

Trailblazers in a Traditional World: Korea's First Women College Graduates, 1910-45



Jihang Park

Social Science History, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Winter, 1990), 533-558.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0145-5532%28199024%2914%3A4%3C533%3ATIATWK%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>

Social Science History is currently published by Duke University Press.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/duke.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Trailblazers in a Traditional World: Korea's First Women College Graduates, 1910–45

JIHANG PARK

TO THE WESTERN visitor around the turn of the century, Korean women seemed the most secluded on earth. Isabella Bishop, the adventurous English traveler who visited Korea in the last years of the nineteenth century, reported that women there experienced a unique confinement: from the closing of the city gates of Seoul at dusk, all men except for the blind and officials were banished from the streets; then, and only then, in the safety of a male-free darkness, were the women at liberty to stroll and make social calls. And the higher the woman's status, the more severe her seclusion. The queen herself conceded that she knew little of her country, having never seen the streets of Seoul by daylight. This deprivation stemmed from the peculiar practice of rigidly segregating and secluding girls when they reached the age of six (Allen 1908; Bishop 1898; Glünicke 1904; Jones 1896). The custom was observed so faithfully that Bishop, during her extensive Korean

Jihang Park is associate professor of history at Inha University, Korea. Author of *Profit-sharing and Industrial Co-partnership in British Industry, 1880–1920: Class Conflict or Class Collaboration?* (1987), she has also published numerous articles on women's issues of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain in journals including *Past and Present* and the *Journal of Social History*. Since returning to her country, she has undertaken comparative-perspective research on Korea. She is currently engaged in a study of working-class formation in Korea. The author wishes to thank Ms. Y. Kim at the registrar's office of Ewha Women's University, Seoul, for permission to examine the university's college register. *Social Science History* 14:4 (Winter 1990). Copyright © 1990 by the Social Science History Association. CCC 0145-5532/90/\$1.50.

travels, never saw a girl who looked above six. The traditional Korean society therefore lacked the "brightness which girl life contributes to social existence" (Bishop 1898: 342).

The subordination of women was evident in every aspect of life. An Englishman visiting Korea several years after Bishop was shocked at the custom whereby women were not given a name of their own: they simply adopted the father's surname and were known only as the daughter, the sister, or the wife of some man (Glüncke 1904: 42). A Korean man wore a mourning hat for three years after his father's death; he wore it for only two years for his deceased mother. "Don't you wear a mourning hat if your wife dies?" one Westerner asked a Korean. "Oh, no!" he answered. "It is easy to get a new wife, but you can't get new parents" (Bergman 1938: 95). Significantly, Koreans even discriminated between father and mother. To these Western observers, Korean women seemed to have suffered so long and so much that someday they would rise up, and the "fury into which they [will] then work themselves is something awful to contemplate" (Allen 1908: 98).

That uprising of Korean women, however, failed to take place. Instead, women freed themselves from the bonds of convention gradually. The development of women's higher education represented such liberation, and it began far sooner than one might have expected. Considering the high degree of social subordination which then prevailed, it is surprising to learn that Ewha, the first women's college in Korea, was launched as early as 1910.

This article, then, represents an attempt to find out who the first college-educated Korean women were. By analyzing such important factors as social origin and regional and religious background, I will attempt to present a clear picture of the social composition of those women. I will also try to assess their contributions not only in upgrading the status of women in their native land but in helping to transform a profoundly traditional society into a modern one. Although Korean society was changing in the period 1910-45, the modernization process was painfully slow, and the fundamental social conventions remained intact beneath superficial changes. Obviously, human behavior and values do not change overnight. This article thus is also a response to recent revisionist arguments that tend to reverse the conventional view of the role of women in traditional Korea and to overemphasize the impact of modernization during the colonial era (Kendall and Peterson 1983). Along the way, I will make some comparisons,

drawing on my knowledge of the experience of Western women, particularly British women.

In the West, feminists of different persuasions devoted their efforts to numerous causes. In Korea, education was the focus of the women's movement from the very beginning and remained so until 1945—an understandable fact, considering that virtually all women were illiterate and that the state education system had yet to be established. Although various educational institutions existed in traditional Korean society, they were intended just for men. A very few women in the upper class—the *yangban* class—received instruction in the *onmun*, the Korean vernacular script. Still fewer upper-class women received an education in classical Chinese, the official written language of the Yi dynasty. Interestingly, some courtesans were among the select few who did.

Both men and women felt that the emancipation of women would be accomplished only through education, and various justifications were provided. The male attitude was typically paternalistic, favoring women's education in order to make women better mothers.¹ Many women, on the other hand, found their rationale for women's education in the inability of men to protect family life and the nation (Park et al. 1920; *Tonga Ilbo* passim; *Tong-nip Sinmoon* 18 May 1897, cited in Lee 1982: 117–18). Men, after all, had been in power when the country was reduced to colonial status, following Japanese annexation in 1910. Women were also concerned about the destruction of the family, which was becoming a grave social problem in the 1920s. The arranged marriage often matched an educated man and an illiterate woman, and men increasingly divorced their wives on that ground and remarried educated “new women,” graduates of girls' high schools that had been established during the last years of the nineteenth century. Finally, there were women who aspired to education as an opportunity for the reclamation of the individual. “I want to be a human being, and for that I must acquire knowledge and receive education. However, we Korean women have no way to get it. We have no means whereby to become a better and stronger person.” So did one young high school graduate cry out, vainly imploring her wealthy father to send her to college. Eventually, she fled to China. Not surprisingly, her tradition-minded father brought her back home (Chōng 1925).

In any case, education remained the foremost women's issue in

Korea, and it is not surprising that the first organized women's agitation in the 1890s was aimed at establishing schools for girls. That thrust notwithstanding, the expansion of education among girls was insignificant. Most Korean women (90% in 1930) were illiterate, and girls attending high school, not to mention college, constituted only a tiny minority. In 1931, there were no more than 4,554 students in 16 girls' high schools formally recognized by the government. By 1934, the number of students had increased slightly, to 5,123.

The Japanese colonial education policy was responsible for this extreme limitation. That policy was a slow expansion of basic elementary education in order to assimilate and "Japanize" Koreans, coupled with a vigorous effort to discourage higher education (Chŏng 1972; Grajdanzner 1944; Son 1971; Tsurumi 1984). When in 1924 the government-general finally acceded to the founding of a university, Keijo Imperial University, it was primarily for the sake of the children of Japanese colonials, whose number would reach 443,000 by 1925. The Japanese also hoped to stem the growing tide of Korean enrollment in Japanese colleges and universities because they were the most susceptible to "dangerous thoughts," especially with communism taking hold in Japan in the 1920s (*ibid.*: 307). At Keijo, the number of Korean students was deliberately kept under 30%: the first year's enrollment lists 44 Koreans, as compared to 124 Japanese (Son 1971: 192). Besides, they were granted admission only to the faculty of medicine and that of law and literature; they were barred from the college of liberal arts, considered a potential hotbed of nationalist consciousness (*ibid.*: 190; Tsurumi 1984: 307). Under this educational policy, it was no wonder that even high school graduates were considered "intellectuals." It was almost unthinkable, then, that a woman might receive a college education.

Secondary school graduates who wanted higher education chose either to enter Ewha or to go abroad, usually to Japan. One medical school for women and several two-year colleges for training future elementary and kindergarten teachers were available, but Ewha remained the only four-year women's college in Korea until 1938, when a three-year college, Sookmyong, was started.² Two years before the end of the Second World War, both Ewha and Sookmyong were converted into one-year training schools. Founded by American missionaries, Ewha began as a girls' school

in 1886 with only a single student. It developed rapidly, however; the first college courses were offered in 1910, and three women were graduated in 1914. The government recognized it in 1925, when it was formally reorganized, and between 1914 and 1945 the college produced some 700 graduates.

Of those who studied abroad, more than 80% chose Japan; the rest went to the U.S. and other countries (Kim and Lee 1933: 121). In 1930, there were only 153 students at Ewha, while 173 Korean women were studying at Japanese institutions. Just how insignificant this number was can be seen if we juxtapose it with the female population, which in 1930 was 10,039,219. Women between 15 and 19 numbered 1,042,493, and the average age at the time of entering college was 18 (Ewha Women's University 1925-45; Kwon et al. 1975: 150). Thus if we compare our figure of 326 to the entire female population age 15-19, we get 0.03%, or 3 in 10,000. For Korean women as a whole, the figure was only 3 out of 100,000.

In Korea, and to a degree in Japan, education was based on segregation and separate standards. Schools were strictly segregated by sex, and girls' schools were obliged to adopt a special curriculum. There were virtually no coeducational institutions until 1945. In the 1920s several universities in Japan allowed women to attend as auditors but refused to grant them degrees. Keijo Imperial University, the only university in Korea, was an all-male institution. And colleges open to women offered a limited curriculum. At Ewha, only three departments were established, literature, music, and home economics—all intended to serve women in their future role as mothers and wives. Particularly instructive was what lay behind the establishment of home economics in women's education. In the 1920s an increasing number of young men returned from the U.S. with college degrees and wanted to marry college-educated women. In response to this demand, the home economics department was set up to prepare Ewha women as desirable brides by teaching them how to cook Western food. Understandably, the department soon acquired the nickname of "the department of the daughter-in-law" (Min and Park 1981: 513).

Women interested in subjects other than literature, music, and home economics naturally considered enrolling at Japanese colleges. In fact, it was felt that the brighter girls went to Japanese

Table 1 Korean college students in Japan, 1930, by discipline and gender

	Female	Male
Medicine	43	56
Teachers' college	31	61
Home economics	30	0
Literature	21	412
Art	11	31
Economics	9	281
Law	8	659
Music	7	7
Agriculture	6	135
Science	3	77
Commerce	3	212
Miscellaneous	1	71
Total	173	2,002

Source: Park 1975: 920.

institutions and the lesser talents remained at home. As a result, Ewha lost the prestige it had gained in the early days (*ibid.*: 160; *Sinyōsōng* Oct. 1933: 28). As Table 1 shows, Japanese colleges provided greater variety. A noticeable feature of Table 1 is the difference in men's and women's majors. Whereas a majority of men were studying such subjects as law, economics, agriculture, and commerce, women stayed in the more traditionally feminine fields. A remarkable exception was medicine, in which the largest number of Korean women were engaged. This was because of a general belief that women were well suited to the healing arts, as we shall see later on. In any case, although most women were still involved in subjects traditionally associated with them, other, more adventurous spirits entered law, economics, and the like—normally male preserves.

On the other hand, to study the pattern of college applications in Korea is to observe the way in which outside development can affect career choices in women's higher education. The competition for entering Ewha College had been brisk in the early years, especially for the literature department. However, the trend had changed radically by 1939, as Table 2 indicates. The litera-

Table 2 Application to women's colleges in Korea, 1939

	To be admitted	Applicants	Rate of competition	Admitted
Ewha				
Literature Department	50	19	—	19
Music Department	30	28	—	25
Home Economics Department	40	94	2.35	40
College of Medicine	60	75	1.25	62
Elementary Teachers' College	400	1,494	3.74	400
Ewha School for Kindergarten Teachers	50	68	1.36	50
Choongang School for Kindergarten Teachers	40	93	2.33	40

Source: *Tonga Ilbo* 6 Apr. 1939.

ture and music departments recruited fewer applicants than they hoped to admit, while the home economics department remained popular.³ To be sure, the increasingly difficult economic conditions that resulted when Japan waged war on Manchuria and China in the 1930s reduced employment opportunities for literature graduates. A more decisive factor in restricted employment opportunities, however, was distrust of the Ewha women's academic capability, mentioned above. Secondary schools, in particular, preferred women trained in Japan to Ewha graduates.

The lack of interest in medical school, though medicine guaranteed lifelong employment, is interesting evidence of where college education stood from a woman's perspective. It was, according to *Tonga Ilbo* (6 Apr. 1939), because women felt that a five-year term was too long a time to spend studying for whatever fortune and prestige the practice of medicine might bring in the future. Women must marry before it was too late. Conversely, the teachers' college course guaranteed 100% employment yet took only two years to complete. Not surprisingly, many women who viewed a career as an intermediate step before marriage preferred teachers' college to medical school. The fragility of women's higher education is further evidenced in high dropout rates: more than half the women who entered Ewha in the period 1914–45 withdrew. Indeed, in some years the dropout rate was as high

as 80%. The reason: as soon as a suitable man was available, a woman's education was generally terminated.

What was the social composition of the first college-educated women in Korea? It must be noted first that the analysis and construction of their social character are not easy tasks: information on the early Ewha graduates is extremely limited, and sources concerning the graduates of Japanese colleges are all too scarce. Fortunately, there is a source concerning Ewha women after the college was reorganized in 1925: records of 190 women who graduated from the literature department between 1927 and 1944 (Ewha Women's University 1925-45). By drawing on these and other scattered materials, including contemporary newspapers and magazines and various period statistics, we can analyze the social composition of these women. Although the social origin of the graduates of Japanese colleges cannot be accurately identified, we can safely assume that they were of similar social origin, considering that higher education was restricted to only a tiny section of Korean women who were presumably from the more privileged classes. Analysis of Ewha women will thus suggest a broader picture of the college-educated women of 1910-45 as a whole.

When the missionaries started schools for girls in the last decades of the nineteenth century, they found it almost impossible to attract students: suspicious Korean parents felt that the Westerners would sell their daughters into slavery in foreign countries at the first opportunity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the early Ewha students were either orphans or girls from a background of extreme poverty. Far from being victimized, however, such girls, if they distinguished themselves academically at the Ewha girls' school, were accepted as students at the college and continued to receive financial support. Not infrequently, they went on to graduate. The first Korean dean of the college, appointed after the Japanese forced the American missionaries to leave the country in 1939, was a case in point. Other graduates in the early days were also from poor families and completed their education only through loans from the college, which they paid back by teaching at the school following graduation.

By 1920, girls from westernized middle-class families had begun to enter the college, and the composition of Ewha women became more diverse. In 1918, Ewha had 41 students altogether,

Table 3 Geographical origins of students at Ewha and Japanese colleges

	Ewha ^a (%)	Japanese institutions	
		Female (%)	Male (%)
Seoul/Kyonggi ^b	74 (38.9)	26 (13.1)	363 (10.1)
Northeast	28 (14.7)	20 (10.1)	503 (14.0)
Northwest	49 (25.8)	71 (35.7)	808 (22.5)
Southeast	3 (1.6)	47 (23.6)	900 (25.0)
Southwest	7 (3.7)	26 (13.1)	704 (19.6)
Midlands	14 (7.4)	9 (4.5)	316 (8.8)
Manchuria	10 (5.3)		
Unknown	5 (2.6)		
Total	190	199	3,594

Sources: Ewha Women's University 1925-45; Park 1975: 918. Hereafter all data concerning the Ewha women are from the college register unless stated otherwise.

^a All women.

^b The province surrounding Seoul.

of whom 16 were supported by their parents and 25 partly by the college. In the next year, 10 of 40 students were supported by their parents and the other 30 partly by the college; none, however, received a full scholarship (Ewha Women's University 1967: 245).

The literature department, which had absorbed the early college, produced 190 graduates (excluding 2 Japanese) between 1927 and 1944; of these, 170 women provided information on family background, including address, religion, father's occupation, and family property. One thing becomes immediately obvious. As Table 3 shows, almost half of them (40.5%) came from the northern provinces. The northern women represented an even higher proportion in the students at Japanese colleges, 45.7%, a much higher proportion than the men's 36.5%. The northwest alone represented more than a third of the total. One reason for this was obviously that Western culture was first introduced and missionary activity was concentrated in this region. It is understandable that "enlightened" and "progressive" northerners were more eager than the parents in the south to send their daughters to college. Another reason appears to have been the relative pros-

Table 4 Occupation groupings of fathers, mothers, and other family members

	Father (%)	Mother (%)	Other family members (%)	Total (%)
Agriculture ^a	33 (26.4)	1 (9.1)	15 (44.1)	49 (28.8)
Business	46 (36.8)	4 (36.4)	8 (23.5)	58 (34.1)
Industry	7 (5.6)	—	—	7 (4.1)
Professional	39 (31.2)	6 (54.5)	11 (32.4)	56 (32.9)
Total	125	11	34	170

^aIncludes one in fishery.

perity of the northwest. Pyŏngyang, the center of the region, for instance, had far more wealthy residents than any other city in Korea: while in other cities fewer than 2% of the people were wealthy (had property of 10,000 won or more), Pyŏngyang could claim that more than half of its population was—an exceedingly high proportion (Kim 1982: 279–80). As we will see later on, family property was a decisive factor in one's receiving a college education. What is important, in any case, is the considerable overrepresentation of the northern women.

Perhaps the most important factor in identifying the social character of college-educated women is the father's occupation and socioeconomic background. As Table 4 shows, approximately 37% of the fathers were in business; another 31% were in the professions—doctors, educators, civil servants, and ministers. Together, they represented two-thirds of all Ewha families, whereas fewer than 30% were engaged in agriculture. If we compare this result with the distribution of occupations in the entire population, we can see just to what extent business and the professions are overrepresented in our sample. In 1930 and in 1940, the agricultural sector employed an overwhelming majority of the labor force—approximately 4 out of every 5 working people (Table 5). Business could claim only 1 of every 16 or so and the civil service and the professions only about 1 in 40. As late as 1940 Korea was still a predominantly agricultural society.

This was true even though in the 1920s, the Japanese had begun industrialization in Korea—a step geared to imperial benefits. Although industrialization had produced a quarter million factory workers by 1939 and a large-scale peasant uprooting had taken

Table 5 Occupation groupings of the population as a whole

	1930 (%)	1940 (%)
Agriculture ^a	16,165,983 (82.1)	17,089,247 (74.4)
Business	1,253,895 (6.4)	1,825,185 (8.0)
Industry	449,262 (2.3)	1,080,222 (4.7)
Professional	523,105 (2.7)	709,571 (3.1)
Unemployed/others	1,293,342 (6.6)	2,250,378 (9.8)
Total	19,685,587	22,954,603

Sources: Kim and Lee 1933; Chōsen Government-General 1930b, 1940.

^aIncludes fishery.

place, the basic social structure remained largely unchanged because the Japanese monopolized the modernization process. During the 1930s and the early 1940s Korean groups and classes were excluded from the modernizing activity except as laborers or low-level technicians and bureaucrats. The landed class remained the elite until 1945, and their elitism was encouraged by the Japanese, who used Korean landlords to extract rice and to govern the countryside for them (Cumings 1984: 489–91).⁴ In 1929, for instance, the large landowners, who constituted a mere 3.7% of the entire farming population, controlled 77.1% of the tenants, partial tenants, or agricultural laborers and exercised a powerful hegemony (Kim 1982: 276).⁵ The Japanese incursion into industry and the capital market was also substantial from the very early years. As early as 1911, of 152 firms whose headquarters were based in Korea, 109 were owned by the Japanese and another 16 had Japanese-Korean co-ownership. By 1941, 94.5% were Japanese-owned, and paid-up capital in the big enterprises was always 90% or more Japanese throughout the colonial era. Those few Koreans who prospered in commerce and industry did so in league with the Japanese (Cumings 1984; Kim 1982).

In this context the disproportionate presence of the middle class among Ewha families has special significance. It was also true in nineteenth-century England that the middle class showed the greatest interest in the higher education of its daughters. However, it should be remembered that in Korea in the 1920s and the 1930s the bourgeoisie was numerically very small and not yet a powerful force in society, unlike the British middle class.

Besides the father's occupation, family property is the most

Table 6 Family wealth of Ewha students, 1928 and after

	Number of students	%
< 10,000 won	30	22.1
10,000–49,999 won	41	30.1
50,000–99,999 won	16	11.8
≥ 100,000 won	20	14.7
Unknown	29	21.3
Total	136	

important factor available to us in distinguishing the social character of Ewha graduates. The college register documents family properties of women who entered the college in 1928 and after (Table 6). Even if we consider as virtually unpropertied those 29 women who failed to record property—such an assumption would of course not be true, as demonstrated by the case of Yongay Park, whose brother owned a good-sized firm—more than half came from families who possessed 10,000 won or more.

Following the government-general surveys, we have defined 10,000 won as the dividing line between the wealthy and those below (*ibid.*: 280). There are no comprehensive data to establish the percentage of the population that belonged to this category, yet the data available for several cities indicate that this group represented less than 2% of the population in those cities. People with 50,000 won or more were far more scarce, ranging from 0.07% to 0.3%.⁶ Yet we find such a group comprising 26.5% of Ewha families. In 1930, when the lowest civil servant of Korean nationality received 387 won as an annual income, tuition and other expenses at Ewha were some 300 won per annum (Chōsen Government-General 1930b: 661, 677–79).⁷ Clearly, only an affluent family could afford such a substantial expense. The predominance of family wealth among Ewha women, then, reflects a significant change from the early days, when Ewha women were, if not orphans, at least very poor. It is particularly striking that at least 20 women were from extremely wealthy families, those with 100,000 won or more. If we break down the figures for the extremely wealthy, nine had 100,000–200,000 won; three, 200,000–300,000 won; five, 300,000–500,000 won; and three, 500,000 won or more.

The social prominence of Ewha women is further evidenced by

the inclusion of their fathers in the register of the largest landowners and the *Who's Who* of Korean business. The list of the largest landowners during the Japanese occupation in five provinces survives, and we find three fathers of Ewha women listed as owning 106, 130, and 221 *chôngbos* (one *chôngbo* equals 2.45 acres). The criterion for inclusion was 30 *chôngbos*, and only 445 men were listed as having 100 or more *chôngbos* throughout the five provinces (Hangook nongchon kyôngje yôngooso 1985: 99, 212–13).⁸ That 3 of 49 Ewha family members who earned their living from agriculture were listed among the largest landowners in Korea is significant. We also find 2 Ewha fathers included in *Who's Who in Business in Seoul*, an enormous overrepresentation (Kyôngsông Sanggong hoeuiso 1923).⁹

There were, of course, families with meager property: four families had less than 1,000 won, and four women, one of whom was adopted by a missionary, appear to have had no immediate family, let alone financial assets. Yet the dominance of the wealthy among Ewha women ought to be recognized. Interestingly, if we look closely at the occupations of those fathers with 50,000 or more won, we see that exactly half the total of 36 were in agriculture, whereas only 11 were in business and 3 in the professions. An analysis of the wealthiest (with 200,000 won or more) shows an even more dramatic disproportion: 8 were in agriculture, 2 in industry, and 1 in business. This finding indisputably confirms that the wealthiest Koreans during Japanese rule were members of the landed class.

The prominence of that class among the fathers of Ewha graduates suggests that by the 1920s, not only the middle class but the landed class as well had come to recognize the importance of seeing to their daughters' education. Were these men different in attitude from others engaged in agriculture? If so, perhaps the clearest difference lay in their religious background (Table 7). The percentage of Christians in the landed class is smaller by almost 10 percentage points than it is among all Ewha graduates. By contrast, Confucianism claimed members from the landed class at a percentage more than twice as high as from the Ewha population as a whole. Nevertheless, the 49.0% figure of Christians among fathers in agriculture was an impressively high proportion compared to that of Christians in the general population.

Indeed, one of the most distinctive features of Ewha women was

Table 7 Religious background of Ewha graduates

	All Ewha graduates (%)	Fathers in agriculture (%)	Koreans in 1930 ^a (%)
Christian	111 (58.4)	24 (49.0)	314,534 (1.6)
Confucian	14 (7.4)	9 (18.4)	—
Buddhist	2 (1.1)	—	403,027 (2.0)
No answer	63 (33.2)	16 (32.7)	—
Total	190	49	

Source: Chōsen Government-General 1930b: 660–61

Note: The census did not take into account Confucianism, which was to Koreans not so much a religion as a way of life.

^aThe total population of Korea in 1930 was 19,685,587.

their religious background: almost 60% were Christian. This is not surprising, considering that Western culture was transplanted largely by missionaries and that those Koreans who converted to Christianity were probably the most open to the idea of women's education. Even so, for there to have been so overwhelming a Christian-family representation at Ewha College in a predominantly non-Christian society is significant. For that matter, 16 of the fathers in our sample were Christian ministers. These were men of little means, barely able to afford so substantial an expense. It is probable that their interest lay less in their desire to give their daughters a higher education than in their hope of making them sincere Christians through further education at a missionary college.

Even more significant is the presence of landowners with Confucian beliefs among Ewha families. Despite traditional landowner norms of conduct, these men were sufficiently progressive to send their daughters to college. The typical landowner was said to allow generous expenses for his son's loose life but to refuse his daughter even a dress. Thus, the Ewha father who spent 300 won per year for his daughter's college education was a striking exception to the code of conduct followed by a typical Korean landowner of this period.

In conclusion, then, it is safe to say that the majority of Ewha families were affluent northerners assimilated to Christian and Western culture. Scattered information on the graduates of Japa-

nese colleges identified them as similarly affluent. Whereas the annual tuition and dormitory fees at Ewha amounted to 380 won, the minimum expenses for a Korean student in Japan were 480 won per year (*Tonga Ilbo* 17 Feb. 1934; Ewha Women's University 1967: 248, 254). Korean students in Japan, however, were more prominent socially than Ewha women. Some were from aristocratic families, whether the traditional aristocracy or the new peerage fabricated by the Japanese, whereas there were no such women at Ewha.¹⁰ Even so, a majority of women both at Ewha and at Japanese colleges were from a middle-class background. The progressiveness of the Korean middle class, at a time when it was an extremely small section of society and lacked any real prestige, should be noted.

Did the first college-educated women, who were apparently so well respected intellectually in Korean society, actually live up to expectations in the working world? What were the results of obtaining a college education in a country where women had never before had the opportunity? And how did Japanese imperialism influence women's career pursuits?

Female employment had become a major concern by the 1920s when women entered the paid labor force in considerable numbers. Not surprisingly, the primary obstacle to women pursuing a career was sexual discrimination in a tradition-bound society. The chief argument against women's employment was that it would be injurious to children and the home. Even its supporters strongly objected to the increasing tendency of women to stress career over domestic work: "Women can never leave home; their foremost responsibility rests in the home" (*Tonga Ilbo* 18 Jan. 1936). But women increasingly attempted to get out of their confined sphere, even though employment opportunities were pitifully limited.

Although, generally speaking, most Korean women sought work as a solution to economic distress, that was not the primary concern of our college-educated women, who were mainly from well-off families. Their principal concern was to be independent. Highly educated women, in general, were deeply dissatisfied with the traditional marriage and compared it to slavery. To be free, they argued, women must have an occupation and be economically independent. One physician, a graduate of a medical college

Table 8 Professional groupings by gender in Korea, 1930

	Male	Female	Total	Ratio of male to female
Christian minister/preacher	1,513	978	2,491	1.5:1
Doctor	1,958	35	1,993	55.9:1
Journalist/writer	1,496	20	1,516	74.8:1
Teacher ^a	13,587	2,271	15,858	6.0:1
Civil servant	49,507	108	49,615	458.4:1

Source: Chōsen Government-General 1930a: 142–43.

^aThis includes part-time instructors, many of whom were women and had no certificate.

in Tokyo, was determined to find a way to live without relying on a man and having to put up with his “arrogant, cold-blooded and despotic tyranny” (Han 1936: 164; *Tonga Ilbo* 7 Nov. 1924).

In terms of career choices, our women show similarities to their sisters in Western nations. Yet there are notable differences. The most distinctive feature of women’s employment during Japanese rule—which is the case even today—was a strict division of labor between the sexes. Occupations open to women ranged from the more professional ones—teacher, doctor, journalist, midwife, nurse—to such jobs as saleswoman, telephone operator, and factory worker. By the 1930s, employment opportunities had become slightly more diverse; women were admitted to the ranks of pharmacists, bank tellers, engineers, and taxi drivers.

As Table 8 shows, the occupations in which women were least represented included the civil service, medicine, and journalism/writing. To be sure, Korean men also experienced the injustice of underemployment in those occupations. In 1926, for instance, there were 719 Japanese as against 285 Koreans in the judicial branch. If we consider judges alone, we find 148 Japanese as opposed to a mere 30 Koreans. It is no wonder that women lawyers and women judges were nonexistent. However, in other fields which were less influenced by imperialist policies, such as medicine, women still held far fewer positions than men. In 1930, there were only 35 medical doctors, 38 dentists, and 65 pharmacists in a female population of more than 10 million.

Like their British sisters, college graduates in Korea tended to find teaching the most suitable occupation. However, whereas

Table 9 Distribution of Korean and Japanese elementary school teachers in Korea and their salaries (in won)

	Korean				Japanese			
	No. of teachers		Salary		No. of teachers		Salary	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1922	2,598	201	52	48	1,094	213	115	75
1926	4,682	421	52	48	1,803	343	114	79
1928	5,185	415	52	48	1,993	304	117	79
1930	5,601	460	53	49	2,259	289	115	80

Source: Chōsen Government-General 1930b: 630–31.

Table 10 National origin of teachers at Korean girls' high schools

	Teachers			Students
	Japanese	Korean	Foreign	
Public (6 schools)	62	17	1	1,556
Private (10 schools)	29	111	14	2,866
Total	91	128	15	4,422

Source: Chōsen Government-General 1930b: 638–39.

teaching positions in Britain rapidly expanded thanks to the establishment of state education, teaching opportunities in Korea were severely restricted. This was partly because of the colonial education policy pointed out above, and partly because only a small number of schools could absorb college graduates. Women found it difficult to obtain even elementary school positions. Table 9 indicates the double discrimination the Korean women had to face. In 1930, for every 12 male teachers, there was only 1 female teacher who had obtained her certificate and taught at government-recognized elementary schools.¹¹ Considering that Japanese women totalled 13% of their male colleagues, the discrimination against Korean women becomes obvious. Equal pay was a remote idea for both Japanese and Korean women; even so, Korean women received only 61% of the salary of their Japanese sisters and 43% of the salary of Japanese male teachers.

During Japanese rule, the demand for elementary school teachers was sustained even without compulsory education and even

though most Korean parents could not afford to send their children to elementary school. However, the situation in secondary school was quite different. In all 16 girls' schools, there were only 128 Korean teachers selected from some 20 million Koreans, whereas the much smaller Japanese population boasted proportionately far greater representation in high school teaching, as Table 10 indicates. Public schools, by the way, employed a far higher proportion of Japanese teachers, further evidence of Japanese colonial policy.

We cannot say how many women were included in those 128 Koreans, but a women's magazine lamented in 1925 that there were only one or two women teachers at each school. More lamentable was that while "men are teaching such important courses as mathematics and literature, women teach only sewing, cooking, or embroidery" (XYZ 1926: 64). Even so, secondary school teaching was regarded as the most desirable career open to women. Only college graduates were qualified for it, and the salary they received was one of the two highest, along with a doctor's. It is not surprising, then, that teaching was considered a most respectable female profession. It had, however, a negative side as well: standing for long hours was believed to be harmful to the womb, and chalk was thought to cause the then incurable tuberculosis. Teaching was also considered boring and monotonous. A former high school teacher said bluntly that "teaching life was like prison life" (Roundtable 1933: 23). Teachers were at first deeply committed and considered teaching sacred, yet they were soon to realize that there was nothing sacred in "talking like a gramophone every day, every month, and every year" (*Tonga Ilbo* 11 Mar. 1928). Consequently, teaching soon lost favor in the eyes of many women.

On the other hand, journalism, which had become open to Korean women for the first time in the 1920s, gained popularity with great rapidity, as indeed it had in Britain by the turn of the century (Park 1987). However, whereas in Britain women found journalistic work plentiful, there were only a handful of women journalists in Korea before 1945; even then they were hired largely as "a novelty or a flower in the office" and assigned only to material considered suitable for the woman's page. Moreover, the primary responsibility of the early journalists was advertising, because magazines for women were almost unheard of (*Sinyŏsŏng*

Mar. 1932: 48–50). The dearth of employment opportunities notwithstanding, journalism soon surpassed teaching as the career most desired by young women. In the early 1920s, most high school graduates had hoped for a career in teaching; only a few years later, the first choice was a career in journalism (*Sinyōsōng* Mar. 1926: 52).

It may seem surprising, but in Korea, as opposed to the West, a medical career was considered suitable for women—a curiously progressive attitude. A preponderance of Korean women students in Japan were studying medicine, as we have seen, and one of the few institutes founded for women in Korea in the 1920s was a medical school. This was in sharp contrast to the experience of those Western women who chose medical careers. As we have seen, in the Korean view women were by nature kind, generous, and gentle and thus suitable to medicine. At the same time, medicine was compatible with home life; that is, an independent practice enabled the woman doctor to combine her profession with her housework. This was an enormous advantage in a society where a woman's responsibility at home was believed to be far more important than any profession.

Even in medicine, however, women had to deal with deep-rooted discrimination, which proceeded from a fundamental distrust of their abilities and an assumption that they were less responsible than men. Patients, dubious about the ability of women doctors, preferred men; hospitals, aware of this prejudice, tended to employ men. When they hired women at all, it was mainly because they could get them for lower pay (*Pyōlkōngon* Aug. 1924: 52; Mar. 1927: 101). At the same time, women doctors who tried to concentrate on their work by remaining unmarried were not tolerated; they were too “strong-minded” (*Chokwang* May 1937: 235). Such prejudice simply could not be overcome. In the beginning, women were convinced that it would disappear when they acquired skills that paralleled those of men. Unfortunately, though women acquired the skills, the prejudice remained.

In the first half of the twentieth century, more than 90% of Korean women married before age 20 and 99% married by age 45, a fact reflecting the prevalent belief that everyone must be married and that the worst marriage was better than no marriage at all. The normal age of a bride was 16 or 17 (Kwon et al. 1975: 45–46). College-educated women were thus well above average age

when they married, and found it all the more difficult to combine marriage and career. Understandably, college graduates tended to marry as soon as they graduated or to give up their careers the moment they did marry. Resenting the limited results of their educational labors, the early missionaries at Ewha went so far as to urge graduates to remain single (Min and Park 1981: 398).

In a nation where so few women were educated, those women who were college graduates and yet remained socially inactive were severely criticized. Interestingly, their husbands, and not the women themselves, were blamed for that inactivity—a further indication of women's subordinate status. When critics compared Korean women with Western women, they praised the latter for successfully combining marriage and career. A more progressive opinion even encouraged women to sacrifice marriage in order to pursue a profession (*Pyölköngon* Nov. 1932: 42; *Tonga Ilbo* 12 Mar. 1928). On the other hand, the majority of college-educated Korean women believed in the traditional family framework and chose marriage over a career. Progressive enough to believe that single women needed employment, they were still bound by the belief that married women should remain at home. Even the most highly educated and trained professionals tended to abandon their career after marriage and become “as traditional as any ignorant woman” (Kim 1934: 26; *Yösong* May 1937: 54).

Some women, of course, did choose a career over marriage. Ewha, in particular, was known for producing a large number of unmarried professionals: a majority of the graduates in the 1910 period remained single. They probably did so because, as the first graduates of the college, they were deeply conscious of their role as pioneers. Also, the missionaries, who themselves were often unmarried, presumably influenced their students. Nor did unmarried professors at Ewha hide their displeasure when their former students wed. Miss A. Kim, for instance, fell ill when she heard of the engagement of a former student in the U.S. She had fully expected the student to return to the college and devote her life exclusively to teaching, just as she herself had done (Min and Park 1981: 269, 531–32).

To be sure, college-educated women were part of the 1% of the female population who remained single for the rest of their lives. And some of them made it clear that they resented their single status. Jongkyu Son, a famous and respected teacher in

Korea, declared that “there is nothing more pitiful than an old maid” and advised her students not to be choosy and thus miss the opportunity for marriage. Other secondary school teachers maintained a similar attitude and, when the opportunity came, unhesitatingly chose marriage over a career (*Sinyōsōng* Nov. 1931: 31; *Pyōlkōngon* Dec. 1926: 67).

Under such circumstances, a number of women were bound to be involved in nonmarital sex. The graduates of Japanese colleges, in particular, were notorious for it. In the 1920s, the “new women” were represented by these graduates, who protested the traditional sexual prohibitions and marital bonds. Compared to the graduates of Japanese colleges, Ewha women were on the conservative side, though known as the most liberal and westernized in Korea. This was no doubt due to the missionaries’ influence; the schools they founded emphasized rigid discipline and tight self-control. Their strict attitudes annoyed both their students and outside observers, who claimed that the Westerners, while on paper advocating women’s emancipation, political rights, and equality, restricted their students’ freedom because “they look down upon and underestimate Korean women” (Cho 1924: 82).¹² Any relationships and even casual encounters with men were strictly prohibited in their schools, and the dormitory system was used most effectively. In the matter of marriage, therefore, the college graduates, with the exception of a few brave spirits, shared the same destiny as their uneducated sisters: they were thrown to an unknown man picked by their parents. As a compensation for their ignorance of the opposite sex, these young women were advised simply to read novels and observe men’s nature (Roundtable 1931).

For women successfully to pursue the fruits of higher education against the opposition of a deeply traditional society, there had to be a bond of sisterhood. Normally it was a spiritual bond, but sometimes it was also biological. As with the Garrett sisters in Britain, we find in Korea, among others, the Kim sisters, who became pioneers in distinct fields. They included Esther Park, the first woman doctor in Korea (she was trained in the U.S. in the last years of the nineteenth century); Maria Shin, the first woman teacher at a secondary school; and Baesae Kim, the first formally trained nurse in Korea. Another important element was strong maternal support—a finding contrary to what Olive Banks (1987:

ch. 3) argues concerning the British feminists. Significantly, 54 of the 190 Ewha women studied in this article had no father, and mothers often had sole responsibility for their education. The mothers were determined to see to their daughters' education as a partial compensation for their own harsh experience in life (Pahk 1954; Kim 1964).

A mutual help network might also have been helpful, but the numerical insignificance of professional women made that impractical, and only a very few professional organizations were formed in the years 1910–45. The first was the Korean Association of Nurses, founded in 1923. Teachers, who constituted the largest women's group, were nonetheless in a tiny minority and did not form their own professional organization until 1929. Even then, these organizations were aimed less at the promotion of women's interests and rights than at providing a new opportunity for socializing.

In this context we must point out that in Korea, unlike nineteenth-century Britain, there was almost no significant social work actively promoted by women (Vicinus 1985; Walton 1975). In Korea, the number of women devoting themselves to charity and community settlement remained minimal. There seem to have been several reasons for this. One, obviously, was the absence of any such tradition in Korean society, which had been rigidly hierarchical for centuries. Another was the extreme limitation imposed on all women's activities. The most important reason, however, was the existence of a national liberation movement and the attraction it held for all patriotic Koreans. If the American and British women established a tradition of social reform, the Korean women put their energies to the struggle against Japanese rule. The nationalist movement was to Korean women what the struggle for suffrage was to British women, and this all-important cause attracted women of all descriptions. In 1927, their combined efforts resulted in the formation of a unified women's organization. Unfortunately, the movement soon split into left and right wings.

We cannot accurately determine how many of or how deeply our college-educated women were involved in the struggle against the Japanese. Clearly, some women in the early colonial years, especially the graduates of the 1910s, were active in the political and military struggle against Japan. But as Japanese colonialism stabilized, a majority withdrew. This was especially true after the

failure of the national uprising in 1919. Ewha women, mostly Christians, thereafter restricted their efforts to promoting education and attempting to enlighten other women.¹³ Some graduates of Japanese colleges, on the other hand, turned to the socialist and communist movements in the belief that national liberation could be achieved only through victory over Japanese imperialism.¹⁴ It is clear that under Japanese rule, the utmost priority was given to the national question. It overwhelmed all other issues until 1945.

In an effort to reconstruct the collective identity of the first generation of college-educated women in Korea, this article has analyzed their social composition and pursued their careers following graduation. It has also considered their attitudes toward marriage and other social conventions in order to understand the contributions and limitations of those highly educated women at a time when it was very rare for women to go to college. It is hoped that along the way this analysis has shed some light on the social and economic composition of Korean society during the Japanese occupation. One thing is certain: a majority of the first college-educated women in Korea were from the upper and middle classes; businessmen and professionals were dominant among Ewha families. This is significant because at the time the bourgeoisie was not yet a powerful force in society; in this respect at least, the Korean middle class appeared increasingly progressive and adventurous. For that matter, even some members of the landed class had by the 1920s become sufficiently progressive to see to their daughters' education.

This article has also pointed out that the first generation of college-educated women in Korea failed to live up to the high expectations the public had of them (there were, of course, some important exceptions). It is hard to determine to what extent their failure was the result of sexual bias or racial discrimination or both. The existing social and political conditions obviously prohibited the women from pursuing the life to which they aspired, and in a colonial society the situation was bound to be aggravated. However, the main responsibility seems to rest with the women themselves. Their beliefs and behavior revealed tremendous confusion, a point clearly evidenced by their attitudes toward marriage and career. To be sure, it may be asking too much of them to have broken the double shackles that bound them. Yet, limited

as their contributions may have been, those first college-educated women played an important role in opening the door to women's higher education and to professional careers. As trailblazers in a tradition-bound world, they also reflected the transformation of Korean society at one of the most critical periods in its history.

NOTES

- 1 To be sure, that argument was also supported by women. Such thinking was, of course, part and parcel of feminist ideology even in the West. See Banks 1986.
- 2 Sookmyong consisted of two departments, home economics and handicrafts, and had fewer students than Ewha.
- 3 The home economics department received applicants three times over the next year (*Tonga Ilbo* 22 Mar. 1940).
- 4 There have been interesting disputes concerning economic development in the colonial era. One group defines colonial Korea as a semifeudal society, while the other views it as a deformed capitalist one. See, for instance, Chŏng and Lee 1984; Kim et al. 1988; Park et al. 1987.
- 5 The Japanese, encouraged by the colonial administration, were rapidly expropriating the land; in 1926, 177 of the 243 largest landlords in Korea were Japanese.
- 6 Pyŏngyang was again an exception, with far greater representation among the very wealthy: 3.01% of its population had 50,000 won or more.
- 7 The Japanese in the same position received 683 won, almost double that sum. For other salaries, see Chōsen Government-General 1930: 661, 677–79.
- 8 The data are based on the survey conducted in 1930.
- 9 This reference book was published irregularly, and I could find only the 1923 edition.
- 10 During Japanese rule, aristocrats and people of high social position still attempted to dissociate themselves from Christianity and missionary schools.
- 11 Because this statistic counted only teachers with certificates, the ratio of women teachers to men is lower in Table 9 than in Table 8.
- 12 A 1931 Ewha graduate who became a prominent writer recalled that “the teaching was so different from what I had expected and smacked so much of a missionary school” (Mo 1936: 94).
- 13 In the last years of Japanese imperialism, prominent women leaders, including Helen Kim, dean of Ewha, were actively engaged in promoting the war effort on behalf of the Japanese government.
- 14 Socialism began to spread among Korean intellectuals in the 1920s via those who studied in Japan. Its expansion was rapid, and in the early 1930s the missionaries complained that the younger generation was full of socialist or even communist ideas. See Grajdanzner 1944: 275.

REFERENCES

- Allen, Horace N. (1908) *Things Korean*. New York: Fleming H. Revell.
- Banks, Olive (1986) *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- (1987) *Becoming Feminists*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Bergman, Sten (1938) In *Korean Wilds and Villages*, translated by F. Whyte. London: John Glifford.
- Bishop, Isabella (1898) *Korea and Her Neighbors*. New York: Fleming H. Revell.
- Cho, S. H. (1924) “Söyang sönkyosaegae” (To the authorities of missionary schools). *Sinyösong* 2 (November): 81–82.
- Chokwang (Dawn) (1935–44).
- Chöng, S. D. (1925) “Jölöpchönyöui ponmin” (Agony of a high school graduate). *Sinyösong* 3 (November): 23–26.
- Chöng, S. W. (1972) “Hangook keundae yösong kyoyook” (Modern education of Korean women), in *Hangook yösongsa* (The history of Korean women), by M. K. Ha, H. J. Lee, T. Y. Lee, H. K. Yu, Y. D. Kim, and K. S. Su, vol. 2. Seoul: Ewha Women’s University: 245–348.
- Chöng, Woonyoung, and T. Lee, eds. (1984) *Hangook chabonjooeuron* (The development of capitalism in Korea). Seoul: Kachi.
- Chösen Government-General (1930a) *Kokuzei chösa hōkoku* (Population census data). Seoul.
- (1930b, 1940) *Tokei nempō* (Statistical yearbook of the government-general). Seoul.
- Cummings, Bruce (1984) “The legacy of Japanese colonialism in Korea,” in Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie (eds.) *The Japanese Colonial Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 478–96.
- Ewha Women’s University (1925–45) College register. Seoul.
- (1967) *Ewha palsipnyönsa* (The eighty-year history of Ewha). Seoul: Ewha Women’s University Press.
- Glünicke, G. J. R. (1904) “The women of Korea.” *Nineteenth Century* 56: 42–45.
- Grajdanzer, Andrew J. (1944) *Modern Korea*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.
- Han, S. J. (1936) “Keuriwoon yetsaenggak” (Reminiscence of old days). *Sinkajöng* 4 (June): 164–65.
- Hangook nongchon kyöngje yöngooso (Korea Agriculture Research Center) (1985) *Ilcheha taechijoo myöngboo* (The list of large landowners under Japanese rule). Seoul.
- Jones, George H. (1896) “The status of woman in Korea.” *Korean Repository* 3: 223–29.
- Kendall, L., and M. Peterson, eds. (1983) *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*. New Haven, CT: East Rock.
- Kim, Helen (1964) *Grace Sufficient: The story of Helen Kim, by Herself*. Nashville, TN: Upper Room.
- Kim, Kijin (1934) “Chosönyösongyiyö, toksöbara” (Read, Korean women). *Sinkajöng* 2 (October): 26–28.

- Kim, S. Y., and Y. Lee (1933) *Sūzi Chōsen kenkū* (Statistical study of Korea). Seoul.
- Kim, Yongmo (1982) *Hanguok sawhoe kecheung yōngoo* (Study of social stratification in Korea). Seoul: Ilchogak.
- Kim, Yoonwhan, K. J. Cho, S. W. Chang, W. Y. Chung, Y. M. Lee, M. K. Kang, Y. S. Kim (1988) *Hanguok chabonjooeu sōngkyōknjaeng* (Disputes on capitalist development in Korea). Seoul: Taewang.
- Kwon, Taewhan, H. Y. Lee, Y. S. Chang, and E. Y. Yu (1975) *The Population of Korea*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- Kyōngsōng Sanggong hoeuiso (1923) *Kyōngsōng sanggong myōngnok* (Who's who in business in Seoul). Seoul.
- Lee, Hyōnhee (1982) *Hanguk kundae yōsōng kaewhasa* (A history of the enlightenment of Korean women). Seoul: Iwoo.
- Min, Sookhyōn, and T. Park (1981) *Hangaram Pomparame* (A chronicle of a hundred years of Ewha). Seoul: Jiin.
- Mo, Yoonsook (1936) "Ōtōke nan siini deōtna?" (How I became a poet?). *Sinkajōng* 4 (March): 92–96.
- Pahk, InDuk (1954) *September Monkey*. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Park, C. W., S. P. Ham, S. J. Yu, and J. T. Yu (1920) "Chosōnyōsōng hae-bangkwan" (The emancipation of Korean women). *Kebyōk* 4 (September): 28–45.
- Park, Hyonchae, Y. H. Chōng, K. U. Lee, and D. K. Lee, eds. (1987) *Hanguok kyōngjeron* (Study of the Korean economy). Seoul: Kachi.
- Park, Jihang (1987) "Women of their time: The growing recognition of the second sex in Victorian and Edwardian England." *Journal of Social History* 21: 49–67.
- Park, Kyongsik, ed. (1975) *Chōsen mondai shiro shōsho* (Koreans in Japan: Select documents), vol. 2. Tokyo: Sanichi shobō.
- Pyōlkōngon (Heaven and earth) (1926–34).
- Roundtable (1931) "Hakboohyōngui yōhaksang moonje jadamhoe" (Parents talking about daughters). *Sinyōsōng* 9 (June): 31–36.
- (1933) "Chōnyō jadamhoe" (Famous mademoiselles). *Sinyōsōng* 7 (January): 18–28.
- Sinyōsōng (New woman) (1923–34).
- Son, Insoo (1971) *Hanguok keundae kyoyoongnon* (History of modern education in Korea, 1885–1945). Seoul: Yōnse University Press.
- Tonga Ilbo (Tonga daily news) (1920–40).
- Tsurumi, E. Patricia (1984) "Colonial education in Korea and Taiwan," in Ramon Myers and Mark Peattie (eds.) *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 275–311.
- Vicinus, Martha (1985) *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Walton, R. (1975) *Women in Social Work*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- XYZ (1926) "Pyōngpanchoeun yōsōnsaengnimdeul" (Respected women teachers). *Pyōlkōngon* 1 (December): 64–68.
- Yōsōng (Women) (1936–40).