husband’s family. A girl of ten years no longer entertains the idea of remaining at her natal house for life. Even at that age, she is led to think of marriage and adjustment to a new family as an unavoidable event. She is constantly reminded that she is not a lasting member of this family, that she will soon become another man’s wife, and that she is not in her permanent home. A mother reprimands a daughter by saying, “If you continue to act so obstinately, you will be sent back to your natal house by your
husband and parents-in-law after you are married.” Many times she is told, “You will make a good wife for some lucky young man,” or “You look as if you can have many children.” Thus, while she is still at home, she becomes psychologically oriented to an impending departure for her future husband’s house and the prospect of becoming the mother of many children. Without doubt these casual remarks as well as her subservient position in her own natal group help her to adjust more easily to her husband’s family after marriage. Even though ignorance of sex is demanded of unmarried females and is an important virtue of a bride, every girl expects to have many children, and the sooner the better. This may seem illogical; however, in the minds of the people, bearing children and knowledge of sex relations before marriage are two different things.

Thus, males and females are trained very early in childhood to accept the status of each sex. Shortly afterwards, one learns to recognize the older members, in age and generation, in the family and to accord them due treatment. The understanding of the status of sex and of age is the fundamental basis of familism in Hamlet.

So far the account of the economic and social basis of Hamlet culture has been made general. On this background we can now build a more detailed descriptions.

Notes

1 See also Chapter IV. The Social Structure.
3 A stepmother who is married for the first time to a widower is referred to as kyemo by the latter’s children.
4 This was the second marriage; at the time of his first marriage he was under fifteen years of age.
5 The sôdang was the school house; now it is used as a club house for young men and a study hall for the school boys.
6 The chastity of the bridegroom at his first marriage is assumed, but the question is not as important as in the case of the bride.
CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: THE FAMILY

An agricultural economy is maintained through the agency of various social patterns. In the course of events in human life, the society rather than the individual has become the primary unit in the struggle for existence. That is, individuals do not function as isolated units but as members of organized groups. It is, therefore, important to know the social structure which conditions the behavior of individuals. This and the following two chapters are devoted to the study of social structures. This chapter describes the family, the basis of Hamlet society, in terms first of its components and then of its dynamic processes.

The Components of Family

The form and content of the family are dissimilar in different societies probably because the factors around which social institutions revolve never repeat themselves in identical form in any two areas. However, all known social systems include institutions which correspond in a general way to what we term the family, and all societies recognize the existence of certain close knit, internally organized cooperative units intermediate between the individual and the complete society of which he is a part.

The word “family” may be translated into the Korean language as chip sikku, chip, kajang or kajok. These terms are used interchangeably. The first, chip sikku, has the connotation of a group of persons who eat in the same house; the second means the physical house as well as all things in it; the third expresses a concept whose meaning resembles “home.” The last word designates specifically the patrilineal blood relatives who live in the same house.

The census of Korea for 1930 gives 5.61 persons per household for Sokhu district. In view of the fact that the twelve villages in the district are all agricultural communities of the same sort and that Upper Han Hamlet is a typical representative, approximately the same number of persons per household may be assumed for Hamlet families. However, the actual sizes are very different from the official average. Families range from three to fifteen or more persons each. The minimum is three
because a new family is not considered to be established before the first child, preferably a boy, is born to a married couple. Most of the respected families in Hamlet consist of three generations: parents, their eldest son and his wife, and their children, and unmarried younger sons and daughters or newly married couples. Not infrequently families of four generations based on the principle of male primogeniture are found.

The most common type of family in Hamlet is composed of parents and three or four children, some married and others yet to be married. Usually the head of such a family is not the eldest son of his parents, but a younger son who has established a new household after having left his parents. In Hamlet, rare though it may be, a family of parents and one child is found occasionally as well as one of ten or fifteen persons. The latter type includes nonggun or hired farm hands, who eat and sleep in the same house during the farming season every year.\(^2\) The greater the number of aged persons, the greater is the prestige of a family.

To the members of Hamlet, the concept of family is not limited only to persons living in the same house. Instead, the idea of the family differs according to the position of each individual. As long as one of the parents is living, a child claim to belong to his parent's family whether or not he has established his home elsewhere and has several children of his own. As for the parents, they invariably claim all of their children and grandchildren as members of their family. In these terms, a family may include several households and twenty or thirty individuals.

Families do not sever ties with the male members born in Hamlet even if they have left for other places, nor do the latter forget their membership in their natal families. One often talks about the sikku ("persons eating in the same household") who have lived in Seoul or in Hamhŭng for many years. Also, those who have established their families in other parts of the country, talk about their chip ("house") in Upper Han Hamlet even though they have no house there.\(^3\) Moreover, the wives of these men, regardless of their place of birth, upon marriage, become members of their husbands' families.\(^4\) Therefore, daughters, once married out of Hamlet, are no longer considered to be members of their natal home.

It may be said, therefore, that one's idea of family depends on one's sex and position among the patrilineal relatives. The most essential characteristics are that the parents or a male parent and son must reside in the same house in order to form a complete family, and the members are, in most cases, patrilineally related except for wives who marry into
the household. Consequently, the patrilineal and patriarchal characteristics of family structure are deeply rooted in every one's mind in early life. This fact plays an extremely important role in the readjust-ment required of females in their husbands' households.

No account of a Korean family is complete without taking into consideration those who are to be born into the family as well as the dead who once lived among them and are remembered on their birthdays, on the anniversaries of their death, and on various holidays. Deceased parents are as important as any living persons; and deceased grand-parents also belong to the family of their eldest grandson. In addition to these, the spirits of the most outstanding members of a clan are remembered by all the descendants for generations, and they remain for many years as an inspiration. Younger people are constantly reminded of the spirits of successful ancestors, and are encouraged to learn from them. If one succeeds, the credit goes to the eminent ancestral spirits; one's failure may be considered as the result of neglect of these spirits. The actual abode of each of the deceased is determined according to his position in the long line of patrilineal relationship; by this system particular spirits are believed to reside in each respective house.5

The gods of the house, other than the deceased ancestors, are also important components of the family. Without them a family cannot function normally. They are the gods of the kitchen, of the living room, the court yard, etc. The prosperity, success and failure of the family are all partly due to the support or opposition of the gods.

Another intangible component of the family is kamun or family reputation. Each family wants to be admired by its neighbors as well as by others of the same clan. One of the best group reputations may be obtained through scholastic attainment. The attainment of scholarship by an individual raises the standing of his family in Hamlet; three to four generations of the families descended from such a personage are called the "family of scholars." In the meantime the descendants endeavor to produce another scholar so as to maintain the established reputation. In olden days the highest scholastic achievement was to be appointed official historian of the county. In recent years the posts of petty civil servants in district government are much coveted by many villagers as the goals of scholastic achievement. Such officials must have at least two years of high school education.

A family may also establish a good reputation by having many grown sons or several generations living in one household peacefully. When the young are good to their deceased ancestors and helpless old parents, they are supposed to be rewarded with many sons.
Wealth is another integral part of the family. In Hamlet it consists for the most part of cultivated land and domestic animals. In these terms there is not a family which is very rich. Land is important not only as a source of food but also as a basic requirement for the foundation of a family. Those who have more land than the members can cultivate are considered rich by the villagers, who like to think that such fortune is not an accident but a reward for good deeds. However, lavish use of money for good food and clothing is looked upon as an omen of portending bankruptcy. Yet though frugality is one of the conspicuous virtues of women, stinginess is much criticized as a disgrace to the good name of the family.

The “tradition of family” is also an important matter. Individual members do not act according to their desires but follow family customs. Ancestor worship is done according to the family way; and so, also, are marriage, birthday, and funeral ceremonies. One does not wear silk clothing, even if he is wealthy enough, unless it is part of the family tradition. Every function in a family is controlled by tradition and the latter is transmitted from a father to his son and from a mother-in-law to her daughter-in-law. Therefore, every household has a somewhat distinctive tradition which can be detected by the careful observer. This tradition is an intangible but intrinsic part of the family.

The house is also an integral part of a family. Without possessing a separate house no family can be established. In Hamlet, houses are transmitted from father to eldest son or are built for newly established families. One never sells his house even if he leaves Hamlet. It is left to the closest relatives, and the owner usually expects to return to it some time, or to have his children use it. One family does not own two houses, and house renting is never practiced. The house belongs to the occupants as well as to their descendants. It is not just a dwelling place of the living family members but of everyone who has once lived in it or who may be born there, and of the family gods as well.

Domestic animals also important components of the family in the fullest sense. In Upper Han Hamlet almost every household has an ox, a dog or two, and occasionally a pig. Cats are kept and fed in the house, but dogs must stay outside. Until the 1920s. Many people owned donkeys, but these have now disappeared completely. Cattle, being indispensable as work-animals, are accorded such special treatment that one may say that in Upper Han Hamlet, a family is not complete without an ox taking part in its affairs.

All these elements, tangible and intangible, together form a family; and the exclusion of any element, results in an incomplete family. These elements do not operate simultaneously and with equal importance, but
they are needed at one time or another if the family is to function properly as the basic economic and social unit that is intermediate between individuals and the whole society.

The Dynamics of Family

The family is a dynamic institution, not a static one, and its dynamic character makes the institution continuous and permanent. In the preceding section various components of the family were described, but it must be made clear that the essential elements are parents and offspring. It is their behavior patterns that constitute the dynamics of the family group.

Family Patterns

In general, there are two types of family: one is the continuation of successive generations and is composed of parents, the eldest son and his wife and unwed offspring, younger sons and their wives and unmarried children. This may be called a "transitory pattern" inasmuch as the members other than the primogeniture descendant and their wives are all temporary. The nucleus of this large group forms the other type: the "permanent pattern," consisting of parents, their eldest son and his wife, the eldest grandson and his wife.

Chart 1 shows the relationship of the two patterns to each other. Except for an eldest son, a male spends his childhood in a family of the "transitory pattern," and at marriage establishes an independent household which eventually becomes a family of the "permanent pattern." This process of segmentation may be repeated more than once during a life time.

Each individual knows his place in the family (as determined by birth and sex) even while it is in the transitory state. The permanent members are the male primogeniture descendant and his wife, etc., while all others are temporary members of their natal families and households. In theory as well as in practice there is only one household, in a long line of clanmates, which is maintained through masculine primogeniture. The prestige, wealth, and power of such a household among the clan members cannot be disputed. In Upper Han Hamlet, Informant A's great grandfather's eldest brother's primogeniture descendants are members of the Upper Han chongga ("primogeniture descendants' household of a clan"), whose status is the highest in the Hamlet. At the same time this family bears the heaviest social and economic obligations, at least morally, of all the clan families.
Family Segmentation

It has been stated above that the family segmentation process, which takes place is each generation, brings about alternating transitions from the "permanent pattern" to the "transitory pattern." In the course of time, a family becomes divided into as many households and families as there are sons, since only the eldest son continues the family line economically and socially, whereas younger sons move to new households and become the heads and founders of new families. In practice, younger sons do not establish their own households until they have begotten a son, and until they are, in the eyes of their own parents, mature enough to undertake independently the necessary social and economic functions. Since this involves the acquisition of a piece of arable land from which their livelihood can be secured, the establishment of a new household very seldom occurs before a son is in his early thirties. Only after the death of the father does it become a separate family.

Parents as well as prospective heads of new families endeavor to hasten the first steps of the process, preferably before the death of the father. The nature of the segmentation is presented in Chart 1. The members of the family of the "transitory pattern," who are shown in the dotted square, leave the original family and establish new households headed by the oldest male member of the group. Ego's father's younger brother also leaves the family, together with his wife and offspring. He eventually becomes the founder of a family and will be remembered as such by his primogeniture descendants.

The mechanism of family segmentation is carried into the social and economic life of Hamlet. For instance, only ego's oldest brother and ego's father are responsible for the ancestor worship of ego's grandfather after the latter's death. Neither ego's younger brother nor ego's father's younger brother is charged with this particular responsibility. Then, too, ego's oldest brother and his father inherit most of ego's grandfather's property and they are, accordingly, responsible for the welfare of all members of the family who reside in the common residence. Other males inherit neither the family property nor the obligation to feed the members of their father's or brother's family.

Contrary to the common belief of Occidentals, the composition of a Korean family is not stable or static except in a limited sense. It is not only women who constitute the mobile elements of a family, for younger sons as well as all daughters are involved in the segmentation process which is repeated more than once in life.

In passing it should be noted that family segmentation creates many
Chart 1. A Korean Family

- Ego's clan
- Persons in square form a new household.
independent households which are yet loosely united under the father, and conceptually all members remain within the family. Family segmentation is not completed until the decease of the father. In the meantime, the clan is untouched by this process. At the time of birth, one becomes a member of a household, family and clan. The household membership may change at the time of family segmentation, and family membership also changes after segmentation and the father's death, but clan ties remain permanent. Thus, younger sons leave their natal households to establish independent households; but although they are no longer members of their former households and families, they still retain membership in the same clan.

From this analysis, one learns that the demarcation point between household, family and clan is determined by social and economic responsibility and residence. As long as one lives in the household of his father and is dependent upon him economically and socially, he is a member of his father's household and family. As soon as one becomes independent, he is no longer a member of his father's household but remains a member of the same family, and, of course, of the same clan.

From these facts one may see that by the mechanism of clan relationship the father is also to maintain a certain degree of indirect control over his children, even when they are no longer members of his own household and are no longer dependent on him. The segmentation process, had it not been for the clan system, would have inevitably destroyed the authority of the older generations. The controls exercised by the male elders are based not on real power, but on relegated authority through the clan system. Thus the total kinship system not only safeguards the patrilineal and patrilocal society, but it is also a mechanism which helps maintain power in the hands of older persons.

**The Succession System**

From this study of family segmentation, one learns that the mechanism of the process is minutely organized and that control is transmitted from the father to the primogeniture son, particularly in regard to economic and social matters. Succession, adoption, and inheritance are, in sense, a part of the family segmentation process.

There are two kinds of succession: one with respect to ancestor worship; and the other in regard to leadership of the family. These are interrelated with the inheritance system. It will be shown in this section that the custom of adoption is, in many ways, a supplement to the succession and inheritance systems. The combination of all these forms
comprises the complete mechanism which makes the process of family permutations an orderly one.

Worship of deceased ancestors has been one of the most honored and revered tasks in Hamlet, as is true of Korean society in general. It should be repeated that ancestor worship is not carried on by all the sons and grandsons but only by the primogeniture descendants of each generation, so that this responsibility is the privilege of a few. There are two kinds of succession to ancestor worship responsibility: one, which concerns responsibility for the worship of all the primogeniture ancestors of the clan, is limited to the chongga, or family of primogeniture descendants; the other, connected with worship of deceased ancestors of one or more generations, is entrusted to the eldest son of a family who succeeds to the position of worshipper in place of a deceased father. The older the family, the more numerous are the ancestors to be worshipped. Succession to both positions occurs when the man who held the responsibility dies. Normally, the eldest son succeeds, but in case he had no son, with the approval of the family council, a son may be adopted for the deceased, and he succeeds to the position.

The regulations in regard to succession are as follows:6 succession is limited to male descendants; a son precedes a grandson; only primogeniture descendants are eligible;7 descendants born of a legal wife precede those born of a concubine regardless of age; in case of the death of a successor before the succession has taken place, his descendant succeeds, but if the descendant is female, a son is adopted for the deceased by his wife, mother or by the clan council.

Theoretically, this is strict male primogeniture succession. However, it is clear that in practice primogeniture descent is not always determined by birth. An adopted son functions as a primogeniture descendant when he becomes the head of the family. It is the family not the individual, which is important in this process. The real value of this process lies in providing an orderly mechanism for family continuation.

As for succession to the family head, normally the man who succeeds to the ancestor worship position also becomes the head of the family. If there is no eligible male, or when succession is in doubt, the oldest woman of the older generation in the family succeeds to the position. In this event precedence runs as follows: grandmother, mother, wife, daughter. Precedence within the same generation is determined by age. In case of such a succession the position is transferred to a male successor as soon as he is chosen.

Accession to the head of family implies inheritance of all or a major portion of the family fortune belonging to the deceased one’s household. If an only son or a female succeeds to the position, the successor
inherits the entire fortune. If there are several children, the fortune is divided among the siblings, but the proportions are not predetermined. It is clear that succession to the head of the family is basically along the line of primogeniture descent, whether real or adopted, of each family. That is, continuation of the patrilineal family is the most important concern. A woman’s succession is temporary and lasts only as long as the male head of the family is not determined. However, the established rule, which gives the authority temporarily to the oldest woman in the family, helps to maintain the continued cooperation of the members and minimizes disturbance in the family.

The Adoption System

For the peaceful and orderly succession of economic and social privileges and obligations, the primogeniture system is strictly observed in Hamlet to such an extent that an eldest son who dies without a male child may not be succeeded by his younger brother. In the meantime, the family cannot be allowed to become extinct, for many problems would arise such as those of ancestor worship, property inheritance, farming and looking after the welfare of old members. All these social and economic functions favor the maintenance and continuation of each family once it has become established. Furthermore, psychologically as well as economically and socially, the members of Hamlet refuse to accept the idea of the extinction of family, a unit consisting of the past, present and future.

As long as the bearing of male children and the untimely death of male members cannot be controlled, the succession system, complete as it may seem, cannot always accomplish the purpose of continuing each family. When inheritance based on descent fails, the adoption system provides a mechanism for solving the difficulties that arise. Therefore, adoption automatically means the adoption of a son, for adoption of a daughter is meaningless in this society. In adopting a son, the father stresses only the importance of the family line. Adoption always means the adoption of a male member of a younger generation by a man of the older generation who is already married; the former must be younger than the latter. Adoption can take place only when the adopting male has no male descendant or when his son has died before marriage. The number of adoptions is limited to one male.

The relationship between the man who adopts and the one who is adopted must be that of the same generation levels as father and son, that is between ajaebi and chok’a of the third, fifth or seventh degree of relationship. Usually, the eldest son of one’s natal family cannot be
adopted; but in case the adoption is made by the primogeniture clan family, an exception can be made.

The following are the commonest forms of adoption: (1) when the head of the family adopts a son from among the members of his son’s generation while the former is living; (2) when wife or mother or the family council of the deceased head of a family adopts a son for the deceased from among the members of his son’s generation; (3) when the head of the family adopts a son temporarily if an only son or adopted son dies without leaving a male descendant. Any male child born to this adopted son becomes the son of the deceased child and the grandson of the head of the family and takes the role of primogeniture descendant of the adoptive family. In this case, the father of the child returns to his own natal family in due time. This third procedure is referred to as chae yangja or double adoption.

Once adoption is agreed upon, the adopted son with his wife and all the members of his consanguine family, except those of older generations, immediately go to live in the adoptive father’s household. The adopted son takes his position as heir, and the members of his consanguine family take their appropriate positions accordingly. At the same time members of the foster son’s own natal family become clan relatives. The adopted son and his consanguine family acquire new positions among the clan relatives in accordance with the status of the adopted family. In the meantime, the adopted son’s maternal relatives are replaced by members of his adoptive mother’s consanguine family, at least in theory.

Adopted sons, in accordance with various rules and regulations of the clan, hold the rights and obligations of the primogeniture descendant of the adopting family. However, if the adopted son is from a different clan, even if he has changed his family name to that of his adoptive father, he has no right to take the responsibility of carrying on family ancestor worship. In other words, he is not completely accorded the position of primogeniture descendant. He is also refused the right to head the family and to inherit the property.

The relation of the foster son to his family of adoption may be nullified by the adoptive person in case of discord in the latter’s family, or because of misconduct on the part of the adopted person, such as lack of filial piety, incest, etc.
The Inheritance System

It has been shown that inheritance is closely related to the succession to the position of ancestor worshiper and head of the family. In addition to the inheritance rules relative to succession which are already explained above, the family head may inherit the fortune belonging to a member of his family if the latter dies without leaving any descendant. Secondly, sons, other than the eldest, may inherit a portion of the deceased father’s fortune. The rules of inheritance are as follows:12 (1) In case the head of the family dies (a) the successor to the position of ancestor worshipper may inherit the fortune of the deceased; (b) only those who live in the same household are eligible for inheritance; (c) the grandsons of the deceased may inherit the portion of their deceased father who would have been an heir had he lived; in case there is no son, the adopted son or wife of the deceased may inherit; (d) other regulations are the same as for family head succession. (2) In case of the death of other than the family head: (a) if the deceased is a married man, his sons may inherit; (b) if the deceased is the eldest son and has no son of his own, the father of the deceased may inherit; (c) if the deceased is other than the eldest son of his father and has no son of his own, his wife may be his heir. (3) A wife’s property is inherited by her husband. (4) A widow’s property may be inherited by her son or grandson, but if she has no son or grandson, the family head may inherit.

The legal inheritance system is based primarily on the traditional customs of Korea with some modifications. The regulations presented above have made it clear that inheritance is not an economic institution independent of other social considerations. Inheritance is so closely related to ancestor worship and the family system that one cannot fully understand one without understanding the others.

In general, the most outstanding features of the inheritance customs are, first, transmission of property within the patrilineal, patrilocal segment of a family. No provision is made for females either in their post-marital groups or in their natal families. Secondly, inheritance runs fundamentally along the lines of primogeniture descent. Other inheritance opportunities are purely incidental.13

Property inheritance goes basically from an older generation to the next generation within the same family rather than from one individual person to another. A particular person may inherit a family’s property upon becoming the guardian and representative of the family head and vice versa. A man wields economic authority over his family only because his position entitles him to control the property as long as he
remains the family head. He has no authority to dispose of the property; and death alone can take his position away from him. At death, the authority remains with the position, so that the man who succeeds to the post whether a real or adopted son, inherits the property and the authority which goes with it.

These two characteristics—inheritance from one generation to another and inheritance of a position—serve to retain property within the patrilineal and patrilocal primogeniture descent family, in which social authority is concentrated. One can hardly question the value of such inheritance customs in strengthening the structure of the society.

Economic and social institutions are inter-related and interdependent to the extent that the weakening of one causes weakening of the other and vice versa, i.e., neglect of ancestor worship inevitably means weakening of clan ties. Without the latter the agricultural economy of Hamlet cannot be undertaken satisfactorily. Moreover, succession to the position of ancestor worshipper as well as to the leadership of the family is automatically accompanied by the right to inherit family property. The former establish responsibility for social functions, and the latter provides the economic means with which the social responsibility can be carried out.

Notes

1 Chosen sotokufu, Chosen kokusei chosa hokoku, zen-sen-pen, op. cit., p. 372.

2 Hired farm hands are called nonggun in this region, and the word has no connotation of servant. In the south, the hired hands are called mosum and are servants of the household where they are hired. In Upper Han Hamlet, nonggun is a sikku, but not a kajok.

3 Informant E, with his wife, lives in Seoul at his second brother’s house but he claims relationship with his eldest brother’s household in Upper Han Hamlet as his family.

4 The writer had never lived in Hamlet or seen any members of her husband’s family before 1946. When she interviewed her husband’s relatives in 1946, the latter talked about her as a member of her deceased mother-in-law’s family.

5 Spirits of those who died before marriage are feared and are not considered as members of the family. Also the dead nonggun are rapidly forgotten in a generation or even sooner.

6 Chosen sotokufu chusui-in, Minji kanshu kaito ishu (Seoul, 1933), pp. 430-431.

7 The primogeniture son is the oldest son by birth or by adoption who has taken the position of the eldest son.

8 Division of the father’s fortune among siblings is a recent custom which

In Hamlet, the authority to make the division is in the hands of the eldest son and the father. In recent years quarrel over the family property is one of the most common dissensions among siblings.

9 The adoption system presented in this section is based on court decisions made in the South Hamgyŏng Provincial court during the year of 1913, and the general practice in Korea. See Chosen sotokufu chusui-in, *Minzoku kanshu kaito ishu* (Seoul, 1933), pp. 146-7; 156-7; Appendix pp. 21-26; 30-31. Tosan Fujita, “Chosen shinsoku-ho,” *Hogaku kyokai zasshi*, XXXXVII, no. 8 (Tokyo, 1930), pp. 52-82.

10 For the basic pattern of the kinship system see Chapter V.

11 There have been numerous court cases over the adoption of non-clan members. In such cases, the clan may legally interfere with the adopted son’s undertaking ancestor worship, and may deprive him of the position of head of the family.


It should be noted that these rules are not limited exclusively to Hamlet, but are for the whole nation.

13 Inheritance by parents, wife, or head of family is all incidental. Such inheritors are all temporary custodians of property because as soon as the successor to the position of ancestor worshiper is determined, the property is transferred.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STRUCTURE: 
THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

In the preceding chapter a description and an analysis of the family are presented because this institution plays the most important role in the Hamlet life and its dynamic process holds the key to the entire kinship system. However, there are other units of social structure, and their description is necessary for a better understanding of the entire kinship system.

There are four units of social structure; clan, lineage, family and household. The term clan as used in Hamlet and in Korea in general, as stated earlier, is slightly different from the usual anthropological concept. The Han clan, for instance, consists of all the married male members of the patrilineal descendants and their wives. Unmarried males are only potential members;\(^1\) unwed females appear to be just temporary members.

Korean lineage is, in its strict sense, limited to primogeniture masculine descent.

Family is conceptually a permanent unit consisting of the founder of each family unit\(^2\) and his wife and their primogeniture descendants and their wives. This type of family, as explained in the preceding chapter, is termed the "permanent pattern." In contrast, there is a family of "temporary pattern," to which most families in actual life belong. This consists of parents and children, inclusive of married sons and their wives and unwed sons and daughters. Such a family is "temporary" in view of the fact that sons other than the eldest will eventually leave the natal family and each will establish an independent family. In turn, the newly established family enters the stage of the "permanent pattern," and will be continued by the male primogeniture descendants for generation after generation.

Lastly, the household is an economically, but not socially, independent unit, consisting of parents and children. It may be described as a segment of a family whose living head is an old paternal ancestor. Therefore, a family at a certain stage of its permutation process may include several such households; and these households are potential nuclei of family units of the "permanent pattern." A brief description of these four units is necessary here because knowledge of their composition is essential to an understanding of the kinship system.
**Basic Pattern of the Kinship System**

A clear knowledge of the mechanism of the lineage system helps one to understand the operation of the Korean kinship pattern. The mechanism is based on two fundamental relationships: one is the relationship between father and son, and the other is the relationship between brothers. The former is the *il ch'on* ("first degree") and the latter is the *i ch'on* ("second degree") of relationship. The combination of these two relationships makes up the basic pattern of the kinship system shown in Chart 2.

For example, ego's father's brother is of the third degree; ego's brother's child is also of the third degree; ego's third degree relative's son is of the fourth degree; ego's fourth degree relative's son is of the fifth degree and his cousin is of the sixth degree; ego's sixth degree relative's son is of the seventh and his cousin is of the eighth degree; ego's eighth degree relative's son is of the ninth degree, etc. It is clear that theoretically there is no end to a system of this kind.

The basic pattern presented in Chart 2 includes the following relatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Relationship</th>
<th>Degree of Relationship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ego's father</td>
<td>(1)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's son</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's brother</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's grandfather</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's grandchild</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's father's brother</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's brother's child</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's first cousin</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's grandfather's brother</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's father's first cousin</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's first cousin's child</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's second cousin</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's first cousin's grandchild</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's father's second cousin</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's second cousin's child</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's third cousin</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's second cousin's grandchild</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego's third cousin's child</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Degrees of relationship marked with parenthesis are understood as such but not used in referring.
Chart 2. Basic Pattern of the Korean Kinship System
Degrees of relationship do not change whether those involved are male or female. However, in the case of a female, her relationship to her husband's relatives is determined solely by the position of her spouse. It should be made clear that even though the kinship system is basically patrilineal, there is more than one set of relatives for each individual. In addition to descent from the father, every individual is related to members of his mother's patrilineal lineage; and each male is related to his wife's natal consanguine family. These two are temporary, and differ therefore from the patrilineal lineage group which is permanent and the most important of all.

Accordingly, as shown in the Chart 2, ego's relationship to members of his generation are of the second, fourth, sixth, eighth and tenth degrees. His relationship to his father's generation is of the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth degrees. The former set of relationship degrees, except the second, exists between ego and the members of his grandfather's generation, and the latter set, except the first, exists between ego and members of his son's generation.

In the extreme southern part of Korea, the most conservative and tradition-bound region in the country, one may find a clan village consisting of fifteen or more degrees of clan relatives and their unmarried children. In Upper Han Hamlet, the most dominant clan is the Han which, in 1946, consisted of nine degrees of clan relatives and their unwed children. Although Upper Han is considered a clan hamlet, a few families do not belong to the dominant clan. According to Informant A there are four such Hamlet families. He says, "They are in some way related to our clan, but so distant are the relationships that they do not come when important clan matters are discussed."

It is important to bear in mind that the kinship mechanism is also a part of the household and family permutation process. The household or family consists of the closest degrees of clan relatives, first to fifth degrees, and their wives and children. Clan relatives beyond the fifth degree are seldom included in one household or family. The outward demarcation of household and family from clan is separate residence; however, the conceptual distinction between family and clan ties is that the former occur under one family head and the latter occur among individuals of independent families. One can hardly ignore residential differences as an aspect of the clan, at least in Hamlet and in most part of Korea, and these distinguish the clan from the extended consanguine family group.
Various Lineages

The hosts of relatives or *ilga* of an individual may be divided into two groups. The first is one’s patrilineal lineage relatives and their wives. This cluster of males and their wives forms a clan as interpreted in Hamlet and is considered to constitute the “real relationship” group (Charts 3 and 4). The second consists of the male members of one’s mother’s patrilineal lineage group and the wives who are *oe* (“outside”) relatives. Accordingly, each group of siblings has a number of different “outside relatives” since marriage in Hamlet is exogamic. One may say that there is another set of relatives for each male, and this is composed of his wife’s consanguine family members who remain as relatives only so long as the marriage endures. Because of this unit’s insignificant role in Hamlet life, it may be sufficient only to mention here.

Only the patrilial lineage is permanent, and its members constitute one’s “real relatives” who comprise the clan. The position of each member in the patrilineal lineage as determined by birth is permanent, and this may be thought of as the prototype of the entire lineage system. The second group in the main follows the same pattern. Consequently, rules that operate in the patrilineal lineage are applicable, in most part, to the other. Our primary concern in the following pages is, therefore, with the patrilineal lineage.

One’s sex and marital status do not change the number of individuals included in each set of relatives, but the terms used in referring to the relatives do vary. Consequently, there are three different series of terms for the clan group as well as for the “outside relative” group: these are the terms used by male, female, and female member by affinity. Charts 3 and 4 show the patrilineal lineage and the terms used for these relatives by male and female ego respectively.

The terms employed for the “outside relative” group differ from those used for clan relatives by the addition of the prefix *oe* to each term, and by the use of *ijong* in place of *p’yojong* for the mother’s sister’s children.

The comparison of Charts 3 and 4 shows that a female uses different terms from those of a male for the members of her own generation. The terms used by female members by affinity for the members of older generations of both groups of her husband’s relatives follow those of her husband with the prefix *si* (“affinity”) added, as *ajaebi* and *ajimi*. However, the terms used for one’s husband’s relatives of the same generation are again different from those used by the husband or his sisters. As for the terms referring to members of younger generations, there is no difference between those used by husband and wife.
social structure

*Ego's clan

This group of relatives is often disregarded in Hamlet.
Chart 4: Korean Kinship System—Female Ego

- Ego's clan

This group of relatives is often disregarded in Hamlet.
From this, one may assume that a wife takes her position as a real member in her husband’s family and clan only after having raised sons and daughters. This assumption is amply supported in real life as expressed in the social functions which are described in Chapter VIII. Therefore, the permanent female members are those who married into, not those who are born into, the clan and the family.

The following analysis will be limited to the patrilineal lineage group and their wives inasmuch as this group lives together and makes up the important secondary unit in Hamlet society. These is no limit as to the extension of the degree of relationship in the patrilineal lineage or in clan. Theoretically, all persons with the same family name and of the same place of origin are kin even if one hundred generations removed from each other, and they remain as such after death. However, in practice, the place of residence plays an important role in determining the functional clan. That is, as people move away from Hamlet, they do not participate in clan functions. In other words, such people cannot fulfill their responsibilities as members of the clan; consequently, they lose practical membership and, at the same time, the clan organization loses its value to them. In respect to this, it is interesting to note that people in Seoul may claim membership in the famous clans to which they belong, but in practice there appears to be no actual relationship between such people and their clan mates living elsewhere.

The nomenclature of clan members is classified by generation and by individual. None of the terms is reciprocally used for the mere fact that each term describes the status of an individual, and each status requires certain behavior towards others. Since no two persons have exactly the same status in this society, terms cannot be reciprocally employed.

In the strict sense, “A kinship nomenclature is a mechanism whose function is the classification of relatives”5 and their respective statuses as is clearly demonstrated in the Korean kinship system.

Members of a generation level as a group hold a status among clan relatives. In general, the older the generation, the greater is its prestige, authority and responsibility.

The members of ego’s grandfather’s generation are all grandfathers and grandmothers of various degrees of relationship. Modifications such as, k’ūn (“big”) and chagūn (“small”) further clarify the status of each grandfather in relation to ego.

The members of ego’s father’s generation are all ajaebi (“uncle”) and ajimi (“aunt”) of various degrees of relationship, with modifications such as, k’ūn and chagūn. Ego’s own father and mother are differentiated from all others of the generation.
Every individual of the same generation is differentiated from others by consanguinity, sex, age and affinity. By such careful distinction of individuals of the same generation, each occupies a status which is clearly defined and cannot be duplicated in the clan group. The consanguine siblings are the eldest, older and younger sister and brothers. The members of ego’s own generation other than the consanguine siblings are older and younger brothers and sisters of various degrees of relationship.

Ego’s son’s generation is divided into two parts: one group includes his consanguine family who are adūl (“son”), ttal (“daughter”) and menuri (“daughter-in-law”) respectively. The first son is referred to specially as madadūl (“the eldest son”). Another group includes all other relatives of his son’s generation are chok’a (“nephew”), chok-hatl (“niece”) and chok’a menuri (“niece-in-law”) of various degrees of relationship.

The members of ego’s grandson’s generation are all sonji (“grandson”), sonji ttal (“granddaughter”) and sonji menuri (“granddaughter-in-law”) of various degrees. The primogeniture grandson is referred to as matsonji (“the eldest grandson”) and his wife as mat-sonji menuri (“the eldest granddaughter-in-law”).

The primogeniture descendants and their wives in all generations are differentiated from their siblings. These distinctions have a deep significance in economic and social functions, for only primogeniture descendants may inherit the social and economic rights and obligations of preceeding generations.

From the above descriptions, the following generalizations may be made: (1) there are two groups of relatives: those of the male side of the patrilineal lineage and those of the maternal side of the patrilineal lineage; (2) the former forms a clan which is the only permanent relative group; (3) the clan relative group is classified into generation; (4) within one generation the consanguine family members are differentiated from the others, and importance of primogeniture descendant is emphasized; (5) each individual among members of the same generation has his own status based on sex, age, affinity and descent; (6) the status of a male member is determined at his birth and of a female at her birth in her natal clan which is temporary, and her permanent status is in her husband’s clan and determined by her husband’s status; (7) the affinity differentiation for the members of older generation is based on the status of their husands’ and this differentiation is made by the members of the older generation for those of the younger generation; (8) the terms used by male, female and affinal female, even though the same principles are applied, are all different.
In the patrilineal and unilocal and patrilocal society, where the primary accent is upon the vertical descent through patrilineal lineage, there is no room either for the inclusion of non-clan members in the real kinship group or for a lateral rapport between two parental families. For this reason, members of one group are not related to members of the other group. They are merely sadūn ("relatives by affinity"). In no sense do sadūn consider themselves relatives to each other. Often one says, "The sadūn is, in time, worse than strangers."

The careful division of the relative groups is necessary in a patrilineal and unilocal patrilocal society like Upper Han Hamlet in order to maintain the equilibrium of all the elements which make up the society. It is not the kinship system alone which makes the distinction of the two groups, but various social and economic functions of the society make the same distinction, i.e. the members of ego's mother's consanguine family do not live in Hamlet which naturally weakens the tie between ego and its "outside" relatives whereas the patrilineal descent relatives or clan group are always in Hamlet, and this group undertakes together most of social and economic functions. The division of relatives with importance attached to the clan group alone have made it possible to canalize the loyalty of every member of the clan. Without the complete loyalty of its members, the social and economic life of Hamlet could not have been maintained, for the prime requisite of agricultural economy is the undivided cooperation of its component members.

Furthermore, many differentiations and divisions imply a degree of importance in relation to or authority over the other groups and individuals. Authority of patrilineal relatives is higher than that of mother's patrilineal relatives; an older generation as a group or as an individual exercises a greater authority over the younger generation and its members; an older member has a comparatively higher status than a younger member of the same generation. Thus, the system establishes the order of precedence in social and economic life in clan operation.

The system prepares every individual to fit him- or herself for responsibility; thus, everyone learns to expect nothing other than what he is born to be in the society. Neither dissension among the relatives nor undue advancement of an individual is permitted. An individual in this system, regardless of his ability, cannot advance himself beyond his predetermined status. The value of the individual exists only as a member of household, family and of clan. He can survive in the society only by adhering to the rules and regulations of his clan and family. Such a system inevitably entrusts the economic and social power in the hands of a few not because of one's ability but because of one's birth; this custom makes transition of power orderly and regular. A perma-
nent agricultural economic society such as Hamlet requires the continuing cooperation of members in a stable pattern of relationship. This very need is fulfilled partly by the kinship system presented here. Every phase of life in Hamlet supports directly and indirectly this kinship structure, which in turn, supports and accepts the economic and social authorities of Hamlet.

Notes

1 In case death occurs to a male before marriage, he does not remain as a member of the clan or family. Accordingly, his spirit is not worshiped.

2 The founder of each new family unit is other than the primogeniture son of the preceding generation. See also Family Segmentation in Chapter IV.

3 The first and second degrees of relationships are understood but are never so used in addressing or referring.

4 The terms to which this general rule is not applicable are:
   Terms used by husband               Terms used by wife
   hyŏng                                si-sŏngnim
   ajimi (brother’s wife)               si-tongsaeng
   maebu                                sadūn

CHAPTER VI

RECI PROCAL BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

The social structure described in the two preceding chapters is the framework of Hamlet society whose dynamic elements are the reciprocal behaviors of persons who live according to the accepted social patterns. Therefore, a study of the interpersonal relationships found in such units as family, clan and hamlet is vital to the understanding of this society. This interpersonal relationship patterns are formalized to the extent that the same reciprocal behavior is rigidly observed rather than having individuals spontaneously suiting their behavior to the circumstances. This rigidity helps to maintain the equilibrium of each unit.

The present chapter deals first with the use of language forms, in consideration of the fact that the linguistic terms used by groups of people is one of the most important expressions of their respective statuses. This is followed by an analysis of intra-familial and inter-familial behavior patterns which encompass the entire Hamlet.

The Use of Language Forms

In upper Han Hamlet as well as in the entire northeastern region of Korea two forms are used, hapsoyo, "respect form" and haera, "friendly form." In Hamlet society the "respect form" is used in speaking to strangers and acquaintances who are older than the speakers; the "friendly form" is used only to young children and among young persons of the same age group. The latter usage by married people is often modified by slurring the verb endings, a linguistic practice which results in a practically new form.

Among relatives in Hamlet, the "respect form" is used in addressing members of older generations and the older and affinal members of one's own generation, and between the husband and wife. In practice it is not uncommon for a woman to slur the verb endings in speaking to her husband's younger brother's wife. She may also talk thus to her husband's younger siblings and other younger members of the same generation if older persons are not present. A man generally addresses his wife's siblings in the "respect form"; however, he openly uses the "friendly form" if they are little children.
There are some differences in the use of language forms among relatives and in Hamlet society at large. The differences are primarily based on the differences of the functioning principles of these two societies: age and generation are the functioning principles of the kinship group; whereas age alone is the basis of the larger society.

Intra-Familial Relationship

The reciprocal behavior of Hamlet people is greatly conditioned by the family institution because it is in the family that one acquires one’s knowledge of the proper behavior towards kindred, and one’s understanding of his position in the larger society. Therefore, for present purposes the family shown in Chart 1 will provide the basis of our analysis.

The members of the family are husband, wife, father, mother, sons and daughters-in-law, unmarried daughters, grandsons, granddaughters-in-law and granddaughters. Among these the following reciprocal relationships occur: (A) husband and wife; (B) parents and children; (C) parents-in-law and daughter-in-law; (D) between siblings; (E) grandparents and grandchildren; (F) grandparents-in-law and granddaughters-in-law; (G) brother-in-law and sister-in-law; (H) between sisters-in-law; (I) uncle and aunt, and nephew and niece; (J) between first cousins.

Harmonious adjustments among these individuals are important for the functioning of family. At the outset, it should be emphasized that relationships between individuals are dynamic, and that they all undergo many changes whenever there is a marriage, birth or death in the family. Furthermore, all individuals are bound by many different relationship statuses. In the following pages, the most common intra-familial relationships are described.

Husband (söbang) and Wife (sinbi)

In Hamlet most marriages are arranged by the parents or grandparents, and a young couple do not know each other before their marriage. Therefore, the relationship between husband and wife begins suddenly, at the time of wedding ceremony, without any apparent psychological preparation. Therefore, married life starts out as a problem of mutual adjustment in the midst of members of the husband’s family. For a young wife, it is as important that she be accepted by her parents-in-law and other older members as by her
husband, for the success of marriage depends upon the harmonious relationship with other family members as much as upon that of the husband and wife.

The relationship of husband and wife may be characterized thus: the husband "loves" or "likes" his wife, and the wife "respects" her husband in the same sense as a mother "loves" her child and the child "respects" its mother. The use of these words undoubtedly indicates a certain degree of superior feeling of the husband towards his wife who is submissive and subordinate to and dependent upon her husband, at least for the first few years of their married life.

A newlywed couple do not talk to each other in the presence of older members unless there is very urgent need. This formality is expected of a well-trained young wife who must not show her affection to her husband right after marriage; the husband is expected to be aloof, as a sign of dignity, until the first child is born. A wife also has to be ever so careful not to show her partiality to her husband. A wise husband pretends to ignore her; such an attitude is more conducive to his wife's welfare and the harmony of the family.

The husband and wife do not address each other by their given names, but they call each other, yöbo, or "look here." The husband refers to his wife as the "person in the house," and the wife to her husband as the "person of the ouside." After they become parents they use teknonymy, addressing each other as "child's father" or "child's mother."

Birth of the first child is usually a turning point in the marital relationship. This event brings even a discontented husband closer to his wife; and as for the wife, her position becomes more secure. As the number of children increases, the couple gain authority and responsibility over them. Consequently, they are brought together more closely to discuss various problems concerning their children. Their relationship gradually grows mellower partly because of their common concern over their offspring. And their concerted opinions come to weigh more than before with the older generation. The husband comes to recognize his mate's wisdom in making certain decisions, and he forms the habit of asking for her advice more often before problems are taken to his parents. As her opinions gain weight, she does not remain just a submissive wife. She may disagree with her husband without being criticized; nevertheless, she usually prefers to continue to be subordinate to her husband. As far as the household economy is concerned, the husband is a partner of his father; his wife is not included in this partnership and very seldom is her advice sought in economic matters.
When they finally become the real family heads after the death of their parents, a couple is freed of all restraints. Their authority reigns supreme over their children. The wife takes care of the small expenses of household affairs without the husband’s interference; and the husband takes charge of the family economy. As they grow older, the husband depends more and more on his wife and the latter gains more authority. It is not uncommon for the wife in her old age to exercise her authority as well as her husband’s in his name. In such a case, no longer does she need to play behind the scene, for her authority is recognized and supported by her husband.

*Parents (pumo) and Children (ahaedûl)*

Under this general heading the following relationships are included: father (*aebi*) and mother (*emî*), and son (*adûl*) and daughter (*ittal*). Relationships between parents and children are conditioned, in general, by the preference for boys over girls, and by the position of the parents in family.

When a child is born, the father is very happy, but he is expected to act indifferent and to stay out of the delivery room which usually is his own chamber. For a young father to hold a baby in his arms in front of his old parents is thought of as very bad manners. The father, particularly in a large family, does not take any overt part in rearing his own children, for the task belongs to the women of the family. Consequently, children at a very early age learn to identify the father as an outsider who has very little to do with them other than spanking or reprimanding. Little children are usually afraid of their fathers so that they stop crying if they are told that their fathers are coming home.

In contrast to the seemingly unreasonable sternness of the father, the mother is typified by kindness and warmth. When a child is born, the mother nurses it until the next child comes along. The mother often carries her baby on her back to the well, to the market places, and to the fields; she occasionally brings sweets for her children from the market; she also provides them with pennies to buy good things. Therefore, even after the child is grown up it goes to the mother for comfort. The close and constant contacts between mother and child establish a very close tie between them early in one’s life. The child, through contacts with its parents, learns not only about its own father and mother, but also about the accepted behavior patterns of male and female. The male is powerful, stern, and never bending; the female is soft and self-sacrificing.
Hereafter, the relationships between parents and sons, and parents and daughters are separately described. By the age of seven or eight, a son is separated most of the time in daily life from the females; he spends much of his time among the group of men in the sodang ("study hall"), in the fields or in school. However, as soon as he comes home, he looks for his mother even though there is nothing to talk about. If the son is in need of her help, the mother is always ready to listen provided that she is not working with her mother-in-law. Or if he is scolded by his father or older brothers unjustly, he confides in his mother who is sure to report the matter to the person concerned. The warm bond between a mother and son is retained for life.

With unquestioned authority, it is the father who plans the future of his children. The eldest son is automatically selected to be educated, and to him the treatment appropriate to a future scholar is accorded. This relationship of father and eldest son is that of the family head and his successor; accordingly, this is characterized not so much by the personalities concerned as by the nature of these positions in the family structure. The eldest son can neither refuse to accept this obligation nor can other siblings complain of unfair treatment from the father. Only recently have a few younger sons begun to rebel against this custom.

While father and son work side by side in the fields, they talk of nothing but business; the former gives orders to the latter who meticulously obeys them. The father very seldom goes to the market places with his grown-up son, sits down with him to discuss problems or to play a game of chess or cards. He acts thus for fear that he might lose his dignity. Despite this attitude, a father has great confidence in and a feeling of dependence on his growing son.

Throughout the adolescent period, a father maintains his aloofness towards his son. As a result, even a grown-up man usually feels uneasy in front of his father who always expects complete submission. Therefore, a son usually avoids any direct contacts with his father.

When a son approaches marriageable age, his mother, if she has found or someone has suggested a suitable girl, quietly asks her son's opinion on the matter. If he does not oppose it seriously, it is taken as approval. It is true theoretically that the father or grandfather has the final authority over the son's marriage, but it is the mother who after thorough investigation must give a favorable report. Seldom does a marriage take place without the mother's consent, and the latter would not arrange a wedding without the approval of her child.

The son's marriage does not bring any basic change to the father and son relationship, except that the latter's seemingly indifferent
attitude becomes more evident, which may be explained as a sign of growing mutual respect. The father still has authority to control his son but he does not interfere with the latter's personal matters, for he is believed to be capable of managing his own affairs now that he has become a mature man. When the younger sons establish their own households, the father's control over them becomes only nominal.

On the other hand, a son's marriage is the hardest strain on the mother's relationship with her son; and inevitably she needs to make a readjustment. Even after his marriage, she is ready to help and comfort her son, but the latter no longer needs her, for his wife has taken over the tasks with the approval of everybody concerned. To the mother, it appears that her son has left her completely for a younger woman. For a short while, at least, the freedom and warmth that existed between the mother and son is lost. A wise mother accepts the change, and wise son tries his best not to show a sudden change in his relationship with his mother. If this uneasy and strained situation between the mother and son continues, the father may reprimand his wife for her jealousy. In addition, the seemingly indifferent attitude of the son toward his bride helps to ease the situation.

After the younger sons establish their households, the mother often makes visits and helps to start their new arrangements. She visits them frequently but she never feels at home there, for the mother's home is where the eldest son lives.

The parents-and-son relationship, with the passing years, centers primarily on the eldest son. As the father grows older, he becomes increasingly aloof towards his son and leaves most things to his son's own judgments; the son in turn makes special efforts to show his respect towards his father. The mother may give her authority to a daughter-in-law and remain in the background if she so desires. But it is not uncommon for an old mother to reign as the supreme power in the family against the wiser advice of her husband. In such a case of filial son remains obedient and listens to her advice, nor may he side with his wife.

In contrast to the long-lasting relationship between parents and sons, that between parents and daughters is short. A daughter, by eight or nine years of age, stops playing with neighborhood boys and withdraws from the company of male members of her own family. From early morning until she goes to sleep, she works with her mother, the only person in the household who really appreciates the daughter.

The daughter imitates her mother in more ways than one. She learns to like or dislike persons and things which her mother likes or
dislikes; her judgment on matters is primarily that of her mother, not of her own. The mother is the sole teacher who must reprimand and correct her, and even spank her if it needs be done. On the mother lies the entire responsibility of training her daughter to be an acceptable daughter-in-law and wife. Therefore, the mother must combine sternness and warmth, but very seldom does the former play an important role in the mother-daughter relationship.

As the daughter reaches twelve or thirteen, she cooks and sews and takes care of the family ox under her mother’s supervision. A mother may feel pleased with her young daughter’s achievement but every so often sharply corrects her mistakes in the hope of improving her still further. In the meantime, the daughter realizes that the daily routine of hard work demanded by her mother is a part of training.

As close as the mother-daughter relationship may be, the latter would not think of undressing in front of her mother. Nevertheless, it is her mother to whom she tells of her menstruation, for which the mother is ready to help.

As a daughter grows up, her relationship with the father becomes increasingly restrained and formal. Although the father’s attitude towards his daughter is gentler and kinder than towards his sons, the same unbridgeable gap exists between them. The father is always conscious of the fact that the daughter is not a permanent member of his family. He often makes a remark jokingly to the effect that she is soon to be married off to another family or that she will make a good daughter-in-law and wife to some lucky persons. But the daughter does not and must not joke with him or give her opinion of his remarks.

Seldom does the father speak to her; nor does she speak to him unless directly questioned; even when she waits on the father at meal times, she says nothing to him. The daughter goes to her father’s room only when she is called; the father never enters her room unless she is sick. The father neither inquires directly into his daughter’s welfare nor does he personally reprimand or praise her. When he is pleased with her hard work or when he finds mistakes in her conduct, he may merely let his wife know about the matter. Nevertheless, a daughter is always eager to prepare better food and sew better clothing for her father than for anyone else in the house. The father, knowing his daughter’s devotion, may wear badly made clothes just to please his young daughter.

The mother becomes more and more anxious to have her daughter, as she approaches marriageable age, accomplished in the performance of household duties. She encourages her daughter to wear better
clothes and make-up\(^9\) as best she can. The mother in her mind hopes that villagers may recognize her maturity and beauty. The mother sees to it that female visitors to the house notice her charming daughter so that her reputation may reach far and wide. In the meantime, she begins to inquire about a prospective son-in-law, and she saves money so that she may be able to buy a few extra things for the girl, and appeals to her husband not to be stingy with money for the daughter’s dowry. She sees to it that her daughter does not tire herself out in doing housework for a few months before the marriage, and that she finds time to make her dresses, thimbles, and bags. The mother often sits down with the daughter and tells her about marriage, but she never touches on the question of sex. Absolute ignorance of sex on the part of a bride is considered to be a womanly virtue and a sign of complete chastity.

Even after the daughter is married, the mother-daughter relationship remains close and sympathetic for many years to come. For the mother it is not uncommon to sell secretly some of the family grain for cash with which she can help a married daughter who may married into a poor family or who is not well treated by her husband.

As the daughter gains more responsibilities in her husband’s family, it becomes increasingly difficult for her to make visits to her mother. Nevertheless, she is expected to be at the death bed of her parents. The daughter, regardless of her age and status, is the most sorrowful mourner at the funeral of her mother. She returns home for the anniversary of her parents’ death, and the last day of the mourning period\(^{10}\) is the last of her regular visits to her natal home.

\textit{Relationships Among Siblings}

Age is the basis of relationship among siblings; the older ones have authority over the younger ones and the younger ones owe obedience to the older. Even a slight divergence from this accepted pattern brings a bad reputation to a family.

\textit{Older Brother (hyŏng) and Younger Brother (tongsaeng)}\(^{11}\)

Before brothers are married, they all live and sleep in one room. They work together in the fields without differentiating each other’s work nor do they distinguish personal property. Quarrels between them are rare; when they do occur, the younger brother usually apologizes for his bad behavior, and the older must forgive him.
The eldest brother is expected to attend school, and younger brothers accept the situation as a matter of fact. The younger brothers, if the father is not able, give financial aid to the older to go through school; such help is given for the sake of the family, not so much for the individual person. In most cases, whenever needs arise a concerted effort among the brothers is made on behalf of the person concerned; that is, mutual assistance is the accepted pattern among brothers.

If there is a marked age difference between two brothers, the older takes a fatherly attitude towards his younger brother. If the father is dead, the entire responsibility and authority over the children fall on the shoulders of the eldest son. In such case, the eldest brother can demand the unquestioned submission of his younger brothers and he usually gets it. In the meantime, he must provide a living for them all.

After the brothers are all married, there occur many apparent changes. The personal property of the married is sharply divided, and the benedict no longer sleeps with other brothers in the same room. When a younger brother leaves his father's house to establish his own household, usually a conflict occurs between the brothers over the share of goods allotted to him by the father with the consent of the eldest son.

Even after a man has established his own household, theoretically the same pattern of relationship exists between brothers, but in practice, no longer is unquestioned submission to an older brother necessary. Also, an older brother does not have many occasions to exercise his authority over a younger brother. Each household forms a separate economic unit, and each brother becomes the head of his own unit. If a brother dies leaving a wife and young children, the responsibility for their care falls on the other brothers in order of age. In such a case the whole household of the dead brother may move into the household of another brother. As long as they live, brothers have certain obligations to help each other in time of need, and no one hesitates to ask such assistance.

Older Sister (sŏngi) and Younger Sister (tôngsaeng) 12

As in the relationship between brothers, age is the basis of this reciprocal pattern. Command and obedience are the normal rule. If there are only a few years of age between unmarried sisters, they live and sleep together in the same room as soon as they are old enough to leave their mother's room. As they grow up, they share household responsibilities and together help their mother. If there are many years of age between them, the older takes care of the younger.
As a rule an older sister is married off first; and after the wedding the close relationship between two sisters comes to an end. When sisters are married, they very seldom can be together except on the birthdays of their parents; nor do they visit each other’s families if they happen to live in different villages.

The Brother and Sister

*The Older Brother* (oraebi) and *Younger Sister* (nwibi tongsaeng)\(^{13}\)

Love and respect between siblings of different sexes is more pronounced than among those of the same sex. An older brother and younger sister seldom play together after the former becomes seven years of age. A younger sister respects her older brother, and he loves his younger sister. She mends his stockings and clothing, spreads out his bed every night, and puts it back next morning. She cleans the room for him daily, and until the brother is married, she does all these chores for him as a matter of course and with a certain degree of pride.

The outward relationship between older brother and younger sister becomes gradually indifferent as they grow up; the younger sister begins to treat him almost like her father but without so much restraint. She waits on him at meal times and looks after his clothing and food as much as she does for her father. The older brother always pretends that he does not notice her presence.

The close bond lasts until the older brother is married. A younger sister, as in the case of the mother, becomes very jealous of her new sister-in-law, whom she may even hate for all the changes she has caused in her relationship to her brother.

After the younger sister is married, she meets her brother only when she visits her natal home. As the years pass by their relationship becomes growingly distant; and death of the last parent almost ends the close tie between them, for rarely is there any occasion to bring them together again.

*The Older Sister* (nwibi) and *Younger Brother* (tongsaeng)\(^{14}\)

Even though a younger brother uses the respect form of language to his older sister as he does to the older brother, he does not respect her as much as he does his older brother. On the other hand, the sister loves him more than she does her younger sister. They neither live in the same room nor eat at the same table, but between them there is no restraint at all in daily life. When a younger brother exerts
his masculine power, the older sister always gives in because she is a big sister and because she is expected by others to accept her younger brother's unreasonableness. Very seldom there is any conflict between them. As the younger brother grows older, he respects and feels grateful to his sister. Often it is this brother who brings the news to her that their parents are looking for her future husband. He also accompanies his sister to the groom's family on her wedding day, and it is he who takes her back to her husband's house after the first visit to her natal home. He also occasionally visits his married sister's home to find out how she is getting along.

The married sister, when she finds a nice young girl in her village, is sure to mention her to her mother as a prospective wife for her younger brother. Marriage of the brother ends this close relationship. It is below his dignity, as as married man, to visit his married sister. They meet only when the sister visits her natal home; and it is with his wife that she speaks rather than to her own brother.

_Affinal Relationships_\(^5\)

Parents-in-Law (_si-pumo_) and Daughter-in-Law (_menuri_)

The following relationships are included under this general heading: father-in-law (_si-aebi_) and daughter-in-law (_menuri_), and mother-in-law (_si-emii_) and daughter-in-law._\(^6\)

The relations of daughters-in-law to parents-in-law are predominantly those between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, for the father-in-law seldom has a direct contact with his daughter-in-law who does her best to avoid him. The father-in-law maintains his dignity by being indifferent towards his son's wife; however, he is sure to take her side if his wife makes the situation difficult for the bride. Every married woman knows that "the father-in-law is the person who loves her most and the mother-in-law is the hardest to get along with."

The mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship is mostly restrained; only occasionally is it harmonious. If the two personalities cannot adjust themselves at all, the mother-in-law openly criticizes the younger woman; however, the latter must be patient and accept even unjust criticisms if she is to remain married, for continuously bad relationships could break the marriage itself. Even when their relationship is thought of as harmonious, it is never as close as that between mother and daughter. It only means that they get along well without irritating or interfering with each other.
Every young wife is particularly careful to please her mother-in-law. Courtesy, kindness, and obedience towards the mother-in-law are the highest virtues of a young bride. She stands up when her mother-in-law enters the room; she walks behind the mother-in-law when they go out together; she begins to eat only after her mother-in-law has started to eat even though they sit at the same table. A daughter-in-law, considering that the household work is her responsibility, tries hard to please her mother-in-law; she knows that she must not sit and idle her time away watching older persons work. "If you are idle after your are married you will be driven back by your mother-in-law," is an often heard reprimand from her own mother.

Occasionally, a mother-in-law is far-sighted enough to help her daughter-in-law adjust to the family, overlooking small faults and peculiarities. Such a mother-in-law sees to it that the young woman eats enough, does not overwork, and goes to her room early enough to enjoy her life with her husband. Then, the lonely young woman appreciates the kindness and becomes genuinely obedient to her mother-in-law and a loyal and faithful member of her new household. Such a relationship gives prestige to both, and the main credit goes to the tolerant and understanding mother-in-law.

As a daughter-in-law becomes the mother of children, the relationship between the two women becomes some what less tense. The mother-in-law's interest increasingly turns to her grandchildren and less to the daughter-in-law. The housekeeping devolves more and more upon the daughter-in-law; the mother-in-law, if she chooses, can be free from all household duties but marketing, which is usually the work of elder women.

As the mother-in-law grows older, she turns over a greater part of her authority and responsibilities to her daughter-in-law, not just in theory but in practice. Sometimes the daughter-in-law may use her power fully and become arrogant. However, an old mother-in-law is never made to work more than she wants, and she is given the best food and clothing among the female members of the family.

Brothers-in-Law and Sisters-in-Law (ajimi)

This relationship includes the following: the husband's older brother (si-sŏngnim) and younger brother's wife (ajimi) and the husband's younger brother (si-tongsaeng) and older brother's wife (ajimi). The relationship between the older brother-in-law and younger sister-in-law occurs after two brothers are married. Therefore, there is no need of personal service for the older brother-in-law by the
younger sister-in-law. On the other hand, the bond between the brother-in-law and his older sister-in-law begins from the time the older brother is married and the younger brother is not, so the latter is in need of personal service. As we have noticed, previously the close relationship between the different sexes in a family is caused primarily by the need of personal service. This helps one to understand the distant feeling of the former relationship in contrast to the closeness and congeniality of the latter.

The older brother-in-law and his younger sister-in-law avoid meeting each other as much as possible even in the house. The latter may bring in the meal table for the former, but she must not look at him directly. If he enters the room, the ajimi gets up and leaves. Usually age is given a great deal of freedom and privilege, but even in her old age, the ajimi does not have the right to smoke in front of her sŏngnim. The extremely restrained and distant attitude is continued for life.

On the other hand, the relationship between the older sister-in-law and her younger brother-in-law is free and congenial. Before the latter is married the former takes partial responsibility for looking after his needs. However, they rigorously avoid teasing each other, for this relationship is based on mutual respect and, as much as possible, sex dichotomy is observed. One does not enter the other’s room unless the brother-in-law is a little child. If there are many years of age difference between them, the relationship is almost like that between the older sister and younger brother. But, the use of the “friendly form” of language towards the si-tongsaeng by the ajimi is forbidden. Marriage of the younger brother-in-law ends the close ties between them. Eventual establishment of an independent family by the younger brother further lessens the opportunity for close relationship. They visit each other’s family but their associations are almost entirely among the sisters-in-law themselves or among the brothers. It should be noted that the same pattern of relationships is observed even if the ajimi marries into the family since the si-tongsaeng has been married.

Relationship among Sisters-in-law

Brother’s Wife and Husband’s Sisters

This heading includes the relationships of younger brother’s wife (sae saram) and husband’s older sister (si-nwibî) and of the older brother’s wife (sŏngnim) and husband’s younger sister (si-nwibî) or (chagûn si-nwibî)\textsuperscript{19} are included. The first never occurs in the house-
hold, and while it is free of mutually irritating conditions, it does not play as important a part.

In order to understand the latter relationship, one must know the relationship of a younger sister with her older brother before the latter is married. The younger sister is one of the closest female members of the brother in the family, probably next to his mother. This warm relationship takes a new turn when the brother is married. Furthermore, the daughter imitates her mother in more ways than one; she learns to like or dislike persons whom her mother likes or dislikes. Her judgment, too, is primarily a reflection of her mother's. Under these circumstances her ties with her older brother's wife are conditioned primarily by the relationship of the mother with her daughter-in-law, which is the most uncertain and most irritating one in the family.

Consequently, since the mother's relationship with the new daughter-in-law is usually strained, his unmarried sister is likewise apt to resent her sister-in-law. Furthermore, the marriage of a brother terminates various functions which had served to draw the younger sister and brother together, such as cleaning the brother's room and waiting on him at meal times. She blames her sŏngnim for all these changes, and finds many faults with her; sometimes she may look for her new sister-in-law's mistakes and report them to her mother. The sŏngnim may dislike her si-nwibi very much, but she must not express it, and she must not try to explain the conflict between them to any one.

Usually these two sisters-in-law work together. The general principle of the kinship system would give the older authority over the younger, but this principle does not apply to them because the si-nwibi works through her mother. The si-nwibi assumes authority over her sŏngnim because of the mother's power and because of her familiarity with the household routine.

Occasionally the si-nwibi is cooperative with and helpful to her sŏngnim. Then, the new bride depends on her si-nwibi for almost everything. From her she quietly learns the various household duties in the household. This is, however, very rare.

If the si-nwibi is much younger, the sŏngnim acts like a big sister and takes care of her while no one else pays any attention to a baby girl in the house. In such cases their relationship is very congenial, and continues so even after the child becomes a grown-up girl. If the mother is not living, the sŏngnim prepares everything for the si-nwibi's marriage but cannot act for mother on wedding day.

Their relationship, good or bad, practically comes to an end with
the marriage of si-nwibi. Usually the marriage of si-nwibi is much encouraged by the sŏngnim, who often expresses her relief by saying, "Si-nwibi's marriage is like having had a bad tooth taken out." The si-nwibi afterwards occasionally visits her natal household, but she is just a visitor and treated as such by the sŏngnim.

**The Relationship among the Wives of Brothers**

This is the relationship particularly between the wife of an older brother (k'ŭn tongse) and the wife of a younger brother (chagun tongse). While the two brothers, after they are all married, live together in the same house, this relationship occurs and it induces much competition between the sisters-in-law. Two tongse work hard in order that they may be well accepted by the mother-in-law. The latter's preference of one against the other causes much jealousy between them. They are eager to get their husband's consideration, a desire which often makes them neglect their duty towards other members of the household.

Usually the k'ŭn tongse is married into the household first and has adjusted herself before the second-in-command, next to the mother-in-law, among the female members. She acts for the mother-in-law when the latter is away. In a family where the mother-in-law is not living the authority of the k'ŭn tongse reigns supreme. Sometimes, she may take full advantage of her position and demand a certain degree of blind obedience from the younger sister-in-law who must obey her as long as she lives in the same house. Even if the former unjustly criticizes her, the latter must not repudiate. To a certain degree, their relationship is parallel to that between the older and younger brothers.

In general, the k'ŭn tongse is very sympathetic towards chagun tongse because she has had the same difficult experiences following her marriage. She teaches the latter many ways and means to please the mother-in-law and how to avoid direct conflict with others in the household. She helps her to understand the peculiarities of each member of the household, and she sees to it that the young bride eats enough and gets enough rest. The congeniality between them is immediately reflected in the relationship between the two brothers. Also, it is not uncommon for sisters-in-law to lighten each other's burden and to protect one other from unjust criticisms.

Their relationship undergoes a change when they become mothers. Children's fights often cause conflict between the mothers. Success of one's child and failure of the other's in school or small undertakings may cause much jealousy and envy. However, the accepted pattern of
relationship and the mother-in-law's authority generally prevent overt clashes.

Usually a younger brother establishes a new home as soon as conditions permit, near his father's house. Therefore, the sisters-in-law normally live near each other even after each has a separate residence. At this stage their relationship takes another form, for there is no need of daily contact. Because the oldest brother has the responsibility for family celebrations, the chagün tongse often goes to k'ün tongse's house to help. While they work together the same old pattern of relationship, command and obedience, operates between them.

As they grow older, their relationship becomes very close, probably closer than that between consanguine sisters. They make frequent visits to each other and spend many hours talking over their experiences. As long as these two sisters-in-law live, their households under-make many family events cooperatively.

**Grandparents (cho pumo) and Grandchildren (sonji)**

The following relations are discussed in their section: grandfather (haraebi), grandmother (halmai), and grandson (sonji), granddaughter (sonji ttal) and grandfather-in-law (si-haraebi) and granddaughter-in-law (sonji menuri).²¹

A grandfather forsakes his usual austere attitude towards his grandchildren. The first grandchild is eagerly awaited, for his birth bestows on the grandparents the most revered positions in the family organization. In fact, birth of the first grandson is the proudest moment of their lives. If the first child is a girl, the grandparents are very disappointed. Sometimes such a child may be named Söpsöp-i ("regretful"). The final authority over the new born child, particularly if it is a primogeniture grandson, is in the hands of the grandparents as long as they live, and their relationship with him is spontaneous and unrestrained. The grandparents give no concern to disciplinary matters, which are left to the parents. As soon as the mother is able to get up and begins to work around the house, the responsibility of child care during the day time increasingly falls to the grandmother. It is not uncommon for a proud grandfather to walk around the neighborhood with a grandson in his arms.

Even after the boy has become twelve years of age or older, he feels freer and closer to his grandfather than to his father; but he usually confides his secrets to his mother rather than to his grandmother. Yet both grandparents attract their grandson always because they very seldom refuse anything to him.
The grandparents are fond of a granddaughter only temporarily, that is, as long as there is no grandson in the family. Usually their preference for a male child is so obvious that a girl becomes very conscious of her position even before she reaches six or seven years of age.

Grandparents are very eager to have the first grandson married as early as possible and to take a part in selecting his wife. Although they refrain from making any marriage contract by themselves, in the fear that blame may fall upon them in case of an unfortunate marriage, they nevertheless look about for a granddaughter-in-law, and they are expected to give their approval before a final decision is reached.

After the marriage of a grandson, the grandparents no longer feel as free as before towards him. However, the relationship between the grandfather and grandson never becomes as austere as that between father and son. Even though their love seemingly turns to other younger grandchildren, the grandparents' devotion for a primogeniture grandson remains in their hearts. Love and sympathy of grandparents-in-law towards the granddaughter-in-law often help to ease the latter's difficult and tense relationship with her mother-in-law. As long as they live, grandparents reside in the same house with the primogeniture grandson and his wife.

There occasionally occur other relationships under one roof, such as those among uncle, aunt, nephew and his wife, niece, and first cousins. These relationships are temporary and secondary. Though short lived, they play a part in maintaining the equilibrium in Hamlet society. Theoretically, exactly the same behavior is demanded among first cousins as among siblings between the uncle and aunt, and niece and nephew of the third degree as between parents and children; but in practice, there is no comparable loyalty and love among them.

All these secondary relationships exist in a household where two or more potentially independent households of consanguine siblings live together and shortly before the family segmentation occurs. In such a household, before the birth of children to the married couples, there is unity of action and interest among all members under the supervision of parents. After children are born to each couple, the unity is often weakened, but a restrained harmony is maintained among all members as long as the older parents live, for the latter always censor the behavior of younger people in the household.

One can hardly miss the important role of the complicated and numerous intra-familial relationships in maintaining harmony in the household. In general an individual is bound by many relationships of various kinds. Therefore one member is restrained by other members,
who, in turn are restrained by another groups of members, and so on to the eldest member in the family. This chain of relationships holds all members together in restrained harmony in one family, and also helps one to learn its proper role, patterned after the other members, in various stages of life.

The Inter-Familial Relationship

Thus far we have seen that the primary functioning unit of Upper Han Hamlet society is the family and household, depending on the stage of process of family dynamics, whose equilibrium is maintained through the inter-familial relationship. The equilibrium of Hamlet society in general is maintained by inter-familial relationship. Individuals do not function as independent units but as the members of functioning unit. For example, an individual acts as a daughter, son or wife or the customary head of household who represents the entire household. A gift is sent by a household to another household whose member is being married. The obligation also is of the household not of an individual. In Hamlet one prays not for one's own welfare but that of the family or household. A prayer for the birth of a male child is for the family; the fall harvest offering is made by the family for its welfare. Therefore, there is no doubt as to the importance of the inter-familial relationship in Hamlet society, and the principles as well as their functioning will bear investigation.

Hamlet contains two kinds of families, those of the same clan and those of different clans. The two types of families play distinctly different roles in every day life of Hamlet. To take the simpler kind of relationship first, the non-clan inter-familial relationships are based on principles of mutual respect and non-interference. There are no special taboos or social restrictions imposed upon each other. However, no marriage is contracted between the Han clan families and the others residing in the Hamlet. The young children of these families are playmates. Between the different age groups there is respect and politeness towards the older and congeniality towards the younger members.

In practice an arbitrary relationship, like that of the kinship system, dictates the external behavior of members of one household in relation to those of another. The arbitrary relationship between two families is based on the ages of two persons belonging to two different households and who have happened to associate closely each other. If two individuals, A and B, of two different households are of the similar age, between them an arbitrary relationship similar to that
between the male siblings is recognized. Other members of each household find their proper positions accordingly. That is, the son of A calls B ajaebi and refers to him as tongnae ajaebi ("neighborhood uncle") and A’s wife as neighborhood aunt. But these designations do not imply any obligation or responsibility as among the clan households. Two such households, whatever the nature of their relationship may be, maintains strict sex dichotomy; the only exceptions to this rule are that older women may speak to younger men without being criticized and that the young children may play together.

Differing vastly from the casual relationship of mutual respect and non-interference among the non-clan households the inter-familial relationship among the clan households is minutely organized and regulated according to the kinship principles, status of the headmen, ūiri and other factors.

The relationship between two households is never permanent for the heads of households change at least once in each generation. Whenever there is a shift of family head, the family undergoes a series of changes in its relationship. For example, let us suppose that household A is headed by the father and that households B and C are headed by younger sons. The relationship of households A to B and to C is determined by the father-son relationship; that between B and C by the older and younger brothers relationship. Household A is referred to as k'ūn chip ("big house"), and households B and C are respectively, tultchaen chip ("second house") and setchaen chip ("third house"). The households B and C look for assistance to A rather than to each other; B and C give greater help to A than to each other in time of need.

The death of the father changes the relationship between A and B, and A and C to one that exists between brothers. However, there is a closer tie between A and B, and A and C than B and C, for A is the primogeniture descent family. The families of B and C must maintain their allegiance to family A even though their father is dead.

The death of a brother in family A brings further changes; the relationship of A and B, and B and C are now those of uncle and nephew. The deaths of all three brothers and their wives bring another change; the relationship of Families A, B and C is now that of cousins. In the meantime, these three families no longer are referred to as the big or small houses by their members. Each family undergoes a similar process in each generation.

The relationship of one family to the other is geared to that of the family heads. The closer the degree of relationship between the two
individuals, the closer is the relationship of the two families. The status of a family among close relatives is also determined by the status of its family head in relationship to the others. That is, the father’s household has the higher prestige than the son’s; the older brother’s has higher status than the younger brother; and a primogeniture descendant family ranks higher than that of small uncle’s family. The responsibilities and rights of primogeniture descent families, regardless of the age of their heads are greater than those of other families. Economic position and the personalities of individuals may alter the pattern of relationship a little but do not change the principle.

In consideration of the fact that a large majority of families are members of Han clan and that the status of each family and closeness of relationship of one family to another is precisely determined, the inter-familial relationship appears to be mechanical. However, it must be understood that members of the Hamlet are not aware of this systematized mechanism.

Customarily, a group of closely related clan-families are clustered together along the roads because the sons’ houses are usually built around the father’s house, or across an alley within ten yards distance. These households frequently use the same well; and their members visit each other innumerable times daily. These frequent and casual visits are evidence of *ūiri* among the related households. Neglect of such visits, particularly by women, is criticized for neglecting *ūiri*. Women make these visits and work together at sewing, washing, and grain cleaning. Men often gather to talk about rice planting, prospects of harvest, and cattle marketing. The parents make a daily round of their younger sons’ establishments to see that all is well.

These visits make it possible for each household to know about the needs as well as doings of another household. The younger brother must offer his help or that of his sons for needed work to his older brother before the latter makes a verbal request. They go out together to work on the older brother’s farm one day and next day they may go to work at the younger brother’s farm if needed. The latter is not repayment, for it is *ūiri* of the younger towards his older brother, and vice versa. One does not expect renumeration for the help given to the close relatives.

Every household does not own all the farming tools necessary. One farming tool owned by one of these households is shared by the others. Even the use of an ox is shared among them during busy seasons. Wealthier households are expected to share their harvest with less fortunate related households, and this sharing is taken for granted by men of *ūiri*. If the harvest is very good, a household may
make a cake for the harvest offering or for the New York's celebration, and the cake is shared by the relative families.

These closely-knit clan relative households and families share their misfortunes as well as their happiness. The members of one family must pay visits to another family whose members are ill. If a death occurs in a family, other relative families must take their parts in funeral although the entering the house where death has occurred within a given period of time is ordinarily tabooed. But in the case of the close relative families, one must take a part in bathing the corpse as well as keeping watch over the dead and sewing of shrouds. Some become grave diggers, coffin carriers, and others mourners and cooks.

In Upper Han Hamlet the functioning unit is the family or household whose members undertake the social and economic activities. However, the goal is never achieved. A family, therefore, looks for the needed help in the closest clan families, and each is ready to give needed assistance to the others. Necessity for help occurs at the time of crises such as funerals and weddings. In such occasions, the clan families function as a unit. The functioning together of many units in time of need without disturbing the equilibrium of the entire society is made possible because the close relationship has been always maintained among them through daily contacts, social and economic, and the idea of closer blood relationship. Hamlet society is not a mere aggregate of households and families, but is a large unit which encompasses inter-related and functionally integrated units.

Notes

1 The "respect from" and "friendly form" are not literal translations, but these phrases have the right connotations.

In Seoul, four different forms are in use. In addition to hapsoyo and haera, they use hau, "intermediary respect form" and hoge, "intermediary form.''

2 The use of different language forms is not uniform in all parts of Korea. For example, in Seoul society the "respect form" is used in addressing strangers who are older or who are of socially superior status regardless of the speaker's age. Hau, "intermediary respect form," is used in conversing with strangers who are older but of socially inferior status, or with younger persons of superior social status. The "friendly form" is used among very close friends of the same age group during childhood and adolescence and also in talking to younger children. When friends address a young married man, the "friendly form" is replaced by the "intermediary form."

3 Among relatives in Seoul, the use of "respect form" and "friendly form" is in general like that in the Hamlet. In addition, wife addresses her
husband in the "respect form" while they are young and live with the parents-
in-law. In later years, they may speak to each other in the "intermediary
respect form." Also a woman addresses unwed younger members of her
husband's generation in the "intermediary respect form."

4 The Korean terms in italics within parentheses are used only in referring
to each other. Hereafter they are so used in this section unless specified otherwise.

5 The detailed study of marriage is made in Chapter VII.

6 The words debi and emi are used in calling as well as in referring to the
father and mother.

7 An indifferent attitude towards family affairs and towards the members of
a family is considered a virtue in a man.

8 There are no ceremonies around menstruation. See also Life Cycle Func-
tions in Chapter VIII.

9 The make-up for unmarried girls if done solely with white pun, which is
similar to the American pancake make-up, to make a lighter appearance.
On wedding days and thereafter, females may pluck their eyebrows. See also
Life Cycle Functions in Chapter VIII.

10 The various mourning periods are explained in Life Cycle Functions in
Chapter VIII.

11 Hyöng is used in direct address also.

12 The word sönji is used in direct address as well as referring to the older
sister by the younger sister.

13 The term oraebi is used in direct address as well as referring to the older
brother by the younger sister.

14 Nwibi is used in direct address as well as in referring.

15 Only those affinal relationships which occur in one family are included.
Accordingly, such English terms as brother-in-law, sister-in-law, mother-in-
law and father-in-law, etc. used in this section refer to the members of
husband's family.

16 The word aga ("child") is used by parents-in-law in addressing thier
daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law addresses her father-in-law as aebi and
mother-in-law, emi.

17 There is no one Korean word which includes the older and younger
brothers-in-law.

18 The differentiation of older and younger sister-in-law is based on the
ages of their husbands. The word ajimi is used in addressing as well as in
referring to the older sister-in-law. Hyöngsu may be used in referring to the
same.

19 Sae saram and sönjnim are used also in direct address. Nwibi is used in
direct address instead of si-nwibi, which is used in referring.

20 The wife of older brother is addressed as sönjnim by the younger brother's
wife, and the latter is addressed as sae saram by the former.

21 The haraebi and halmae are used in direct address by all. The grand-
parents use the same terms in addressing grandchildren as the parents.

22 The writer distinguishes the customary head from the legal head, for
the grandmother, even though her grandson is the legal head, functions as the head of her household. The relationship of her household with other households is based on her status among the clan members.

23 The arbitrary relationship is not necessarily based on the heads of two households. Sometimes, this relationship is made by female members such as aunt and niece. However, such relationship is made usually between the married persons of the same sex.

24 \( \text{Uiri} \) may be phrased as one’s conscious responsibility in relation to others; however, there is no one English word which conveys this meaning. A son who gives the best care he can provide for his aged father has \( \text{uir}i \). An uncle who demands payment for rice he loaned to his poor nephew is not a man of \( \text{uir}i \). A son who forgets to carry on the ancestor worship ceremonies for his dead father is man who neglects his \( \text{uir}i \).

25 The status of family is different from that of individual in a family in that the prestige of primogeniture descent overweighs that of age or of generation.
CHAPTER VII

FARM ECONOMY

The techniques of economic life are, of course, a part of any culture. Farming is the principal means of livelihood of Upper Han Hamlet, and therefore, a careful study of farm economy is essential to an understanding of its culture. For this purpose, this chapter contains first, a general description of the agricultural practices in Hamlet; second, a review of the daily agricultural activities; third, the annual activities, which include farming and marketing; and, finally, the dynamic elements of the farm household as an economic unit.

General Characteristics of Agriculture

The general agricultural characteristics of the region, which includes North Hamgyŏng and South Hamgyŏng and North P'yan and South P'yan Provinces, can be best understood by comparison with the southern region, which includes all the remaining provinces. These two regions differ in crops, climate, and the methods of agriculture. The following table shows the contrast in crops most graphically.

\[
\text{Percentage Distribution of Acreage Under Principal Crops,}
\text{Northern and Southern Regions}^2
\text{1930 (1,000 acres)}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>South Acreage</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>North Acreage</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total Acreage</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>2,999</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>869</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>3,868</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Glutinous Rice</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Upland Rice</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>1,898</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>3,190</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheat</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naked Barley</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soy Beans</td>
<td>1,092</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>1,942</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Beans</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>417</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Beans</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Beans</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*1931 figures.
Rice, barley, naked barley, and soy beans are much more extensively raised in the south, whereas in the north, wheat, Indian beans, green beans, and other varieties of beans predominate. More than 85 percent of the barley and naked barley and three-fourths of the total wet-land rice crop are raised in the south.

The sharp differences in climate have been a strong contributing factor in the regional differences in agriculture. Sharp distinctions exist between north and south in the field cropping system. The north is sometimes called the “spring seeding zone,” whereas the south is known as “autumn seeding zone.” In the north the single crop system is prevalent because of the severity of the winter; whereas in the south double cropping or multiple cropping prevail. In the north, the temperature is so low in winter that no crops can be sown in the fields, and farmers are forced to sow in the spring. Some experiments have shown that in the plains of the southern fringe of the northern region, winter wheat and some other crops are possible; but in the highland districts, especially in regions which lie at altitudes of 500–1,000 meters, it is impossible to raise winter crops. In the southern region, the acreage of field crops comprise nearly three-fifths of the total field crop acreage in Korea. In this section, winter wheat and winter barley are ordinarily found. Barley is the most important crop for double cropping in paddy fields in the winter season.

Farm tools and their manner of utilization also differ somewhat between north and south. Generally speaking, the forms of tools and the methods of using them in the north are adapted to dry fields, and in the south to watery fields.

Fertilizers have been introduced in recent years but are not as yet extensively used. The preparation of manure is one of the painstaking jobs for farmers. Manuring is absolutely necessary for the purpose of maintaining soil fertility. Cattle are used for ploughing.

The farming methods of the present day are handed down from the practical experience of past centuries and are very different from Western methods. The distinctive characteristics are, in general, the simplicity of farm tools and implements, the extensive manual labor in seeding, weeding, ploughing and harvesting, the intensive manual application of fertilizers and manure, the absence of fallowing and the absence of dairying. Another distinguishing characteristic is that the Korean farmer customarily owns small plots of land in different locations within a distance that ordinarily allows the farmer to go from one to the other in the course of his daily work. A household may own from two to ten and more lots. Farm houses are clustered together in the valley, and thus, the work is inevitably away from the house.
The farming economy of Upper Han Hamlet, although it has its own peculiarities, fits into the agricultural pattern of the northern region of Korea. Rice, wheat, millet and soy beans, in order of the diet preference of the people, are the important grains produced. The greatest production is of wheat; millet, rice and soy beans follow in descending order of importance. Potatoes are raised as a supplement to grain in the diet. Every household raises a great quantity of green vegetables. Of these cabbages and turnips are the most important, but cucumbers, peppers, green onions, garlic, squashes and various other vegetables are also abundant. Hemp is raised by all households.

A few people have pear and peach orchards, and a few mulberry trees in or about the enclosure and chestnut orchards on mountain or hill. Fruit is sold for cash or used at home, primarily for children. The work involved in the fruit orchards is done exclusively by women except for the planting of new trees which is done by men. There is scarcely any work involved in the chestnut orchard except collecting the nuts in the fall which is done by young boys. Almost every household produces honey which has been one of the sources of cash income in recent years.

The inhabitants of Hamlet are all farmers, and the farm household is the primary economic unit in Hamlet. The members of one household jointly cultivate several plots of land. Houses are clustered together along the roads and a small vegetable garden plot lies directly adjacent to each house. In most cases the several plots of land belonging to one household are scattered all over Hamlet or Omae Village, and the house is located away from the fields. The distance between houses and fields ranges from a relatively few steps up to seven ri, about an hour's walk. There are also three market places which serve Hamlet, located at a distance ranging from ten to thirty ri from Hamlet. A farm household lives and performs almost all of its work within a radius of thirty ri. Outside of this range, farmers have little knowledge, interest or acquaintance.

The activities of the people are strongly centered about the house and fields, and during the farming seasons—spring, summer, and fall—are restricted largely to the land. Work in the market is secondary to that in the fields. The activities of women and children, however, are largely confined to the house and the garden. Some marketing is carried on by old women, who have little responsibility in farm activities.

The land holdings of each household are usually distinguished as "rice field," "dry field," "garden" and "mountain" according to their agricultural use. The plots so designated are devoted, respectively, to rice, other crops, such as millet, wheat, soy beans, vegetables; and summer grazing and turf or wood for fuel. Most of the "rice field" is
located to the east of Hamlet near Pŏn'gae Lake, and along the K'ūngae Ch'ŏn. Dry fields are scattered all over Omae Village; the mountains and hills are all on the northern side of Hamlet.

**Daily Activities**

The round of daily activity in any household provides the fundamental pattern of Hamlet economic life and shows the close integration of the activities of the individual members. It is to be expected that there is some variation at different seasons of the year, since farm work itself is dependent upon seasonal changes, and house work is closely related to farm work. Work about the house, however, is less varied than that in the fields and less conditioned by the seasons and the weather. Other tasks are adjusted around these comparatively regular duties.

Responsibility for economic activities is divided by sex, and the chain of authority is among members of the same sex in most cases. The father has authority over the produce of the farm which is worked primarily by men, and is responsible for its disposal for the maintenance of the household. He makes the decision as to how much grain should be kept as well as what is to be sold for cash and the manner of its sale. Cash from the sale of large amounts of firewood or of grain is retained by the father. It is he who pays the taxes and sends money to sons who are in school and who provides money for important events such as births, weddings, funerals, ceremonies of ancestor worship.

The authority of the mother or the oldest female in the household in economic matters is primarily over the female members. She has authority over the grain allotted for household consumption and the various things which women may raise or produce for the purpose of getting extra cash. She keeps the money from the sale of these goods and uses it for the welfare of the members of household as she sees fit. Men do not openly interfere in women's affairs; women dare not do so in men's affairs.

Since there is general sex dichotomy at work, men and women are separated and consequently the relative authority in economic matters among members of the two sexes is not distinctly observable. The mother, however, often acts as mediator between father and son. If a son is in need of money, it is the mother who persuades her husband to give it to him. If unsuccessful, she spares for the son whatever she has at her own disposal. If a son is ill, it is the mother who keeps him from
work until he recovers. The mother is, in more ways than one, a connecting bridge between the older and younger generations as well as between male and female members. This relationship helps in producing greater harmony in the household's functioning as an economic unit. Even though the entire household makes concerted efforts for the benefit of all its members, each member has a different status and different privileges in economic as well as social matters.

The daily activities of the farm household and the daily work which its members carry on begin and end in the house. The house, which usually faces the south, opens directly into the yard which is enclosed by a sorghum or corn-stalk fence, to which a gate is attached, also facing the south. A small vegetable garden and a few fruit trees are also enclosed within this yard. In front is a large pressed-mud courtyard which is used for threshing during the harvest season; in the back are a few fruit trees and soy jugs are placed there.

The house itself is divided into two parts, the kitchen, which is on a lower level and usually comprises about half the entire building, and rooms for living sleeping and eating. The family ox is kept in a barn built in one corner of the kitchen, and grain and farm implements are stored in a room built above the cow barn. One part of the kitchen, that nearest to the sleeping and eating rooms, which is raised to the same level as these rooms, is called chôngju and is used as an all-purpose room by women during the daytime and as a sleeping room by the older members at night. Two or three built-in clay stoves, with iron kettles on top, are attached to the chôngju. These stoves are connected to the rooms by tunnel-like chambers of stone beneath the floor, and thus the rooms are heated at the same time that cooking is done.

A typical day for an agricultural village is any day in spring, summer or fall. The day begins for a farm household before the break of dawn, about four in the morning. The first duty of the day falls to the daughters-in-law: one starts a fire under the clay stove and continues to feed dry leaves to the fire until the water in the kettle starts to boil; another carries water from the well until the big jug in a corner of the kitchen is filled. Another woman must set as many tables as there are grown-up men in the household. If there are many daughters-in-law, each takes a turn in the various tasks. By the time the water begins to boil in the kettle, the mother-in-law comes to the scene to supervise. Little children are ready to do errands, such as fetching a few more cucumbers or squashes from the garden or getting a bottle of soy sauce from the back yard.

By this time the men are dressed for the day and have gone out to the stream or to the back yard to wash their faces or to smoke their pipes.
While their husbands are out, each woman goes back to the room which she and her husband share to put away the bedding and sweep the floor. The mother-in-law or the eldest daughter-in-law remains in the kitchen and dishes out the *pap*, boiled grain, left over from the meal the evening before into each individual’s *pap*-bowl. Bowls are filled in order of age for both sexes, the bowls of all males being filled first. A bowl of *pap* and a bowl of warm water or of soup are set in front of the meal table. As soon as they return from washing, breakfast is served at individual tables to all of the men in the room of the head of the household. Two young boys may be served at one table. Sometimes the young grandsons and grandfather are served together if the latter so desires. Young women carry breakfast tables of about five by three feet in size made of lacquered wood, and place one in front of each man who sits on the floor near the wall adjoining the kitchen. Women make several trips to the kitchen to fetch more soup or water when asked. Except for necessary noise in serving, meals are held in quiet, for no conversation is allowed. By 5 A.M. or earlier the men’s breakfast is over and they leave for the fields. At this time the women and female children have their breakfast in the kitchen all together in silence.

The responsibility for day-to-day house work and for the care of the children belongs to the women in general. The mother must not show partiality to her own children. Such an act is feared because it might disrupt the harmony and unity of the household. The grandmother may go outside with the younger children as soon as breakfast is over, or she may go to the market place with a few eggs, some grain, or a dozen pears. The young women continue the daily housekeeping. One may take the family washing to the well; one carries water to refill the water jug, and another does the breakfast dishes. After finishing the laundry, one of the women may sweep the yard and another may prepare the grain for dinner. The feeding of chickens and the cleaning of the cattle barn must also be taken care of by the women. A young daughter may busy herself fathering mulberry leaves for the silkworms which are fed several times a day.

Before lunch is ready, the grandmother has returned from the market, the men from the fields, and the children are back from school. Usually lunch is served the same way as breakfast. During the busy seasons, the mother-in-law and the eldest daughter-in-law may carry lunches to the fields for the men. Lunch is the biggest meal of the day during the busy farming season and consists of soup, vegetables or fish and a large bowl of mixed-grain *pap*.

In winter women are free from household duties between lunch and the time to begin preparations for supper, a period of about two to
three hours. They retire to the chŏngju to catch up with the sewing or weaving for the members of their own consanguine family, or engage in ironing clothes by the old Korean method of folding and placing the garments on a flat stone and then beating them. The children return from school during this time. They are given little attention because every one is very busy, and also partly because a mother’s special attention to her own child is much criticized.

In summer, during this afternoon period, the women must work in the vegetable garden where they pick cucumbers, summer squashes, and peppers at the proper time, and they see to it that these are prepared and dried for winter use. The water jug must be refilled and the floors and yard swept again. Before the men return from the fields with the ox, the cattle feed, a mixture of unhusked soy beans and wheat or barley, must be cooked.

As soon as the men return, supper, a meal similar to lunch, is served in the front yard in the same manner as other meals. The yard is illuminated by a fire of half-dried wood, the smoke of which serves to keep mosquitoes away.

After the meal the older men go to the toch’ōng, the younger men to the sŏdang, and the children go outside to play. Thus, once again women are left by themselves in the house where they eat their supper and do the dishes together. Before they leave the kitchen the water jug must be refilled. The mother-in-law, after having taken out from the store room enough grain for the next day, retires to her room, and others then follow her example.

Before the men come home from the toch’ōng or sŏdang, the wives lay out the bedding in their own rooms. Only then is their day’s work over. Young women may get together in one house for a chat, but more often they must sew clothes and mend stockings for the family. Women’s hands must not be idle. When the men return to their houses from the toch’ōng or sŏdang, the day is ended, usually shortly after 9 P.M. in summer and much later in winter.

Work around and inside the house is continuous and varies very little from day to day and from season to season. It is these continuous activities which provide members of a household with their daily food, clothing and shelter. What variation there is in this daily housework pattern is insignificant and is usually caused by seasonal change in the work in the fields. The daily chores which concern food and shelter must be continued. The day-to-day work continues throughout the year without any appreciable alteration; even on days of important events such as births, deaths, marriage or harvest festivals, although many new activities are added, this pattern remains.
From this short sketch we learn that the center of daily activities is the house and the persons most involved are women. Men and women are separated for the greater part of the day. No occasion is provided for men and women other than husband and wife to get together without disturbing the daily work pattern. The house is the greater part of the women's world; it is the domain over which women have the supreme authority. Chomjan-han ("gentlemanly") men do not interfere with the housekeeping; men who stay in the house all the time are not considered to be manly. Abhorrence on the part of men for work of any kind in the kitchen, which is known as the women's place, is the universally accepted attitude. The kitchen is the place where women spend the greater part of each day and where they are found at any time of the day.

Annual Activities

Men's activities are principally outside the house during the farming season as well as in winter, and are conditioned by the seasons. At the outset, it should be made clear that, since the pattern of annual economic activities is interwoven with social activities, it is impossible to separate one from the other completely. Also men's activities are seemingly independent of those of women; but their undertakings are actually closely correlated with and serve the same economic needs of the household.

Any discussion of the pattern of the annual round of farm work necessarily involves the activities of men for all the tasks not strictly connected with the running of the household. The work of the men is predominantly in the fields, and secondarily in the mountains and in marketing. Seasonal changes dictate, to a considerable degree, the nature of their work. The comparatively regular seasonal rhythm of the year and long-continued traditional practices necessarily result in the formation of certain patterns.

For farmers and their families, New Year's day literally means the beginning afresh of everything. On New Year's Day people do not wear soiled clothing nor do they eat food left over from the previous day. With the close of the holiday season on the 15th of January, farmers get together informally and talk about the coming planting and manure-making. Everyone makes guesses about the harvest and the weather of the coming year. It is believed that plenty of snow means plenty of rain during the farming season; a large ring around the full moon is the sign
of good harvest. The weather at this season is bitterly cold but sunny bright days occur at times.

The farmer’s visits to the toch’ōng become less and less frequent on sunny days in February. While he waits for warm weather, he checks to see if the pit in the back yard where the human refuse and straw are kept for a year is filled and whether the decomposition is progressing satisfactorily. He also checks on the amount of ash and animal refuse collected by the women during the winter; this is kept in another pit in the back yard. He examines the farm implements and seeds, and makes sure that the family ox is receiving better feed than in the winter season so that it, too, will be ready for the hard work of the spring. If, as is often done, the ox has been sold after the last harvest, he must buy a new one before ploughing begins.

On a sunny day in the latter part of February, the farmer and his son remove the night soil from the pit with shovels and carry it to the pile of ashes and animal excrement. These are thoroughly mixed and dried. When the manure is ready for use, younger boys are asked to distribute it to the plots of land to be ploughed. Younger children lead the ox, which is loaded with bags of prepared manure to the destinations where they pile the manure in several places. This is repeated until all the manure prepared is moved from the yard to the fields. All through February of the lunar calendar the farmer has little work to do; he patiently awaits warmer weather and the Hansik ceremony which falls in the beginning of March.

Hansik is the day when the frozen earth is traditionally thought to begin to thaw. On this day, a ceremony of ancestor worship is carried on at the cemeteries. Every person eats rice pap, meat, vegetables and drinks a great deal of rice wine. This is the first day after the New Year’s holiday on which the people may eat plenty of food, and they now feel physically and psychologically prepared to tackle the hard work ahead.

On the first sunny day after the Hansik, the farmer begins to plough the wheat fields. Ploughing with ox-drawn implements is usually begun by older men. They are very careful to see that the soil is completely overturned and that last year’s ridges are made into furrows for the present year. When the ploughing is well on the way, a younger boy is asked to take it over, and the father and an elder son begin planting the wheat. A line of shallow furrows is made on top of the ridges and the wheat is planted by hand, the father sowing the seeds in the furrows, and a younger son following and covering the seeds first with the prepared manure, and then with earth. As soon as one plot is completed, the working unit moves to another plot. Crop rotation, particularly
between wheat and millet, is practiced. The ploughing of the dry fields continues for millet planting, potato and other vegetables.

By the time all the dry fields have been prepared, the paddy fields become wet and soft enough for ploughing. Only a small portion is ploughed at first for a seedbed. The seeds are planted and manure is applied in the same manner as for other grains. The first ploughing of the remaining paddy fields, where the roots of the previous crop still remain, is usually completed by the beginning of April. Now nothing can be done until the seedlings become large enough for transplanting and enough water, a depth of about two inches, is accumulated in the ploughed fields from rain. The farmer then turns his attention to the wheat fields for the first weeding which is done manually with the aid of a small hoe. He squats between the ridges, softens the hardened earth around the wheat plants, and removes the weeds. This work, which is considered to be comparatively easy, is done by anyone who has time to spare. The first weeding of the millet fields follows soon afterwards.

By the latter part of April or the beginning of May, the rice seedlings are ready for transplanting. The farmer patiently waits for a good rain for his fields and ploughs even on the rainy days in order not to lose any time. If he is reasonably sure that the rain is not going to cause a flood, he commences transplanting rice with the help of every male in his household for he can waste no time between the second ploughing and transplanting.

Early in the morning seedlings of about five inches in height are loaded onto the ox and transported from the seedbed to the paddy field, which is now under about two inches of water. The farmer and his sons plant the seedlings about ten inches apart and young boys keep them supplied with seedlings in bunches of ten. When transplanting on one plot is finished, they move on to another. Before the rice plants are rooted deep into the earth, a heavy rain is as much dreaded as a drought, for a heavy rain would wash out the seedlings overnight and a drought would burn them up within a day, and planting would have to be redone. The only means which farmers have of combating floods or droughts is to utilize the K'üngae-ch'ǒn and the Pǒn'gæ Lake. If there is too much rain after planting, water is drained into the stream from the paddy fields and, conversely, stream water is led to the fields when there is a drought. These measures, however, are often inadequate.

Although rice is not the main crop of the Hamlet, the greatest attention is paid to it all through the summer. The weeding of the rice field is repeated three or four times until the plants become strong. In weeding, men and boys wade in the water between the rows of rice plants and pull out the weeds by hand.
In the latter part of May, the second seeding of wheat and millet is done. Soy beans are planted in the furrows between the ridges of wheat by the women at the time when the wheat has grown to about ten inches. Planting of soy beans is considered to be woman’s work probably because it occurs while the men are busy with the rice transplanting. Shallow holes about three to four inches apart are made with small hoes. Three to five soy bean seeds are placed in each hole and covered with earth. Often little girls help to drop the soy beans into the holes or to cover them with earth. Joint cropping of wheat and soy beans is a common practice in Hamlet.

As soon as the planting of rice and soy beans is finished, the third weeding of the millet fields begins. The first weeding of wheat and millet fields is primarily for the purpose of softening the earth. The second weeding of wheat is the last, for wheat plants are by this time tall enough so that new weeds do not hinder the growth and the soy beans planted between the ridges in the wheat fields make it very difficult for any one to work without destroying the young shoots. The third weeding of millet has a different purpose. The crowded young millet plants must be thinned out to give them space to grow freely. This weeding is particularly necessary, it is believed, because the stalks and ears of millet are much larger than wheat and without such a thinning the best harvest cannot be obtained. This weeding is done manually with the aid of a small hoe. Weaker plants are removed to provide room for the taller and stronger plants. As the farmer removes some plants, earth is packed around the bottoms of the others so that they will not fall.

All through the farming season, vegetable gardens are looked after by women. They plant the vegetable seeds and weed several times. At the end of May because the food supply is now very scant, the women dig around among the potato plants removing the larger potatoes and leaving the smaller to continue to grow. This method of harvesting of potatoes continues until about the end of July. At this time the garden must be prepared for cabbages and turnips for winter consumption. The farmer finds time to plough the garden again and applies whatever manure is left. Before the first part of August, the cabbage and turnip seeds are planted.

On rainy days in summer and when it is not needed for labor, the ox is pastured in the hills. At other times, it is kept in the barn and small boys bring cut grass home for it.

As soon as the rainy season, which falls in June or early July, is over, a period of bright sunny days is sure to follow. The farmer, with the help of his sons, starts to prepare the ground for the harvest threshing.
New mud brought from the hills is spread over the yard, tamped down as hard as possible, and allowed to dry until it becomes almost as hard as concrete. A few large, round mats woven from rice straw are also spread in the yard for the threshing.

The wheat harvest which begins at the end of June is, for the most part, by manual labor. Wheat plants are cut with sickles and made into bundles which are left out in the fields for a few days to dry. Later, they are loaded onto the ox and brought to the yard, where they are stacked for further drying. Usually two men, standing opposite each other, thresh the wheat by striking the bundles against mats. After this is completed, the women take over and gather the grain, storing it in the barn temporarily. The wheat harvest is followed by the millet and soy bean harvests. On a windy fall day, the women take the stored grain to the yard and pour it into a large basket placed on the ground in such a manner that the chaff is blown away by the wind.

After Ch’usŏk, the festival on the 15th of August, farmers begin the rice harvest which continues on through September. The paddy fields are drained a few days in advance so that the rice stalks will be dry before the cutting starts. The remainder of the procedure is the same as that for other grains. The harvesting of the secondary grains, such as red and green beans, sorghum, and sesame follows. Before the weather gets too cold, the farmer must stack up enough straw and hay to feed the ox during the winter, and he must also gather and prepare firewood. He ploughs the dry fields once again so that husks and leaves are put under the surface to decompose and aid in fertilizing the field.

As soon as the leaves start to fall in autumn, young boys are sent to the household and clan mountains to gather the fallen leaves with rakes for the winter fuel. Later the father also joins them. There are a few days in autumn when Han clan families are allowed to get fire wood for the coming winter from the clan mountains. The number of persons per household and the kind of wood to be chopped is determined by the elders, and specific oral instructions are given to each household. The felling of trees is strictly forbidden; only the branches of trees may be cut. Wood for fuel is brought home and dried, and is often sold at the market for cash. Young boys continue to gather leaves in the mountains until none is left and snow covers the hills.

No one violates the unwritten regulations covering the cutting of trees even though they provide no punishment for violators. Everyone who goes to get fuel in the mountains knows that he represents his household and he also knows that its good reputation is far more important than a few more pieces of wood. Family reputation and prestige bring about conformance with the accepted pattern.
Cabbages and turnips are ready to be harvested by the latter part of September. The larger ones are brought home and put into the um, a large hole dug in the back yard, in which they are kept for winter use. The remainder, about 40 heads of cabbage and twenty turnips per person, are taken to the Sea of Japan, a distance of five ri, washed and salted, and brought back to the house. The women pickle them, and they are the most important vegetables used during the winter. While the pickling is under way, the men are busy putting up new fences of corn or sorghum stalks. This comprises the last of the preparations for the coming winter.

Markets and marketing have been an integral part of farm economy in Korea. Where there are farm villages there are always markets. Each hamlet or village does business with several markets; each market serves several villages. In 1932 there were 1,300 village markets in operation in Korea. Through the medium of full-time merchants these village markets serve the town and city markets, and, in turn, receive manufactured goods from them.

Ordinarily market places are located near village cross-roads or in or near towns. Such market places may have only a few permanent houses and consequently, they do not operate on rainy days. Markets function for one-day periods at intervals of either four or five days, during which farmers bring in their produce for sale and buy needed goods from the merchants.

Merchants usually have a definite place under the roofs of permanent houses or in tents where goods are exhibited. On market days officials call at these recognized places and collect the market use tax. Farmers usually sit down at the roadside with their goods displayed for sale in front of them, and thus evade the tax. Merchants sell dried-fish, salt, cloth, shoes, candies, dishes and other manufactured goods, and the farmers, farm products and wood for fuel. Occasionally, barter occurs among the farmers themselves when they are eager to get rid of their goods in a hurry.

In larger market places, a section is set aside for the sale of cattle and other domestic animals, such as chickens and pigs. The cattle markets are irregular, and sometimes weeks may pass without their opening. However, just after the harvest or before the spring ploughing season, cattle markets operate in full swing. Farmers who desire to sell or buy cattle make their transactions there through a group of middlemen.

The country markets are not merely places for trade. Each has numerous eating places where the people may get together. Men usually go where liquor is sold, and women gather by themselves in another place. Lunches may be purchased for five cents. While eating, the
people exchange bits of news, and news of other villages is carried home. The market plays an important role in providing a meeting place of parents who have marriageable sons and daughters. The most outstanding characteristics of markets in Hamgyöng Provinces are the numerical dominance of women over men and the short hours of market operation. Women do the marketing while men are busy with farm duties throughout the year except during a short period after harvest when men take over the operation of markets. Markets are in full swing by seven o’clock in the morning and are generally over by twelve. Most women leave for home before lunch, but men may gather together at the eating places again after markets are closed. Even in summer, market places are almost vacant by five o’clock.

In Hamlet until mid-October, family marketing is done almost daily by the women who sell fruit, red pepper, silkworm cocoons, and other farm products and, in turn, buy needles, thread, pieces of cloth, rubber shoes, candies, and other desired items. This work is a part of their daily activities and continues throughout the year. The annual marketing of grain and cattle is, however, done by the men. A farmer, after the harvest, turns to the market. He and his wife estimate the amount of grain required for the household during the coming year and sell the surplus. Rarely can a farmer wait for the spring to sell his grain at high price, for cash is needed for the coming festivals and for taxes. He goes to the market with two or three bushels of rice or wheat at a time, loaded on the back of the ox. Most farmers must also sell their better firewood for cash.

There are four markets where each Hamlet household may do its marketing. Yanghwa is twenty-five ri west of Hamlet, about a three hours’ walk; Sŏkhŭ is ten ri southeast of Hamlet, and hour’s walk. The latter has been in existence for only a decade and has become the one most frequented by the people of Upper Han Hamlet. Sinch’ang is about twenty-five ri east of Hamlet, and this market, being also a harbor and a somewhat larger town, provides the best opportunity to get cash. People usually think that there is much money in Sinch’ang and are sure of getting better prices for their firewood there because “there are so many people in the town, and it is very far from the mountains.” Pukch’ŏng, the fourth market, is the largest and oldest in the county, and is located thirty ri directly north of Hamlet, a walk of about three to four hours. The market days in these four places occur at different times so that people can go to each in turn if they so desire.

As New Year’s day approaches, a farmer and his sons have more free time. They spend many hours talking with neighbors about their harvest of the past year and plans for the coming year. Most of the day
the men stay in the toch’ōng or sódang where they often weave baskets and mattresses for home use or for sale; occasionally they stay home to do this weaving particularly when some implement they have in the house is needed. Men who stay home all the time are often teased for their over-attachment to family life. During this comparatively leisure period, chess and card-playing are the most popular games for men. With the arrival of New Year’s day, the pattern of annual activity begins over again.

The description of the repeated, closely patterned daily and annual activities clearly indicates that the former fall primarily to the women within the confines of the house and yard, and the latter to the men out of doors. These two series of activities are not independent of each other, but are complementary and interdependent. The division of labor by sex is an integral part of the accepted way of life and custom forbids close associations between people of different sexes. It should be noted that the economic activities of men and women occupy most of their time, for economic security is the most important factor in maintaining their society and agriculture requires continued labor.

The Dynamic Process of Farm Economy

A farm household is the basic functional unit of the economy. The dynamic operation of this unit may be divided into two parts: one functions between generations, and the other among all members of farm household.

Property is an essential part of a new household and the inheritance practices, described in Chapter IV, partially explain the process of transmission from one generation to another. The father does not have complete authority over the disposal of the property but must follow traditional practices. It should be noted, too, that the chain of descent of permanent ownership and the younger siblings who reside in the same household until segmentation occurs are only temporary co-owners and considered as temporary members of the family. As younger sons leave to establish their own homes, they must secure land of their own by means other than inheritance.

Younger sons work on a family farm with the eldest brother and father. What they produce belongs to all and is used for all. However, if the family’s economic condition permits, part of the returns from a younger son’s labor is accumulated as savings year after year, and in due time, this becomes the basis for the purchase of his own property.
This is done in the following manner: the father and the sons mutually agree that the produce from a specified plot of land is to be given to a younger son. Usually this arrangement is made after the younger son’s marriage. The younger son and his parents are very insistent that such an allotment be made, for this is the only way to secure funds for the purchase of a piece of land and to make possible the setting up of an independent household. The size of the plot whose usufruct is allotted to a younger son is determined by the father, and the son must accept his decision. This does not mean that the younger son works solely on his allotted land; farming continues to be collective. At harvest, the father sees to it that the produce from the land assigned to a younger son is sold and the income invested for him. When enough money has been accumulated and a lot of land is available for purchase, the father buys it and ear-marks it as the property of the younger son. Work on this newly purchased land is collectively done, and its yield is also used collectively as long as the younger son continues to live in his father’s household.

If there are many grown-up sons in a family, one may be hired by a related household where he lives during the farming season and where he receives the produce from a piece of land according to an agreement made at the time of hiring. The income becomes the son’s own property, and the money thus realized is invested for his future use in setting up an independent household. It must be stressed that this process is possible only when the economic position of a household is good enough to meet its running expenses without the earnings of the younger son.

It is obvious that this system cannot operate forever in a limited area with an ever-increasing population. In recent years this principle has worked only for a few families of means. The father of Informant A, a second son, secured his first plot of land in this manner. His five sons have not been able to do the same. As a result, two married sons have been living together even though both have passed the age of forty, and the other three sons left Hamlet. Most families in Upper Han Hamlet are in a similar situation. This has been one of the major causes of the exodus of younger sons to the nearby industrial or commercial cities and towns such as Hamhung, Hungnam and Pukch’ong.

The farm family as an economic unit continues thus from one generation to another. The household members function together according to the accepted pattern of co-operation. The philosophy underlying the system is well expressed by the saying, “Even a piece of paper is lighter if two persons pick it up.” The father directs and the sons work with him side by side at all times; and the mother does the
same with her daughters. No one, at any time, is left to work alone as long as there are other persons alive in the same household. Leadership does not necessarily imply harder labor, but it does imply responsibility for the work and for the other persons involved. No two can wield the same authority; one’s relationship with others at work is always that of command and obedience based on one’s status position.

Thus, we have seen that the basic principles of age, sex and generation, command and obedience, and voluntary submission upon which the kinship system operates are also the principal elements in the economic activities of the Hamlet. This does not mean that the operation of the kinship system necessitates the acceptance of the same principles for economic activities. On the contrary, these are factors fundamental to the methods of securing subsistence in small farm economy. The securing of food and shelter is the most basic function of any culture. Survival is the purpose of all societies.

Notes

1 The regional division of north and south is made by Professor Hoon K. Lee on the basis of the distribution of crops and also by the methods of farming. See Hoon K. Lee, *Land Utilization and Rural Economy in Korea* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 83-96.


Professor Lee made a special inquiry on 1,249 farm families. The result was: 261 families managed two plots (20.9%), 243, three lots (19.5%); 178, four lots (12.2%); 133, five lots (10.6%); and so on down to fourteen lots by three families. This means that over 71% of the total 1,249 households managed from two to six lots of land.

4 The farmers always attempt to build their houses to face south. The writer has not found any reason for this other than what the people say, “Unless members of three generations have done no evil the family cannot have a house which faces the south.” There may be some relation between the preference for such a house and the general belief that the north represents death and the south life.

5 In winter more time is spent in sewing as every stitch is ripped out before any winter clothing is laundered and must be rewound before wearing. But once made, summer clothes need only washing and ironing.

6 The mother-in-law, if she desires, can have one of her daughters-in-law prepare the beds for her and her husband. In fact, she can escape housework completely.

7 Even a little boy runs out of the kitchen when he is told that a big boy should not stay in the kitchen, which is a place for women.
A threshing machine, which was introduced into Upper Han Hamlet in the early 1930s, is the only major mechanical device utilized. Only one such machine, however, was owned by the Han clan in Hamlet, and it was used in rotation by related households.

The figure 1,300 excludes the markets in the cities. See Jijun Murayama, "Chosen no shicho keitai," *Shakaigaku*, IV (1932), p. 92.

Informant B's grandfather gave his consent at the market place over a bowl of wine to the marriage of his eldest grandson to a friend's granddaughter.

Pukch'ong market was reorganized at the turn of the century and it has become the public market for the people within a radius of about 50 ri. This is a third and eighth day market; that is, market day occurs every five days. This market covers 3,124 tsubo (one tsubo equals 3.95 square yards) of land and is divided into two sections, one for ordinary trading, the other for cattle marketing. The first section has 30 permanent shops, one well, and two laboratories. The cattle market is an open space surrounded by a fence. In 1923, 1,500 merchants and 20,000 shoppers carried on transactions at this market; and total retail sales of 356,447 yen were made. This is also the cattle distributing center of the county; annually over 20,000 head pass through the market. Commissions of fifty cents per head and twenty cents per calf are charged. Since this is the only cattle market in the county, the villagers must go there to do their trading.
CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

Except for purposes of analysis, social and religious function can hardly be separated from economic ones. In this chapter only those activities which are not directly concerned with material production are considered as social and religious functions.

By social functions, which shall be discussed first, are meant here those undertakings which occur cyclically and are performed in a fairly consistent manner by most of the people in the Hamlet year after year. Broadly speaking, social functions can be separated into two series: one connected with man's life cycle and the other with the seasonal cycle. Both are conducted within the house compounds as well as outside, and in the family and clan cemeteries, and both contain elements of supernaturalism. Ordinarily, the father or mother, or another member of the family conducts the ceremonies, and the services of priests are not utilized.

Life Cycle Functions

Birth

The birth of a child, particularly a first son, is an important occasion for the family, for this event ensures continuation of the family. The people believe that birth comes ten months after the last menstruation. For the last three or four months the whole household prepares for the coming of the child by refusing to accept things from houses where death has recently occurred or where any recent repair work has been done. The expectant mother must avoid eating certain kinds of food, or food cooked in a house other than her own. She is forbidden to visit mourning households. She is also relieved from heavy household work.

A midwife, a woman of middle age who has had many sons and much experience in delivering children, attends the mother who is in her room. It is not uncommon for the mother-in-law to act as a midwife or as an assistant. No male is allowed in the confinement room. Childless women, even members of the household, are also forbidden to come near the room for fear that they may bring misfortune of the child.
As soon as the child is born and washed, the grandmother, or the oldest woman, announces its birth and sex to her own husband, who, if it is a male child, appears to be more pleased at having a male descendant than the child’s own father does. The grandfather then hurries to the toch’öng to celebrate the birth of a grandson by giving out tobacco and rice wine to his friends, who are mostly members of his own age-group. In case of the birth of a girl there is no such celebration. The father is happy, but he is expected to restrain himself in front of his elders. He may go into the confinement room after the after-birth is burned in the back yard, but often he stays away from the room for at least three days, and more often for seven days. Other members of the household, except the ones responsible for the care of mother and child, do not enter the room for seven days.

Immediately after the birth the mother is served with rice pap and seaweed soup, and this diet, if it is economically possible, continues for three days. During this period the grandmother offers the same kind of food to Samsin halmai (“grandmother goddess of childbirth”) three times daily. This offering is an expression of gratitude as well as a request for the safety of the child. Following the birth a straw rope, with charcoal and several red peppers for a boy, or charcoal and a few bunches of pine leaves for a girl, is hung horizontally on the gate. This forbids strangers, who might be accompanied by spirits dangerous to the life of the child, from coming into the house. Relatives, provided that they have not been to a mourning household, may enter, but seldom are they allowed to go into the confinement room.

When a child’s delivery is announced, the grandfather, depending on his whim, may bestow a “child-name” even before he looks at the baby, or else give it a name derived from some impression received upon seeing the baby for the first time. The “child-name” is often the expression of one’s wish such as Changdusoe (“big block of iron”) desire for a strong child, or Pawi (“rock”) a symbol of longevity. Another type of name is an expression directly opposite from one’s expectation such as Soettong-i (“cow’s dung”) or Malttong-i (“horse’s dung”). Although the giver of the latter also hopes the child will have fame and long life, he gives the child these pejorative names in order that it may be overlooked by the spirit of death. The “child-name” is the only designation given to a girl and usually expresses her sex. The commonest ones are Ippun-i (“pretty girl”), Kannan-i (“new born baby girl”) or Ok’i (“jade girl”).

A baby boy particularly is usually not named officially until a week after his birth; sometimes the naming is postponed until the hundredth day as an unnamed child may escape notice and thus not be taken
away from this world. Depending upon the traditions of each family, the grandfather, who has consulted his scholarly friends, gives the name to the boy on the seventh, twenty-first or hundredth day. The name consists of two monosyllabic Chinese characters: one signifies the boy's generation in his clan, and the other is a distinctive name, different for each child. Thus, every male clanmate of the same generation has one character in common, and another that is different from all others. The character for the distinctive name must not be the same as the generation name of the older generation nor be the character used for any older person among his clan relatives. This name is not used in the house until the boy is married, but it is the name used in the modern schools. Thus, to a certain degree, names express one's position in the family and the clan.

The importance attached to the naming of a male child, who alone continues the family line, is significant; little concern is exhibited over a female child. This can be fully understood only when the birth is seen as family event. One cannot completely ignore the fact that the parents are happy, but this is a personal factor which is overshadowed by other more important matters. The most significant meaning is that the child becomes a member of the family unit.

Whether or not one celebrates the seventh, twenty-first, or one hundredth day after the birth may depend upon economic status, but these dates are remembered by members of the family. As these critical days pass by without trouble, the expectation for long life becomes greater. The third, fifth, seventh and ninth years are also much feared for they are considered to be unlucky. From the time of his first birthday until marriage, most adult activities concerned with the child are connected with his well-being and health, and these are all conducted by the mother, or occasionally by the grandmother. Often men are not even aware of these activities; if they known about them, they ignore them. In addition, each birthday is remembered by the mother who celebrates it by giving rice pap to the child. There is much less concern over a daughter.2

Engagement and Marriage

Marriage is also a family affair, and the whole family is affected by the marriage of one of its members. In this hamlet, the marriage of young persons is in the hands of the elders, grandparents as well as parents, and the marriage of an eldest son is the most important event of the generation. Anticipation of such a marriage may be in the minds of grandparents even before the child is old enough to talk,
and an engagement may be arranged even before the boy reaches the age of five. Most engagements, however, are made only a few months before the wedding takes place.

It is to be noted that there is a complete absence of ceremonies around puberty for both males and females. One of the reasons may be that pre-marital chastity which, in Korea, includes ignorance of sex, is considered to be the most important virtue of women. Anything relating to sex is completely ignored or dismissed by unmarried females. If a mother and daughter are in the company of young married women who happen to talk about marriage or childbirth or anything relating to sex, the mother often sends her daughter out of the room in order to keep her from gaining any knowledge about sex. Puberty ceremonies could hardly be expected in the face of a demand for complete ignorance of sex by all unmarried women.

It is believed that an eldest daughter makes the best wife and daughter-in-law, for she is accustomed to hard work and responsibility at home. The youngest daughter is the least desired as she is often a spoiled child. The position of the eldest daughter-in-law for their child is much coveted by the parents of a bride-to-be. On her shoulders fall the responsibilities of ceremonies of ancestor worship. Because of these responsibilities, a mother hesitates to marry a delicate daughter to the eldest son of a family. A mother, in considering the marriage of her eldest son, tries to find a girl of good disposition who is sufficiently strong and well-trained to assume the responsibility of mistress of the family.

The usual age of marriage has in recent years ranged from fifteen to twenty-two for males and fifteen to eighteen for females. Matches are always made between families of different names residing in different hamlets, most of them in Pukch’ong county. The marriage of persons of the same family name is strictly forbidden, for this means they are descended from the same ancestors. Consanguine marriage is both feared and prohibited; it is believed that such unions are proper only for animals.

The engagement of a son or daughter is the concern of both parents and grandparents. It should be remembered that the grandmother, mother, and wives of other male members of the family came from other villages. It should also be noted that all female members of the family are married out into other villages. All these women, who are acquainted with the most respected families in their husbands’ villages are, in differing degrees, interested in the welfare of the family, and are the usual means through which engagements are made. There are no professional go-betweens in the Hamlet.
These affinal female members of the family extoll the virtues of people in their own villages to the grandmothers or mothers of marriageable children. The mother or grandmother then begins her own investigation. She goes, or sends some trusted person, to the villages where families thought to be desirable for marriage alliances reside. There the size of the house, the approximate amount of the annual harvest, the number of cattle, the reputation of the family and clan, the number of siblings, and the father’s position in the village are investigated, for all these are the criteria of a good family. It is believed that since good families produce good children, the characters of the mother and father are important, for children are like their parents. In the meantime, the mother goes to a fortune teller to find out if the prospective husband or wife is suitable and whether or not the union will result in many sons. The beauty of the prospective bride is not very important; a plump girl is often preferred to a pretty but thin one. The highest compliment for a girl is the statement that she is plump and looks as if she would be a good eldest daughter-in-law. If, after her investigations, the mother is satisfied, she discusses the matter with her husband who, in turn, talks it over with his father, if the latter is still alive. When an agreement is reached, the male members of the family then take over the responsibility of initiating the formal engagement. During these activities, the other family also makes its investigations.

When both parties are reasonably satisfied with each other, the father of the groom sends a relative as his representative to the bride’s father. He takes with him a piece of paper on which the year, date and hour of birth of the prospective groom are written. This representative is usually instructed to look at the face of a prospective bride, but a girl usually succeeds in hiding from the outsider. The bride’s father then goes to a fortune-teller with the data concerning both the groom and his daughter, and by means of the marriage divination known as saju (“four pillows”), learns whether such a union is favorable. If the result of the saju is satisfactory, both families agree to the official engagement of their children. The father announces the engagement of his son or daughter in front of a few male relatives, and they drink rice wine to celebrate the occasion. The engagement is almost as binding as the marriage itself.

The bride’s family sets the wedding date after having consulted with one of the blind fortune-tellers who reside in the nearby towns. Unless there is a special objection on the part of the groom’s family, the wedding takes place on the day selected. Usually there is a period of several days to several months between the time of engagement and
the wedding ceremony, which usually occurs before the busy season in the spring or in the fall after the harvest. For weeks before this event every female member of the bride’s household devotes considerable time to the sewing of the bride’s clothing and bedding, who, during the engagement period, is free to do whatever needs to be done and is better dressed than at any other time in her life.

On the day before the wedding, the groom’s family sends the bride-to-be red and blue material, usually of silk, sufficient for two skirts, a double ring, and a hairpin. From the red material the bride makes the traditional wedding skirt. The groom’s family sends to the bride’s family, in case the latter is very poor, one or two hundred won (Korean currency), a few months before the date of wedding. This money is spent for the bride’s marriage possessions and the wedding feast. Such a poverty-stricken bride may usually expect difficult relations in the future with the members of her husband’s family. The father who has so little money as to accept the sadun’s gift is much criticized in Hamlet and his action is often thought to be nearly equivalent to selling his daughter. Marriages of this sort are very rare because they cause personal disgrace, and also place the whole family in bad repute.

On the morning of the wedding day the bride no longer wears the braided hair-do of an unmarried girl, but uses the red ribbon and hairpin sent to her the night before to dress her hair up on her head in the style characteristic of married women. She puts on the double ring, red skirt, and yellow jacket, which comprise the ceremonial costume for a virgin bride. The groom wears the best his family can afford, usually a pair of pale blue trousers, a jacket and a coat.5

On the morning of the wedding day the groom, with his two usu or attendants, usually brothers or first male cousins, goes to the bride’s house. The groom’s party is welcomed by the bride’s family in the front maru, an open space around the house on the same level as the rooms, which is covered with new mats for the occasion. The bride and groom exchange ceremonial bows three times, and then together bow to the grandparents and parents of the bride. The exact number of bows depends upon the status of the persons to whom convention decrees that bows be made. The groom and bride, aided by their attendants, then take seats side by side on the floor in front of the festival table, which is usually called the groom’s table. Although they are presumably there to feast, they very seldom actually eat anything whatever. Their unconsumed food is later gathered and sent to the groom’s house together with the bride’s dowry.
After the feast is over, the groom accompanies the bride to his home, but they do not speak to each other. In accordance with former custom, the bride made the journey on a donkey, but in recent years, the kama or bridal carriage transported by two men, has been used. The food prepared for the groom and all the clothes and utensils prepared for the bride are also loaded onto the back of the family ox and taken to the groom’s house for the second part of wedding ceremony which is to be held there. The guests of the bride’s family remain at her house, and the feast there continues after the departure of the bride and groom.

The bride is accompanied to the house of the groom by two attendants who are usually the wives of her uncles. As the wedding procession enters the village, everyone watches it pass and makes as much noise as possible as a sign of welcome. Mats are placed from the gate to the maru of the groom’s house for the bride to walk on. The party ascends the maru where a large banquet table has been placed in front of the ancestral tablests to which the bride and groom together bow. This is the most important part of the ceremony. After this has been done, the bride and groom again exchange bows with each other and bow toward the grandparents, parents, the uncles and their wives, and to other members of older generations, who do not return the bows. In order that the bride may execute her ceremonial bows gracefully, she is aided by her attendants in the handling of her flowing garments and in attaining the position prescribed for her arms.

A feast of the same type as at the bride’s house then follows, after which the bride is conducted to the bridal room where the dowry is displayed. Here the bride finds the young married female relatives of her husband who mercilessly discuss her looks, sewing and clothing. She is expected to say nothing. Unmarried girls of marriageable age are not permitted to take any part in this aspect of the wedding ceremony.

Feasting continues out in the yard in the afternoon and early evening where guests are served noodle soup, meat, cake and fruits. Men are served in the men’s quarters and the women in their quarters. A liberal amount of food enhances the reputation of the groom’s family, and there are usually a few guests sent by the bride’s family to test the hospitality. All guests except the close relatives leave before supper.

Customarily, the groom is carried away by friends soon after the formal ceremony and subjected to good-humored rough-housing whereby he is asked to tell what he is going to do with his bride that
night and forced to promise a banquet which his father must provide at a later date. He is then returned to his house before dark.

After supper, the bride and groom meet in the bridal room surrounded by the young married female relatives of the groom, who tease the couple mercilessly. These young women may, before they are chased out by the elders, tie the young couple together with ropes. Attendants prepare on the floor the two sets of bridal beds brought by the bride, and place screens around the room so that no one can look inside.

The couple is now alone for the first time. The groom is expected to take off the outer garments of the bride before they retire. Intercourse on the wedding night is not an established custom. The young couple often have only the vaguest awareness of sex or are too timid. Men who marry at the age of twenty or older are, however, thought to have sufficient knowledge and begin their marital relations on the wedding night.

The next morning the groom alone calls upon the bride's family while the bride remains at her husband's house. The young husband is appraised by his father-in-law and other male members of the family as well as by the scholars of the village. During this visit he is sure to be forcibly taunted and subjected to good-humored rough treatment. He is rescued by the bride’s family upon the promise of a banquet for his captors. This visit provides an appropnunity for the groom and the members of the bride's family to become personally acquainted with each other for the first time. The mother of the bride is worried if she finds that the son-in-law does not come up to her expectations; but if he is even-tempered and clever she is relieved at the knowledge that her daughter's future is secure. After a visit of five to ten days duration, the groom returns to his own home.

During the time that the bride is alone at her husband's house, she learns her duties from her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law and becomes acquainted with the members of family and their traditions and customs. She also learns the characteristics, likes and dislikes of her husband. In the meantime, she is invited to feasts almost every day by close relatives in the Hamlet. This procedure is called tanje. She also has time to arrange her new room and put in order the things which she has brought from her natal family. During this time the members of her husband's family also learn about the bride, her temperament, her training and her habits. If she gets along well during this period, it means the successful start of her marriage.

Within a few days after her husband's return to his house, a bride is sent to her natal home for a long visit, sometimes lasting for a
month. It is common for a young wife to cry at the sight of her mother. At her home she is royally treated by the members of her family; and she may participate in the informal gatherings of young married women in the Hamlet. From now on, she is no longer called by her given name; even her own parents and grandparents call her aga ("child") by which term she is addressed until she gives birth to a child. She is referred to indirectly in her own village as "the member of her husband's family," for example, Pak jip ne ("the member of Mr. Pak's household").

This visit brings the mother and daughter closer than ever before, for the young bride spends most of her time with her mother who now has the opportunity for the first time to tell her daughter of her own experiences after marriage. The bride may also talk now with her mother about the difficulties she has had at her husband's house. The mother uses this occasion to tell her daughter as much as she has been able to learn about her new son-in-law. As the day of return approaches, the bride makes clothing for her husband. Upon her return to her husband's home, she is accompanied by her unmarried younger brothers or male cousins and since she has no knowledge of when she may again visit her natal home, this is a very sad occasion for both mother and daughter. Usually, however, she makes one or two more short visits to her own home before she becomes a mother, a circumstance which makes further visits very difficult.

Marriage presupposes the bearing of children and gives sanction to sexual relations between husband and wife within the former's house. The most important aim of marriage is procreation, particularly of males, so that the family line may continue to prosper. In contrast to the virginity and ignorance of sex so strictly demanded of an unmarried female, marriage requires the complete submission of a woman to her husband. The most blessed are the women with many sons. In light of the foregoing the requirement of virginity for unwed females may be understood as a means by which the patrilineal family system is safeguarded. Once they are wed, however, women are not the least restricted in marital life. Among married women, particularly those who have given birth to a child, there is a frank interest in and an overtly expressed desire for procreation.

Death

The important events in the life cycle thus far discussed have been birth and marriage. We now come to a consideration of attitudes and practices concerning death. When a man is seriously ill, the members
of his household, the wife, sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law do not leave the house, but remain in close attendance. At the slightest indication that he is nearing death they are all called into his room. If the dying man asks for his friends, they are also summoned to the death bed. Witnessing a father’s or husband’s death is considered an important duty of a filial son or a virtuous wife. It is their task to hear the last utterances of the dying man and to obey unquestioningly and punctiliously any requests he may make.

When a man stops breathing, it is considered that death has come. It is then the duty of the eldest son to “close the eyes of the dead.” Five or six hours later a male member of the immediate family or another male relative climbs the roof-top with a suit of underwear belonging to the dead person. Standing on the roof facing north, he waves the underwear and shouts three times, “Mr. so-and-so died at the hour, day, month and year.” The underwear is afterwards used to cover the body of the deceased and is later burned. The ceremony is called hon-burugi (“spirit calling ceremony”). Until this ritual is completed, no one is permitted to make any loud noise in the house, for it is believed that a loud cry may drive the spirit away. Immediately after the hon-burugi women undertake the ceremonal kok (“loud cry”).

The kok appears to be the external expression of one’s sorrow and feeling towards the dead as much as it is a part of the traditional funeral ceremony. Intermingled with the cries, fears and regrets of various phrases are muttered by the women, such as “How can I live alone?” “How could you die leaving us?” Kok is considered such an important part of the funeral ceremony that outside women are hired if there are not enough females in the house to continue crying at the prescribed hours until the time of burial.

The dead man is washed, covered with cloth, then placed on the ch’il-sông pan, a long, narrow wooden board, and a blue cloth curtain is hung around him. Three men in alternate shifts hold watch over him at all hours until the burial. In front of the curtain a meal table is put and meals for the deceased are set out three times daily, whereupon the sons stand in front of the table and bow towards their dead father.

While these ceremonies are being conducted relatives from far and near gather in the house. It is the ūiri of close relatives to come and give aid to the family of the deceased, and they usually bring with them cooked porridge for the family and candles for the ceremonies. Neglect of this responsibility is much criticized.

The men construct a coffin in the front yard, getting the necessary
implements from the *togae* ("clan storehouse")⁸ where the all special tools and utensils for weddings, funerals and other clan ceremonies are kept. They are also responsible for digging the grave in the clan or family cemetery. They also must make the *sinju*, an oblong wooden table on which the name, date of birth and death are written and which represents the deceased.

The women, who must sew mourning costumes for all mourners as well as the shroud, work through many nights in order to be ready for the funeral ceremony.

The ceremony of *songbok*, the placing of the shroud on the dead man and the donning of appropriate mourning costumes which vary with the relationship of the deceased, takes place on the third or fifth day. The deceased is dressed in a shroud made of hempen cloth, and the body is wound tightly and placed in a newly-made coffin. While this goes on, the mourners continue the ritual crying of *kok*.

The bereaved wife and children wear clothes made of unbleached cotton; the grandchildren, nephews and nieces, white or very pale blue cotton; brothers, sisters and cousins may wear an apron, hat or topcoat of hemp. In summer all mourning costumes for men are made of hemp. The length of the mourning period depends upon the degree of one’s relationship to the deceased, and this is observed only by the younger generations for members of the older generations. The mourning period of wife for husband and children for parents and parents-in-law is two years; that of husband for wife, of children for mother who dies before her husband, of grandchildren for grandparents and grandparents-in-law, and of nephews and nieces for uncles and aunts of the third degree of patrilineal lineage is one year. For grandmothers, grandmothers-in-law and aunts who die before their husbands, the period is nine months. Mourning clothes may be worn for grandparents of the mother’s side for a period of six months, but more often this practice is neglected. The younger of brothers and of male first cousins-in-law may observe a three-month period of mourning for the older, but this practice, too, is now seldom observed. If a family is well-to-do, it provides every relative present at the funeral ceremony with the articles of clothing, apron and hat, which indicate mourning.

The funeral ceremony takes place on the third, fifth, or seventh day after the death, depending on the economic and social position of the family and the age of the deceased. During this interval some of the male relatives must stay awake and keep constant watch over the dead. Male visitors, who usually play cards or chess through the night, are, during their stay, served with large quantities of elaborate
food and drink. Ritual equipment for the funeral is brought out from the *togae* on the day of the funeral.

The burial procession includes the *sangyo* or funeral litter, which is carried by six, eight or ten men, relatives and neighbors of the dead. The course of the litter is guided by a villager, who acts as the spirit of the dead. The *sinju* ("ancestral tablet") of the deceased placed in a small shrine and carried by two men, follows the funeral litter. The eldest son, who is the chief mourner, the bereaved wife, other sons and their wives, daughters and other relatives, whose precedence is determined by their status position in the family and clan, complete the funeral procession. If there are no male children, a son may be adopted at this time to serve as chief mourner, which emphasizes the fact that the purpose of the funeral ceremony is not for the dead alone, but also for the sake of his family and clan. As the group moves towards the cemetery, the guide speaks to each member of the family as well as to the friends of the deceased in the procession, saying that the departed one must have the help of the living in order to go to paradise, and that to accomplish this end the members of the family must get along harmoniously. He also asks the mourners for money whenever the procession crosses a stream and the course of the journey is arranged to follow a devious route so that there are many stream-crossings. Upon reaching the cemetery, the coffin is buried in a grave previously dug. At the burial site, the ceremony of ancestor worship for the deceased, which consists of the male mourners bowing ceremoniously towards a table on which the *sinju* and food have been put, takes place for the first time. The food is later eaten by the attendants and none is brought back to the house. Mourners and other attendants then return to the house with the *sinju*.

When the funeral procession leaves for the cemetery, a few female relatives remain in the house to burn the personal belongings worn by the dead while he was ill, and to clean the house thoroughly. The *chesang* ("ceremonial table") employed for ancestor worship, is placed in the big room. Food is prepared for the first ceremony of ancestor worship to be carried out in the deceased person’s own house. When the funeral procession has returned, the *sinju* is placed in the middle of the *chesang*, and remains there for two years (one year if the deceased is a woman with a surviving husband). A simple rite of bowing to the *sinju* ends the funeral day.

For the duration of the mourning period, all regular meals are to be served for the deceased on the *chesang*, but some households may continue this for only three months to a year dependent upon their economic position. Sometimes just a dish of fresh fruit is kept on the
chesang. The following procedure, however, is meticulously observed: on the morning of the first and the fifteenth day of every month of the mourning period, a special offering is made to the dead.

Sosang, the first anniversary, is commemorated with the usual ancestor worship ceremony, and on that day the grandchildren, nephews and nieces doff their mourning clothes. Taesang, the second anniversary, is similarly commemorated after which time the wife and children come out of mourning.

After taesang, the sinju and chesang are taken to the family sinju room where they join those of their forebears. On future anniversaries and on seasonal ceremonial days the sinju is taken out for ritual purposes.

Sinju for the members of the previous four generations are kept in the house of the eldest male descendant; older ones are moved to the sintang, the clan ancestor hall, in the clan cemetery. Ancestors of the four recent generations are worshipped in the house by direct descendants at all seasonal ceremonies; ancestors of the older generations are worshipped only once annually in the ancestor hall by all clan members.

A boy or girl who dies before marriage is buried immediately without any ceremony. If a childless young married person dies, all the essential features of the funeral ceremony described above are retained in a simpler form. Although various features of this ceremony express the individual’s sorrow and the fear of death itself, these are only incidental to the essential purpose of the ceremony which is to express the concern of the family.

One can hardly fail to see in these ceremonies the attempt to reestablish intra-familial relationships without the dead member and at the same time to establish a beneficial relationship between the dead and living members of the family. The death of a responsible member of a family inevitably disturbs the orderly intra-familial relationships; restoration of this orderly relationship among the living is essential for the welfare of the family which must function without disruption.

The death of a father means the temporary loss of a leader in the family unit. At the head of the funeral procession, as we have seen, the impersonator of the departed repeatedly reminds the bereaved that they must live harmoniously even though he himself can no longer be with them. He also tells the eldest son to look after the mother and younger brothers and sisters. This ceremony emphasizes the individual’s relationship to the father who is now dead but whose memory must remain as the controlling power in the family until
readjustment is made. During the mourning period, therefore, the subordinate position of the individual in his relationship to the deceased is stressed and the pattern of intra-familial relationship is maintained.

To the surviving members of the family, the sinju of the dead father which is brought back from the burial site and placed on the chesang for a period of two years represents the father who had lived among them. Relationship between the sinju and the surviving sons is comparable to that between the father and son. The latter bow to the father, not to the tablet, at the time of ancestor worship, and thus the relationship of the dead to the living is preserved long after the burial. One must note that ancestor worship is a part of the funeral ceremony by means of which the dead remain virtually as functioning members of the family.

The readjustment process in intra-familial relationship is, therefore, gradual and harmonious, and the family functions normally while the process is taking place. In other words, the funeral ceremony, like the marriage institution, provides time and means for necessary readjustments.

The value to society of various social functions is little questioned; the formalized ceremonies at birth, marriage and death in the Hamlet have a clearly defined value, and give meaning to the social structure itself. In other words, events in the life cycle, translated into social ceremonies, may be taken as the dynamic basis of Hamlet society. The importance of the role of these ceremonies cannot be ignored if one is to understand how the equilibrium of Hamlet society is maintained.

**Seasonal and Religious Functions**

The seasonal ceremonies recur annually at times of seasonal change. In most cases, the family is the basic unit of these festivities; occasionally does a group of close patrilineal relatives or the clan become the major unit for such ceremonial activity. The seasonal functions and the farming activities together comprise the year around activities that give rhythm to Hamlet society.

Sól, the New Year’s holiday season, extends from the first to the fifteenth of January; Hansik comes in the beginning of March, and is followed by spring ploughing; Tano, the fifth of May, marks the beginning of summer; Ch’usŏk, on August 15th, celebrates the harvest and marks the onset of fall; Sije, clan ceremonial day, comes at the beginning of October and announces the start of winter. The impor-
tance of these functions, however, does not lie in marking the season, but rather in the maintenance of society’s equilibrium; the seasonal functions must be understood as an integral part of the social system.

These seasonal ceremonies may be divided into two groups, one primarily concerned with affairs of the family, and the other with groups of close relatives or with the clan. Family affairs are conducted in the home and the others in the cemeteries. Sŏl and Tano belong to the first category, and Hansik, Ch’usŏk and Sije belong to the second.

Description of Seasonal Functions

Since these activities, based on the lunar calendar, recur annually, it is fitting to start from the beginning of the year. The New Year’s festivity is called Sŏl, a word which means “the first day of the year,” but the festivities continue for fifteen days. The month of December is the busiest for women who must prepare for Sŏl. They must sew a set of clean clothing for each member of the family, and spend the last few days of the month preparing quantities of food for the living as well as for the dead members of the family. If the harvest has been good, in addition to other things, two kinds of special cake are made. The first made by pounding steamed ordinary rice which is then rolled into long, round strips, is used for the New Year Day soup, ttŏk kuk. The second is made of steamed glutinous rice pounded and cut into small square pieces. Men do the pounding of the rice all day long on the last day of December, while the women of the house must finish the preparation of various other kinds of food. Men may go to sleep on New Year’s Eve, but women usually continue their work until midnight, for there are many things to be done before dawn. It is said that the eyebrows of women who sleep on New Year’s Eve turn white.

After midnight, the chesang (“ceremonial table”) with the sinju (“ancestral tablet”) placed upon it is put in the big room for the ancestor worship ceremony. The oldest male, who conducts the rites, sets the table. As the women hand dishes to him, he puts them in rows on the table in the following order in front of the sinju: cake soup, rice pap and wine in the first row; liquid dishes in the second; meat and fish in the third; cakes in the fourth; and fruit in the last row. There are as many bowls of the special rice-cake soup on the table as there are sinju, for all four generations of ancestors are worshipped together. Just before the ceremony takes place, candles are lighted and incense is burned. For this occasion the younger brothers and their
families may join the father’s household. The men wear white coats and old-fashioned Korean hats for the ceremony. In order, by generation and age, the men line up in front of the ceremonial table and make three bows. In some families, an ancestor-worship script is read by the conductor of the ceremony. Married women, also wearing white, stand in one corner of the room watching the ceremony, but they do not otherwise participate. All this must be done before the first cock crows at dawn, and is usually completed between one and three in the morning. Until that time, no one is permitted to taste any of the food prepared for the ancestor-worship ceremony; after the ceremony, however, some of the food on the table is eaten and the remainder is put away for the coming celebration. Men may go back to sleep, but women must make preparations for the morning.

When morning comes all dress in their best for the occasion, men usually wear white clothing, and women, except old widows and mourners who wear white, don colorful dresses. Members of the younger generation make bows to members of the older generation; this bowing is called sebae. All are then served with bowls of rice-cake soup, rice pap, stuffed fish, and turnip salad for breakfast, all of which are served in the usual manner. After one has eaten the rice-cake soup, he is thought of as one year older.

Younger men and children leave the house to make sebae visits to relatives in the Hamlet as well as in Omae Village. It is customary at this time for married young men to visit their wives’ families in other hamlets. Women must remain in the house to provide food for visitors, and the older members, male and female, must stay home to receive the guests.

The children who come of sebae are given money, fruit and chestnuts, and young men are usually given some rice wine with their food. Guests drift in and out all day long, and this continues for several days. When, after a few days, male callers stop coming, the young women may start their visits to relatives, and a young bride may visit her natal home if it is not too far away.

During the New Year celebration, everybody is free from hard work other than the necessary routine of the house and everyone eats better and greater quantities of food than at any other time of the year. Yut, a game similar to the combination of dice and checker played by four persons usually with four sticks is the typical game of the season. Men, women, and children customarily play this game every evening for the coming fifteen days, but never does a mixed group of men and women play together. In addition, the men may play cards, chess and other games, and even a limited amount of gambling is permitted
during this season. Young boys fly kites and girls play *nōl*, a game similar to seesaw in which two girls stand on opposite ends of a plank placed on a fulcrum of straw.

Porum, the fifteenth of January, is the last day of the holiday season. The food specialty of that day is *pap* cooked with red-beans and glutinous rice, which is eaten for supper. During the daytime young boys engage in stick or pebble fights with the boys of other hamlets. After supper boys and younger men climb Aphae Mountain with sticks and old brooms, from which they build a fire at its summit, and make bows towards the rising moon. Young women and girls, wearing masks made of hard, dry gourds go round from house to house to frighten the people, and get great satisfaction from the shrieks and hearty laughter which follow whenever they are successful in surprising others. Everyone spends the remainder of the night playing *yut* for the last time of the year.

Hansik, at the beginning of March, is the day of *sangmyo*, the planting of grass on tombs. The members of each family, with food loaded on their heads and on *chige*, shoulder transport devices for men, go to the family cemetery early in the morning. Ancestor worship is carried on in front of each tomb in the same manner as at home. After a performance of the ceremony at each tomb, some of the food used is eaten, and this process is continued until the ritual has been observed for each ancestor in the cemetery. Informant B states that, “Everyone eats almost to the limit of his capacity on that day.” After the ceremonies are completed, new grass, if needed, is planted over the tombs.

Early in the afternoon, all families gather in an open place in the cemetery to eat together and each family contributes food for common use. The married men gather in one spot and eat and drink by themselves. One man passes a small bowl of wine to a relative who drinks it, and in return passes his own wine bowl to the donor. This procedure continues and often this group becomes very drunk before the day is ended.

In the late afternoon the young women get together to play *nōl* for the last time in the year, for Hansik is the last day of leisure for the farmers and their wives; the busy ploughing season follows immediately.

April eighth is a Buddhist holiday. Young girls celebrate the day by wearing bright colored dresses; but men work in the fields as usual without any notice. On this day, everybody gets a set of clean spring clothes with or without lining.

Tano comes on May the fifth and is known as swing day. A few days earlier, swings are erected on the hills or on the banks of the Big
Stream. The young men of Hamlet usually occupy the swings during the daytime, and the female members take them over at night. On this day the usual ancestor worship ceremony takes place in the family before the dawn. In the afternoon a wrestling match is held in Pukch'ŏng town. Almost every village is represented, and the winner gets an ox. On this day, the people begin to wear grass linen clothes, which signifies the beginning of summer.

Ch'usŏk or the harvest thanksgiving day comes on the fifteenth of August; and by this time the greater portion of the harvest, except for rice, is completed. An ancestor-worship ceremony takes place at the family cemetery which is, except for the kinds of food prepared, almost identical with that undertaken on Hansik in the spring. The newly harvested crops of the year are used for the fall ceremony; songp'yŏng or rice flour cake with red beans inside, is the specialty of the day. If the harvest is very poor, the cake may be dispensed with which is a great disappointment to all.

All return from the cemetery in the afternoon, and various games and contests are then held in the Hamlet and Omae Village. A tug-of-war takes place between Hamlet boys and those of other hamlets. The boys hold wrestling matches on the bed of the dried up Big Stream; and a swing may be erected in some free corner. At night men and women, young and old, gather around a big bonfire in an open ground, wait for the rising full moon. This is the day when Hamlet people begin to wear lined fall clothing.

The elders of the Han clan of Upper and Lower Han Hamlets select one day in the beginning of October as the day of Sijë or the day of clan ancestor worship ceremony. This is the biggest celebration of the year and is the only occasion when members of both Upper and Lower Han Hamlets get together. The entire expense for the event is born by the clan.

A few days before the celebration takes place, a steer is killed, and the meat is boiled outdoors. The soup and a small portion of meat is divided among the clan member families; and the remainder is kept for the celebration. One or two women from each family and household, with large jugs on their heads, go to the public cooking place and get their shares. This is the only time in each year that every member of Hamlet can eat some meat.

The food for the ceremony is prepared by clanswomen in the compound of ch’ongga. The main feature of the day is the clan ancestor worship ceremony performed by all descendants in the sindang (“ancestral hall”) for those whose sinju (“ancestral tablet”) are there. The primogeniture descendants, old and young, put the
prepared dishes on the ceremonial table on which also all *sinju* are placed; then all male members of the clan, in the order of generation and age, stand in two lines beginning from the both ends of the table. They bow together three times towards the *sinju*, and the oldest member reads a ceremonial script. After the ceremony, the members feast in the same manner as on Hansik and Ch’usok. Later the food left from the ceremony is divided among the participating families. Once every year, Sije brings all members of Han clan of Upper and Lower Han Hamlets to the clan cemetery where, through the ancestor worship ceremony, the bond of clan relationship is renewed and strengthened.

This is the first day that the people wear the padded winter clothing, and this is the last of the important functions of the year. There are a few other special days but unlike the days whose activities have just been described, they are spent according to the traditions of each individual household.

**Analysis of Seasonal Functions**

These seasonal functions undoubtedly break the monotony of the hard working season in summer and bring relaxation to the members. In connection with this aspect, it is significant to note that the boys as well as girls are allowed to engaged on these days in certain activities which are normally forbidden such as wrestling and gambling, etc. Such social values cannot be minimized. These values, however, are incidental to the main purpose of the functions.

The activities relating to the seasonal functions are similar to each other, sometimes to the extent that the events of one day may replace those of another. The most outstanding features are group ancestor worship ceremonies, participation by such social groups as the family, closer patrilineal relative group and the entire clan as the ceremonial units, and the communal sharing of food.

Ancestor worship ceremonies appear to form the core of each of the seasonal functions; however, one can hardly identify the purposes of these ceremonies with those related to the life cycle even though many details are similar. One should note that the seasonal ancestor worship ceremonies are primarily for the ancestors in general and are accompanied by much happiness and gratitude and followed by various games. Ancestor worship ceremonies relative to the life cycle functions, on the contrary, are for an individual ancestor who has died and are overshadowed by sorrow. It has been pointed out that the latter type of ancestor worship ceremonies appear to be an exten-
sion of the funeral ceremony, through which the position of the dead in the family and the proper relationship of the dead with the living are established; but these are not the aims of the seasonal functions.

In order to clarify this distinction it is necessary to give special attention to various types of ancestral ceremonies undertaken in relation to the seasonal functions. On New Year's Day and Tano, the ancestor worship ceremony takes place at home and is for the family ancestors as a group; Hansik and Ch'usok are celebrated among close relatives who share a common cemetery and need occasional cooperation. Sije takes place at the sindang where all the earlier ancestors of the clan are believed to reside. The locations of ceremonies in different places are dependent not merely upon the weather but upon the nature of the function.

These different types of ancestor worship ceremonies explain and give real meaning to the family and clan systems, or it may be restated that these constitute the dynamic side of the entire social structure. At the same time, they provide esprit de corps to the residents of the Hamlet.

The communal eating and sharing of food among all clan families are also integral parts of the functions which strengthen kinship ties and help to promote cooperation among the clan member families. In this concern with the clan, the seasonal ceremonies differ greatly from the life cycle rituals which are observed only within and for the family. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the seasonal functions have become just another set of family affairs in the cities where the clan system has become, to a certain degree, just "ancient history."

Religious Functions

This section does not attempt to describe minutely the religious functions of the Hamlet, for such a description is not possible without extensive field work. From the limited information available, an attempt is made to interpret the functional relationship of religion to other aspects of the total culture of the Hamlet. Religion, for our purposes here, is defined in the words of E. B. Tylor as "The belief in spiritual beings."

The people of Hamlet believe in an almost countless number of spiritual beings, which may be divided into two classes and about which traditional religious activities are centered. One group is comprised of the spirits of dead members of the family and clan whose nature and relationship to the living are well known. These
ancestral spirits are fundamentally good, and always willing to promote the welfare of the family and clan for they are believed to be much concerned over their living children. It appears that a form of organization not very different from the kinship system of the living is believed to exist in the life after death. Religious activities revolving about this class of spirits are described in the preceding section, and it needs only to be emphasized that the rites of ancestor worship are conducted by males. Females are at most by-standers. It would be remembered that females can never succeed to ancestor worship, although they may on occasion become the heads of the families or inherit family property temporarily.

The ceremonies of ancestor worship indicate the various positions of importance attributed to the ancestral spirits, their interrelationships among themselves, and their relationship to the living. The hierarchical structure of the panoply of ancestral spirits is an exact duplicate for the actual social structure as described in Chapter IV and V.

Ceremonies of ancestor worship, which differ sharply from other religious activities, occur regularly at definite intervals, and are conducted apparently for no specific purpose other than to promote the general welfare of the family and clan by showing respect for the ancestral spirits. The significant effect of this formalized procedure appears to be to give meaning to the social structure and to strengthen it in the minds of the people by according it supernatural sanction. The repeated performances of the ceremonies serve to further strengthen the social organization. Neglect of ancestor worship, on the other hand, would undoubtedly weaken the social structure and disrupt the social as well as the economic activities of the people. Ancestor worship, the primary religious function of Hamlet, is a dynamic phase of the framework of society itself, and bears an unquestioned functional relationship to other aspects of the total culture.

Another set of vaguely defined spirits of various kinds are known as hanül, and the kwisin or sin, of which the spirit hanül is perhaps the most powerful. The numerous kwisin or sin exist in many forms and may be both good and evil. The people’s understanding of the nature of these spirits is vague and varies from one family to another. A spirit may be understood to be beneficent on certain occasions but malevolent on others. Individual families attach varying degrees of importance to the different spirits, but the basis of their evaluation is not clear. No one is compelled to confine his worship to one spirit alone nor to a single occasion, and this in no way interferes with ancestor worship.
Women appear to attach more importance than men to this class of spirits and regard them as more powerful than the spirits of ancestors. The attitude of Hamlet women towards these spirits is reflected in their common expressions, such as hanül togiji ("due to hanül's grace"), used upon occasions of good fortune, or hanül mapsisa ("Heaven forbid") which expresses fear or despair at times of misfortune. The common expression unsuji ("it is fate"), although making no direct reference to the spirits, reveals their feeling of helplessness and the belief that the course of life is supernaturally controlled. Since life is controlled by supernatural forces, the only course of action for the individual is to obey the spiritual beings as he does his own living father.

Ceremonies centered about this class of spirits are conducted solely by married women, usually under the direction of mudang, female shamans. In contrast to the formalized rites of ancestor worship, these ceremonies seem to have little systematization and each family has its own ceremonial method.

The countless spirits, some of them peculiar to single families, increase with each succeeding generation. The most common are related to the family and house, and are as follows:12

1. The guardian spirit of children residing in the mistress' room.
2. The guardian of the house and of the head of the family, residing in the maru.
3. The spirit of fortune, residing in the back yard.
4. The earth spirit, residing in the front yard, who is also a guardian of the mistress of the house.
5. The kitchen spirit.
6. A vaguely defined spirit residing under the roof in the front of the house.
7. The spirit of the gate.
8. The spirit of the toilet.

The places of residence designated above may vary; there are differences for every family or household. Occasionally Buddhist spirits and even those of certain ancestors are incorporated in this class.

The manner of physical representation of these spirits also varies. Certain households may use simple pieces of cloth or paper, or elaborately carved figures, and others may regard a jar or bottle put in a certain place as the abode of a spirit. Some households utilize no physical representations and simply assume that spirits occupy certain places. Whatever the practice, it is sure to be transmitted from mother to daughter-in-law or to daughter.13 A married woman, however, is likely
to combine the procedure of her own mother and that of her mother-in-law, and thus considerable variation is produced.

There is only one ceremony of any regularity for these spirits. Following the annual Sije, one day is selected for the worship of the various household spirits.\footnote{14} For this ceremony a very large steamed cake of rice flour and red beans is prepared. After dark a piece of this cake, a large bowl of rice wine, one or two dried fish, and a lighted candle are placed at each spot where the spirits are believed to reside, and the mistress of the household prays before each offering. The prayers do not seem to have any formalized rendering, and although information on the nature of the prayers is lacking, in view of the nature of the spirits as listed, one may conjecture that the prayers are for the welfare of the household. When the harvest is not plentiful, this ceremony is sometimes dispensed with, but if any misfortune later occurs, it is believed to be caused by the neglected spirits.

Apart from these annual ceremonies, there are other occasions when the women undertake personal religious observances for the welfare of individual members of the household. Women usually visit a mudang at the beginning of the year to determine the fortunes of the members of the family during the coming year. When death or grave misfortune are predicted, certain ceremonies are conducted by the women under the direction of mudang to prevent their actual occurrence.\footnote{15} Such dire predictions are common, and, since the mudang are paid for their services, seem to constitute their principal means of livelihood. The ceremonies range from a simple sacrifice of food to the spirit concerned to a complicated ritual lasting several days, which is often undertaken by the mudang themselves. Hamlet ceremonies are usually of the simpler sort, sometimes in the form of a request and at other times a demand.

Mudang are also commonly consulted to determine the auspiciousness of important forthcoming events. Their predictions on the suitability of prospective brides and grooms are almost always sought and favorable dates for weddings are set by them.

It should be added that mudang do not live in Hamlet nor in the village but only in the market towns where Hamlet women must go to consult them, and although great reliance is placed on the mudang, they are social outcasts and are seldom allowed entrance to Hamlet houses.

The religious activities directed toward the hanul and the kwisin and sin, like religious behavior in the rest of the world, provide psychological security by relieving the people of fear and uncertainty and by explaining events arising from unknown causes. The prevention and explanation of death are the main concern of the ceremonies which,
although they cannot always prevent death, do explain its causes, invariably blaming the acts of malevolent or neglected spirits. The mudang often lay the responsibility upon spirits hitherto unattended by the family, thus increasing the number of spirits and thereby also increasing their sources of potential income.

The two types of seemingly independent religious activities are observed by almost all families in Hamlet, without any apparent conflict. Men do not interfere with the religious practices of women, for sexual dichotomy applies equally strongly in the sphere of religion. Interference would be unmanly and for men to partake in such religious observances would be unthinkable.

Notes

1 Information regarding social functions was obtained from Informant B and checked with Informant A.
2 More information on the status of sex may be found in Chapters III, IV, and V.
3 Saju is the special fortune-telling for a marrying couple.
4 It is common practice to consult a blind fortune-teller for an auspicious wedding day.
5 Special ceremonial costumes for the bride and groom are used in the south where wedding ceremonies are far more complicated than those in the Hamlet.
7 The loud cry following the “spirit calling ceremony” and relating to death is called kok which is differentiated from other urum (“cry”).
8 The togae of the Han clan is administered by Upper and Lower Han Hamlets. Since this is the only one in Sŏkhu district, other people also rent ceremonial equipment from it.
9 The chesang is about three times as large and twice as high as the ordinary meal table. This table can be purchased and brought into the house only at the time when a member is dead.
10 The stick fight is played by boys from two different hamlets who gather on the dried up bed of Big Stream in Hamlet. The boys beat each other with sticks until the members of one team run away. The pebble fight consists of throwing the pebbles at each other while standing on opposit sides of the stream.

Akamatsu pointed out these eight places as general in Korea. Informant A and B identified numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 as the places of worship in their former houses.

14 The description is given by Informants A and B.

15 This class of ceremonies is in the southern part of Korea sometimes conducted in Buddhist temples. See also Chijo Akamatsu, op. cit., p. 317.
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The objectives of this study have from the outset been twofold; first, to determine the basic patterns of Upper Han Hamlet society and second, to examine their integration and interdependence with a view to testing the hypothesis that culture is a synthesis of integrated and interdependent parts. The truth of this hypothesis, it is hoped, has been demonstrated in the preceding pages. Simply restated, it implies that the various patterns, standards, and rules of conduct, as well as the thinking and behavior of persons are interdependent to the extent that each part has meaning only when viewed as a functionally related portion of the whole culture.

It also becomes apparent that a custom cannot be abolished nor a new set of patterns arbitrarily introduced without disturbing the equilibrium of the society. If a change is made in a particular custom, various changes will follow in other parts of the system. In general, Hamlet’s resistance to culture change is very strong, but if a new trait is not too different from established practices, it may become absorbed and the change would be almost unnoticeable at a future date.

The new educational system introduced into Hamlet in about 1920 is illustrative of this. Although education itself was not new, the Söksin Primary School replaced the older methods of instruction. Nevertheless, its teachings did not disrupt the traditional working principles of Hamlet. Thus the school adjusted and immersed itself in Hamlet life, and became an integral part of Hamlet society without disturbing the social equilibrium. Individuals educated in this new institution were taught to conform to the accepted way of life of Hamlet; those who would not conform generally left Hamlet. It is perhaps more accurate to say that they were driven out by the society whose stability they threatened.

The society strongly resists drastic changes because they tend to upset the existing order until readjustment is made, and considerable time may be required to recover equilibrium with altered social patterns. It is more common for a new trait to be rejected or only partially accepted if it seems likely to induce a marked change. However, whether a new concept is woven entirely into the culture or is partly rejected, it appears that some of its influence is felt, and thus the traditional culture constantly changes. As long as a society has contact with the outside
world, its culture never remains static although many shifts are indiscernable at first.

It appears that the stronger the disturbance, the greater the resistance is likely to be. Christianity furnishes an example. It was introduced by a Han family in the 1920s. If it had been permitted to remain there for any length of time, it would have undermined the basic principles of Hamlet society. The people who supported the new faith left Hamlet because of strong opposition, and Christianity left with them.¹ It is interesting to note that the Christian church of Hamlet, short-lived though it was, conducted services more similar to toch’ōng assemblies than to those of churches in other places. The church never had a minister: its services were conducted in the evening after the day’s work was done by the oldest scholar of the Hamlet.

The equilibrium of Hamlet society can only be maintained as long as people behave and think in certain ways, and teach their code of behavior to their offspring. Folkways have been developed on the unspoken hypothesis that culture reflects the absolute truth which needs no test. Therefore, whatever disagrees with their accepted way of behavior is wrong and illogical to the people. Their ways of thinking and acting thus provide a common ground for understanding each other. That is, the Hamlet people usually agree on what is right and wrong, and they endeavor to safeguard the one and reject the other. Their judgment, however, is valid only within their own culture. The ancestor worship ceremonies must be performed just so; a man may marry again when his wife is dead but a woman must not remarry; a parent should be stern and seemingly indifferent to his son who in turn must obey his father; the eldest son succeeds his father; these and other patterns are the essence of Hamlet culture and meticulous observance of these customs helps the survival of the culture.

These patterns of behavior are meaningless apart from the individual persons who comprise Hamlet society; similarly, the idea of Hamlet people living apart from their basic patterns is just as unthinkable. Just as Hamlet culture is expressed through the behavior of individuals, so are the characters of Hamlet dwellers conditioned, even molded, by the Hamlet’s patterns of culture. Most of the people are more or less similar; and whatever dissimilarities there are may be explained more often in terms of relative status than because of “innate characteristics.”

Now we can proceed to sum up the workings of Hamlet’s culture. Through familialistic relationships, the basic economic needs are met and other necessities for day-to-day life are provided. Through the clan relationships, more complicated and longer range social and economic goals are met, and the solidarity of a larger and more permanent group
than the family is maintained. The age-group relationships unite members of diverse families and clans into several functional units. In other words, these relationships, supported by other social patterns, make everyday life an orderly process and Hamlet culture continuous. In addition, market contacts connect Hamlet to the outside world and enable it to exchange goods and ideas with outsiders. In recent years the market relationships have become more important and will play an increasingly important role in bringing changes to Hamlet.

Analysis of such local customs as attend birth, marriage, funerals, subsistence techniques, and festivities, all lead us to the household or family and clan, and occasionally to age-group and market. This is not an accident, but is an essential feature of Hamlet’s culture, for these customs are the important means by which all the basic inter-personal relationships are expressed. Without these customs, there could be neither Hamlet culture nor Hamlet people. Therefore, these mores, seemingly trivial to outsiders, are important elements in Hamlet; and the people rightly are meticulous in observing the established and accepted rules relating to these practices. One cannot and should not attempt to change them arbitrarily.

The ultimate concern of the author in making this study is to provide understanding of the dynamics of culture in the farming villages of Korea; Hamlet was selected only as a typical example. The author has dealt with a description and analysis of Upper Han Hamlet and its basic patterns, but has not dealt with the reforms which rightly belong to statesmen and social reformers. However, it is her hope that this study will provide a practical basis for those interested in the problem of social reform in Korea.

Notes

1 When peaceful persuasion to renounce the Christian faith failed, the single Hamlet well was kept locked for months, and the key was circulated among other households so that use of the well was denied to the Christian household. Eventually, the latter left Hamlet, and the well was once again opened to the public.
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Activities
of the
Royal Asiatic Society
Korea Branch
1987
Annual Report of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1987

The Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, is one of several branches of its parent organization, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Founded in London in 1824 under the royal patronage of King George IV, the purpose of the Society as a whole is to study the “progress of knowledge in Asia and the means of its extension.” Since its founding in Seoul in June 1900 by a small group of foreign residents, the Korea Branch has been devoted, as its constitution requires, to stimulating interest in, promoting the study of, and disseminating knowledge about the arts, history, literature and customs of Korea and neighboring countries. To meet these requirements the Korea Branch sponsors lecture meetings, tours, and publications. Among the requirements of the Branch’s constitution is one that specifies an annual meeting at which a report of the year’s activities should be made to the membership. The annual report follows:

Membership: From its founding 17 members in 1900, the Korea Branch has increased to an impressive 1,709 members, this being the number registered in 1987 at the time of this report. The total figure includes 64 life members, 520 overseas members and 1,125 regular members residing in Korea. Membership includes not only those who participate in the activities of the branch in Seoul but also those who have joined the Taegu Chapter.

Meetings: During the year, 18 lecture meetings were held in Seoul and seven lecture meetings were held by the Taegu Chapter.

Tours: Full schedules of tours were carried out by the branch in both the spring and the fall of 1987 with participation in both Seoul and Taegu totalling more than 1,900.

Publications: The Korea Branch is justifiably proud of its accomplishments in producing and distributing works in English about Korea. Besides its annual Transactions Volume 61 for 1986, which was distributed free to members, Korean Political Tradition of Law by Hahm Pyong-Choon and Fifteen Years among the Top-Knots by Lilias Horton Underwood were reprinted in 1987 to meet continuing demand.

Finances: Monthly statements from the treasurer report that because of the continuing sale of its publications the Korea Branch enjoys a state of financial
health which allows it to continue to offer meetings, tours, and publications in order to meet its commitment to contribute to the “progress of knowledge” about Korea and her neighbors.

*Douglas Fund:* The Douglas Scholarship was awarded to Mr. Shin, Chun-sik and Mr. Kim, Chong-su, both at Sŏnggyun’gwan University.
### ACTIVITIES OF THE SEOUL BRANCH

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<td>June 13-14</td>
<td>Andong</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 20</td>
<td>Garden Party</td>
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<td>June 27</td>
<td>Olympic Park, River Cruise, 63-Story DLI Building</td>
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<td>July 3</td>
<td>Island Hopping off Inch’ôn</td>
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<td>July 4-5</td>
<td>Taech’ôn Beach</td>
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<td>August 16</td>
<td>P’yōkche Environ; Paju Miruk, and Pokwang-sa Temple</td>
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<td>August 21-23</td>
<td>Hūksan-do and Hong-do Islands</td>
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<td>August 29-30</td>
<td>Ch’ôllip’o</td>
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<td>September 5</td>
<td>Silk Tour</td>
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<td>September 6, 7</td>
<td>Ch’ôngp’yōng Boat</td>
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<td>September 11-13</td>
<td>Ch’ungmu and Hallyŏ Waterway</td>
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<td>September 12</td>
<td>Exotic Shrines</td>
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<td>September 19-20</td>
<td>Pyŏnsan Penninsula; Naesu-sa and Sonun-sa Temples</td>
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<td>September 25-27</td>
<td>Kyŏngju and Yangdong</td>
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<td>October 1</td>
<td>Surak-san Mountain</td>
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<td>October 3</td>
<td>Emillle Kut (Shaman ritual) and Pŏpchu Temple</td>
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<td>October 4</td>
<td>Temple dinner; Tosŏn and Hwagye Temples</td>
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<td>October 7-11</td>
<td>Ullung-do Island</td>
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<td>October 17</td>
<td>Kanghwa-do Island</td>
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<td>October 17-18</td>
<td>Tanyang and Ch’ungju Lake</td>
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<td>October 24</td>
<td>Inch’ôn to Suwŏn Railroad</td>
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<td>October 24-25</td>
<td>Ch’ŏllabuk-to; Chŏnju and Environ</td>
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<td>October 31</td>
<td>Yongmun-sa Temple</td>
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<td>November 1</td>
<td>Onyang Folk Museum and Hyŏnch’ung-sa Temple</td>
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<td>November 14</td>
<td>Wŏrak-san Mountain National Park</td>
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<td>November 21</td>
<td>Churches in Seoul</td>
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<td>November 28</td>
<td>Studio tour: temple art, woodcrafts, folk painting</td>
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<td>November 29</td>
<td>Magok-sa Temple and Independence Hall</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 4-6</td>
<td>Bird Watching; Chunam Lake, Pusan</td>
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<td>December 12</td>
<td>Potpourri Shopping Spree</td>
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<tr>
<td>December 13</td>
<td>Snow Scene Hiking; Kyeryong-san Mountain</td>
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</tbody>
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