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THE NEW KOREA

By

ALLEYNE ICELAND, FB.G.S.,

Author of "Democracy and the Human Equation,"

"An

*Adventure with a Genius,** etc.*

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PREFACE

About twenty years ago I published three volumes dealing with colonial administration in the Far East. They related to British rule in Burma, the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements, Sarawak, British North Borneo, and Hong Kong, American rule in the Philippines, Dutch rule in Java, and French rule in Indo-China.

It had been my intention to include an account of Japanese rule in Formosa; but by the time I had turned back east after two years of westerly travel the Russo-Japanese war was in progress, and a visit to Formosa was out of the question. When, in 1922, the opportunity presented itself to spend the greater part of the year in the Far East, I decided that a volume describing Japanese administration in Korea would make a more interesting contribution to the study of Government than a similar work about Formosa.

Formosa is merely one example among many of a civilized race ruling a people in a very low stage of development. Korea, on the other hand, presents the rare spectacle of one civilized race ruling another civilized race. It is true that at

the time **Japan annexed Korea, in 1910, the** actual conditions of life in the Peninsula were extremely bad. This was not due, however, to any lack of inherent intelligence and ability in the Korean race, but to the stupidity and corruption which for five hundred years had, almost continuously, characterized the government of the Korean dynasty, and to the existence during that period of a royal court which maintained throughout Korea a system of licensed cruelty and corruption.

Such was the misrule under which the Koreans had suffered for generation after generation that all incentive to industry, thrift, and social progress had been destroyed, because none of the common people had been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their own efforts.

The title of the present volume gives the key to its contents. What I have attempted is to present in some detail the aims, the methods, and the results of Japanese administration in Korea. Of the right of the Koreans to govern themselves, of the right of the Japanese to govern them I have said but little, for the subject has been discussed exhaustively by other writers, both from the point of view of the Korean nationalists and from that of the Japanese imperialists, and is in any case of such a nature that a judgment one way or the other can reflect nothing but the individual temperament of the judge.

There is already in existence a voluminous literature relating to Korea, much of it of great interest and importance. Most of it, however, falls under one of two heads—writing descriptive of the country and of the people, or polemical writing in which Japanese administration in Korea is attacked or eulogized on the basis of material specially selected to serve one purpose or the other.

To the English-reading public there is available at present only one source of statistically-based information covering every phase of Japanese rule in Korea—the *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen*, compiled and published by the Government-General. Although these reports contain a great deal of valuable comment and a considerable body of statistical data, a careful perusal of the volumes covering the past ten years convinced me that a work such as I had in mind could not be written from that material alone. It was clear that a good deal of the matter appearing in the reports had been condensed from departmental reports in which various subjects had been treated in full detail. Both as to data and to comment a large proportion of the contents of the present volume is taken from translations of official material which has not hitherto been accessible in English.

Where I have expressed my own opinion of Japanese administration in Korea, it has been

derived from the consideration of what I saw in the country, what I have read about it in official and in unofficial publications, and from discussions with persons—Japanese, Korean, and foreign—who were living in the Peninsula at the time of my visit.

AULEYNE IRELAND.

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THE NEW KOREA

THE NEW KOREA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Korea is destined to occupy a position of constantly increasing importance with reference to the general problem of the Far East. Her geographical situation predetermines for her a future indissolubly linked with that of China, of Asiatic Russia, and of Japan, with two of which she has land frontiers, and from the third is separated only by a narrow strait. It is impossible to foresee any political, social, or economic developments in northeastern Asia in which Korea will not fill a role as significant as that of Turkey in respect of the Near East, of Egypt in respect of the British Empire, or of the Panama Canal Zone in respect of the United States.

The annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 made waste paper out of bales of laboriously compiled reports and of ingenious predictions

about Far Eastern affairs. It reflected, in brief, the determination of Japan to forestall any attempt which might be contemplated by China to reassert, and to make active, its former suzerainty over Korea, or on the part of Russia to secure in the Korean Peninsula a position of such dominance as would create the temptation, and furnish the instrument, to take the control of the country out of the hands of its weak, incompetent, and corrupt rulers.

Looking forward from 1910, one thing was clear where many things were obscure, namely that Japan, having decided to make Korea part of her Empire, would deem the permanence of her occupation to be a major element of her national policy, to be held intact, at whatever cost, against internal revolt or foreign intrigue.

In the field of international policy the Japanese annexation of Korea is perfectly suited to serve as a demarcating issue between two schools of political conviction—the imperialist and the nationalist—and according to whether the reader belongs to one or to the other of these schools, so will he convince himself that Japan has the "right" to rule Korea, or that the Koreans have a "right" to independent nationhood.

The common employment of the word "right" in this connection has done much to befog the actual matter in controversy between the imperialists and the nationalists, since the "rightness"

of either doctrine when applied to a particular case can only be measured with reference to the particular circumstances.

The most extreme imperialist would balk at the suggestion that the United States should, on account of its great power and of its advanced social development, annex every backward and undeveloped country south of the Rio Grande. The most extreme nationalist would ridicule the idea that the "right" of the Australian aborigines to self-determination justified an effort to emancipate the island-continent from white rule. The pinnacle of absurdity would be reached if anyone should start a movement to restore the control of the North American Continent to the Indian tribes. Grotesque as these instances appear when viewed from the practical standpoint, they suffice to expose the fallacy of basing either an imperialist or a nationalist policy upon a principle of abstract right.

It is my purpose to examine Japanese rule in Korea as a concrete example of colonial administration, without reference to the legal or moral sanctions upon which it rests. The reasons for thus limiting the inquiry will be obvious to all serious students. I state them here in the hope that they will be accepted as valid by the general reader.

The annexation of weak countries by strong countries is a phenomenon which has persisted

since the beginning of recorded time; practically every strong nation has practiced the habit.

The arguments for and against such a procedure have been stated and re-stated thousands of times in every country, and have been expressed in almost every language. They are familiar to, or accessible to, every person who will read this volume. I have nothing to add to them. A discussion of the moral, ethical, legal* political, social, and economic problems raised by an act of annexation, as such, is irrelevant to a presentation of the facts descriptive of a working system of colonial government, since the character of an administration is what it is, and can be fairly judged only on the basis of the data of its operation.

To combine a description of a colonial govern-* ment with an essay on the moral quality of the imperialist principle would be to invite confusion of thought. Thus, in any given case, if the admini-* stration of an imperial government is found to be bad in fact, this badness will be used by nationalists as an argument against imperialism, whereas if bad administration is found in a popular government, nationalists will not tolerate any use of this badness as an argument against popular rule.

Conversely, with reference to good administration; if nationalists find that it exists in fact under a system of popular self-government, they

will welcome the finding as a justification of that system; but if good administration is found in an imperial dependency, nationalists will not allow the finding to stand to the credit of the imperialist system; they will then shift the issue from the quality of the administration to the quality of the sanctions from which the government derives its authority.

In a word, to the nationalists good government *is* good government if it is self-government, and even bad government is good government if it is self-government—in the first case because both good government and self-government are good; in the second case because, under self-government, bad government will certainly lead to a demand for, and to the instituting of, good government. Thus, so runs the argument, bad self-government is merely a passing phase in the evolution of good self-government.

This attitude of the nationalists is perfectly logical so far as it affects their desire for nationhood, since it enables them to use bad colonial administration as an argument in support of an independence agitation, and at the same time undercuts the position of those imperialists who seek to justify colonial rule by appealing to the visible evidences of what good colonial administration can do for the safety, health, cultural advancement, and prosperity of a colonial domain.

It is clear, then, that with reference to an accepted group of facts, a totally different evaluation will be made by a nationalist and by an imperialist. Japanese rule in Korea, and the opposition to it on the part of the Korean nationalists, furnish an excellent illustration of the point. The Japanese refer with pride to their road-building, to their great extension of educational facilities, to their effective protection of life and property throughout a country but recently overrun by bandits, to their rapid development of agriculture, trade and industry, to their technical training schools, to their scientific experiment stations which serve the farmer, the fisherman, the stock-breeder, and the manufacturer, to the enormous increase during the past fifteen years in every branch of production, with its connotation of increased employment for Koreans, to the constantly mounting number of Koreans appointed to the Government service.

The foregoing facts cannot be gainsaid, as will be proved by the data contained in subsequent chapters. But the Korean nationalists attribute to them a sinister significance. The roads, they say, are built solely for the purpose of facilitating the movement of Japanese troops; the educational system is nothing more than an ingenious scheme for destroying Korean nationality; the protection of life and property is merely an excuse for maintaining a large Japanese police

force; the economic development of the country is simply a device for swelling the profits of Japanese capitalists; the technical schools and the scientific bureaus have no other aim than to make Japanese rule profitable to the Japanese; the employment of Koreans in the Government service is an insidious form of bribery calculated to secure support for the Japanese occupation of the country.

The situation thus created is familiar to all students of colonial government. If the local administration builds roads, erects schools, and so on, it is wrong, because the motive is base; if it fails to do these things it is wrong, because it is the obvious duty of an imperial ruler to confer such benefits upon a dependency. So also in relation to developing the resources of a dependency; if the sovereign power invests money in the colony, it is wrong because all it amounts to is capitalist exploitation; if it does not invest money in the colony, it is wrong because the failure to do so reflects a determination to keep the people poor and weak in the interest of an easy domination; if it employs natives in the government service it is wrong because such a policy tends to weaken nationalist sentiment; if it fails to do so it is wrong because such a course discloses the purpose of making the colony the happy hunting ground of imperial officials.

To all colonial governors this is an old story.

All sincere and humane colonial governors—and none is more worthy of such a description than is Viscount Saito, Governor-General of Korea since 1919—are compelled to close their ears to the mutually destructive criticisms to which I have alluded, and must content themselves with carrying out from day to day measures designed to improve the general conditions of their dependencies.

The bulk of the present volume is devoted to a description of the administrative system of the Japanese in Korea, and to a statistical account of its results. The author feels it incumbent upon him to furnish his readers with a brief statement of the point of view from which he has approached his task*

During the past forty years he has lived about half the time in self-governing countries—England, the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan, France, Germany, and Denmark—and the other half in colonial dependencies—India, the British West Indies, the French West Indies, British and Dutch Malaya, French Indo-China, British Borneo, the Philippine Islands, and in a few scattered dependencies of various powers.

This experience has left him without any trace of prejudice in respect of forms of government, for he has seen government wisely and honestly administered under every form, and stupidly and

dishonestly administered under every form; he has seen freedom cherished under a monarchy and destroyed under a republic, and vice versa; he has seen justice dispensed with an even hand under popular rule and under autocratic rule; he has seen judicial decisions bought and sold in self-governing countries and in the dependencies of imperial powers. In each class of territory he has seen, living side by side, persons content with their government (whilst favoring reforms in this or in that particular) and persons who are so discontented with the same government that nothing short of its complete destruction appears to offer an adequate guaranty of desired reforms.

When the strongly dissatisfied group exists in a sovereign state, its members become socialists of one kind or another, or communists, or syndicalists, or fascists, or anarchists, according to their individual temperaments; when the group exists in a dependency, its members create a party aiming at the achievement of independence from the sovereign state.

It is one of the most curious matters forced upon the attention of a student of comparative government that the chief object of the nationalist party in a dependency should be to obtain the status of an independent sovereign nation, since the obvious fact is that in most of the countries which already exist as sovereign states there are to be observed all the evil conditions for which

a colonial independence party deems independent sovereignty to be the unfailing panacea.

If the opponents of imperially imposed rule could point to the self-ruled countries and say: "In these countries there are justice, toleration, honest and efficient administration, social equality, adequate protection of life and property, equal economic opportunity, and freedom from the exploitation of the weak by the strong, and of the poor by the rich," the argument against imperialism would rest upon solid foundations. But the anti-imperialists cannot say with truth that the kind of dispensation described above exists in any marked degree in the general category of self-ruled states; nor can they say with truth that, in whatever degree it does exist anywhere, this degree is higher in self-ruled countries than it is in imperial dependencies.

No informed person would be prepared to maintain that Spain, Mexico, the Central American Republics, Russia, Rumania, and Bulgaria—all of them self-governing, independent states—enjoy a superior general social condition, or are better administered, than Burma, Java, British Guiana, the Federated Malay States, Korea, and the Philippine Islands—all of them ruled as dependencies.

Self-rule and dependent rule each have inherent in them the possibility of misrule. In self-ruled countries the danger lies in the dishonesty

and incompetence of which partisan politics and political machinery are the supple instruments and the staunch defenders. As between the good of the country and the good of the party, the latter is usually—by the liberal use of patronage, and by the unrestrained employment of sophistical oratory—accorded in practice the leading position.

In dependencies the threat to good government comes from another source—the stupidity, the incompetence, or the arrogance of colonial officials. In the matter of corruption I am convinced beyond all doubt that, allowing for an occasional exception, the government of self-ruled countries is much more corrupt than that of colonial dependencies, and that, in the latter, malversation in public office is of very rare occurrence. In the twenty-five years during which I have kept in touch with the dependencies controlled by the India Office and by the Colonial Office in London I have not heard of a dozen cases of graft on the part of non-native government officials above the rank of mere clerks.

There exists, of course, in each type of government an obligation to govern well. This responsibility is rooted in morals, and where moral considerations do not operate with sufficient force to compel the ruling authority to govern well, **the** promptings of expediency will usually suffice

to dip the scale on the side of reasonably humane and efficient administration.

It seems to me that these two factors, morality and expediency, act with greater effectiveness in colonial dependencies than in self-governing countries, and this chiefly for two reasons. In self-governing countries the moral responsibility is split up among thousands, or millions of voters; in dependencies it is centered in a single person, the Governor-General, the Governor, the Chief Commissioner, or whatever the title may be. In the former case every voter can shift the blame for bad government on to some one else's shoulders; each political party can shift it on to the shoulders of the other party, one branch of a legislature can make a gift of it to the other; both branches can leave it on the doorstep of the Chief Executive; the Chief Executive can hand it back to the voters with the comment that he is but the servant of the people, that they had demanded certain legislation, certain administrative measures, and that he had carried out their wishes; finally, the Chief Executive and the Legislature can combine to lay the blame upon incompetent or corrupt officials, who will presently be disciplined, reformed, dismissed, or denied re-election, as the case may be.

In a dependency the situation is totally different. A Colonial Governor, *vis-a-vis* his colony and his Colonial Office in the home country, occu-

pies a position analogous to that of a ship's captain *vis-a-vis* his ship and his owners. He is directly responsible for the conduct of affairs; he takes the credit for success, he must accept the penalties of failure; he can never plead an alibi.

Furthermore, the Colonial Governor looks for his advancement to the distant authority of a Secretary of State at the national capital. Promotion and other rewards will depend upon the way in which he administers his charge. He is little likely to earn them if, from preventable causes, his territory fails to advance in its health, prosperity, and general social condition; he is almost certain to miss them if, in consequence of harsh and incompetent administration, the people rise in revolt against his rule, or sink into the apathy and sloth which are the assured products of prolonged misgovernment. Briefly, the success of his rule will be the measure of his personal success.

Since he is directly responsible for the conduct of his subordinates, and for the appointment of most of them, and has in addition the power of promotion and dismissal, his officials have every incentive to earn their own advancement by rendering such service as will redound to the credit of the Governor.

I do not intend to imply that a home government may not, even in modern times, be actuated by the base motive of ruthlessly exploiting a

colonial dependency—the earlier history of the Belgian Congo is a case in point—or that in such circumstances the administration may not be as bad as the motive. But such a situation is, year by year, falling in the scale of statistical expectation because, international relations being what they now are, the influence of publicity being what it now is, and party tactics in home countries demanding, as they now do, a diligent assemblage of material on which to base attacks on the party in power, the ventilation of grave abuses in colonial administration presents a very serious political problem to the home government which is responsible for them or which tolerates them.

The other important factor, which has to be taken into account when estimating the probability of government being competently administered in a dependency, is one to which recent political events in Europe have imparted a striking significance. It is that as social and economic conditions increase in complexity under the combined influences traceable to industrial development, to the growing size of commercial and banking enterprises, and to the gradual substitution of the community for the individual as the unit of social progress, the problems of government are, day by day, becoming less amenable to political solutions—to legislative debate, long ballots, and the popular election of public officials

—and more clamorous of solutions dependent upon highly expert technical knowledge.

The assumption that politics would be the competent and all-sufficient handmaid of social service was given authoritative currency through the propaganda associated with the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, and the fight for Parliamentary Reform in England. These movements were spread over a period of about a century and a quarter, roughly from 1760 to 1890, a period during which public sentiment was strongly averse to the idea of government regulation, and was totally blind to the possibility that Government might become, as it has since become, not only the trustee of social progress but also its most powerful instrument. What these revolutionary and reform movements were chiefly concerned with was, in fact, settling what Government should not do to people, not with what Government should do for people.

It is safe, indeed, to infer that the liberal-minded statesmen of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would be horrified if they could witness the extent to which Government today intrudes upon everything, and regulates almost everything which happens to a citizen, or is done by him whilst he is moving from his cradle to his grave.

Whether or not Government should under-

take its vast business of regulation and of social service is a question upon which opinions may well differ; but the obstinate adherence to the belief that politics, whose life-blood is a mixture of contention, intrigue, and self-interest, can and will furnish the spirit, the knowledge, and the technique essential to the effective handling of social and economic problems is what has brought parliamentary government into disrepute in almost every country in which it is practiced.

The establishment of Fascism in Italy, the support which that principle is receiving in other countries, the adoption of the City-manager plan in the United States, the setting up, by the mutual consent of opposing interests, of "Czars" to administer the affairs of certain great American industries (baseball and the movies, for instance), and the recent dictatorship in Spain, are all in their essence revolts against the open-to-all system of guidance and control.

If my observation has led me to believe that in countries where authority is vested in a small group of trained public officials there will, as a rule, be found a better administration of government than in countries where administration is subject to the influence of an uninformed and, *ad hoc*, unintelligent public, I do not from that belief infer that, because a country is ruled under a system of concentrated authority and of fixed responsibility, it is, therefore well governed.

So, with reference to Korea, there can be found in its history under Japanese rule instances of the abuse of power, of official incompetence, to some extent of corruption; but whether or not Korea has on the whole been well governed can be determined only from a study of the available data. From such a study, which has occupied me for more than three years, and of which the results are presented in this volume, I have formed the opinion that Korea is today infinitely better governed than it ever was under its own native rulers, that it is better governed than most self-governing countries, that it is as well governed as any of the British, American, French, Dutch, and Portuguese dependencies which I have visited, and is better governed than most of them, having in view as well the cultural and economic development of the people as the technique of administration.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL

Descriptive—

Korea* is a peninsula extending almost due south from Manchuria. Its area is approximately 85,000 square miles; its coast-line is about eleven thousand miles long, and has the peculiarity that on the west and south it is deeply indented and, for the most part, fringed with islands, whereas the east coast presents an almost unbroken front and has very few islands adjacent to it.

On the north, Korea is bounded by Manchuria, from which it is separated by the Yalu River, and by Asiatic Russia, which lies on the other side of the Tumen River; on the east by the Sea of Japan; on the west by the Yellow Sea; and on the south by the Korea Strait. The distance from Fusan, Korea's southeastern port, to Moji, the port at the southwestern entrance of Japan's Inland Sea, is only 135 miles.

* The Japanese have adopted officially the name Chosen, by which the Peninsula was known in ancient times. Throughout this volume 'Korea' is used, as being more familiar to the world at large.

The east coast of Korea has but two harbors of consequence—Seishin and Gensan—both in the northern sector, on the improvement of which the Government-General has expended more than five million yen. On the south and west coasts, however, Korea is well supplied with good ports. Of these the principal one is Fusan, at the southeastern tip of the Peninsula. Here the Government has spent more than thirteen million yen in providing modern facilities. A steamer runs twice daily to and from Japan, and passengers can transfer directly on the dock to a train of the South Manchuria Railway. This railway enables one to travel without changing cars as far as Changchun in Northern Manchuria and, with a single change there or at Mukden, to go to Peking, Dairen in Southern Manchuria, or to make connection with the Trans-Siberian. Thus, one can go by rail from Fusan to any point in Northern Asia or in Europe which is provided with a railroad.

The capital of Korea, Keijo (commonly called Seoul), is on the main line from Fusan, and is also connected by rail with the port of Jinsen (Chemulpo) on the west coast, and with Gensan on the east coast. Near the mouth of the Yalu is Shin-gishu, also on the South Manchuria Railway main line, which is becoming year by year an increasingly important depot for trade both by land and by sea. Other important ports on the

west coast are Chinnampo, which serves Heijo, capital of the Province of South Heian; Kunsan, which is connected by rail with Ko-shu, the Provincial Capital of South Chusei; and Mokpo, which is the port for Kwo-shu, capital of the Province of North Zenra.

Korea may be described, topographically, as a country of constricted plains intersected by rugged mountain ranges. Along the east coast from north to south the mountains thrust themselves almost into the sea, and I have never seen a more beautiful or striking region than the Diamond Mountains, which lie to the south of Gensan. The whole of the east coast, so far as I saw it, presents an aspect of romantic wildness, which is enhanced by the extraordinary coloring of the soil and of the fantastically shaped crags and isolated pillars of rock. The soil is of a rich terracotta color, the unplanted portions furnishing a rich background for the brilliant green of the young rice plants. The rocks and crags, which in some places are bare, in others clothed with creepers, range in color between deep purple and rich yellow. It would not be a difficult undertaking to make the east coast of Korea into one of the most popular tourist resorts in the Far East.

The climate of Korea, generally speaking, runs to extremes both of heat and of cold. Spring and autumn are very short seasons, and

the difference in temperature between day and night is very great, sometimes reaching 25 degrees Fahrenheit in places near the Manchurian border. This difference is not so great in the south of the Peninsula, since there the climate is somewhat modified by the surrounding ocean. The cold in winter fluctuates, there being frequent short spells of mild weather, so that the people describe the winter climate as "three cold and four warm."

The mean annual temperature in southern Korea is about 55° F., in central Korea about 52°, and on the northern border about 40°. The fall of rain and of snow is abundant compared with that of Manchuria and IMongolia, but scanty compared with that of Japan proper, being from thirty to forty inches a year in most places, gradually decreasing in the direction from southeast to northwest.

The following account of the seasons is abridged from Dr. J. D. Van Buskirk's "The Climate of Korea, and Its Probable Effect on Human Efficiency," which was printed in the *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 10, 1919.

Like the rest of the temperate zone, Korea has four seasons. The winter is quite cold and[^] in the northern part especially is severe. In the north, frost occurs in September or October; and for about five months the mean daily tern-

perature is below freezing point on the Manchurian border. Streams are frozen over for the whole winter, and there are severe snow storms. The station at Chukochin reports temperature as low as 41° below freezing point, Fahrenheit. Seoul has over two months with the mean daily-temperature below freezing, and, during a period of five years, averaged twenty-eight days a year below freezing point every hour of the day.

Summer is the rainy season. There are not such intensely hot days as are common in the United States, but the heat is continuous, so that the summers are more trying than in places in the United States having the same mean temperature. The highest temperature reported by the Government stations is 103.2° F. from Wonsan (Gensan), but this is exceptional. Taikyū, the Provincial capital of North Keisho-do has as a rule the hottest weather, its maximum going as high as 103° F. The coast towns in the south have less extreme heat, Fusan reporting a maximum of 91.5° F. and Mokpo 95.2° F. The humidity of the summer is high, and this, with the steady heat and the rains, makes the total effect of the summers quite depressing.

Spring and autumn are nearly ideal seasons in Korea. The winter ends and spring advances almost imperceptibly—no hot days followed by severe cold, but a gradual warming up, with bright sunshine, occasional rains, and for the

most part gentle winds. There is in the southern part of the country, even as far north as Seoul, a distinct short season of rains in April. This furnishes an abundant supply of water to irrigate the rice fields and makes this an ideal region for rice-farming. The heat gradually grows more intense and the rains more heavy, and then summer has come.

The autumn is comparatively warmer than the spring, alike sunshiny and equable. There is a more distinct marking of the beginning of autumn than of any other season. The rains rather suddenly cease in September and there is a different feeling in the air. But autumn changes to winter so gradually that one hardly knows when winter begins.

Population—

The following data in regard to the population of Chosen are taken from the *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1922-1923* compiled by the Government-General, and issued in December 1924.

Under the old Korean Government no census, strictly speaking, was ever taken, or, if attempted, it was taken solely for the purpose of fixing the basis of tax assessment. The men in charge unscrupulously indulged in the vicious practice of falsifying their returns in order that they might fatten on the taxes paid by families

which they had omitted to record in the official registers. The statistics compiled in this way were, of course, absolutely worthless. When Japan established its protectorate, in 1906, the Japanese police adviser to the Korean Government found this evil very detrimental to the smooth working of civil administration, and therefore caused instructions to be sent to each provincial police office to make an honest count of the entire population on a given date. This was, one may say, the first real census ever taken in Korea. As there were many difficulties to be overcome the count could not be made as accurately as was desired, but the results showed that the population had been very much underestimated. Hitherto the population had been put at something over five million; the new count proved it to be nearly seven million. A more careful investigation, made after the annexation of 1910, placed the total population at 13,313,017; and the estimated population in 1923 was 17,626,761. Of this total the Koreans make up something over 17,000,000, the Japanese nearly 400,000, all other races about 32,000. The ratio of females to males was 94 to 100 among Koreans, 88 to 100 among Japanese, and 13.7 to 100 among foreigners.

The following table shows the distribution of the population according to occupation.

Occupation	Japanese	Korean	Foreign	Total
Agriculture, forestry, and stock-farming.	38,573	1,511,111	5,346	1,516,457
Fishing, and salt- manufacture	10,775		25	
Industries	63,999		3,517	
Commerce, and trans- portation	126,893		16,080	
Public service, and the	117,080		1,576	
Miscellaneous	20,642	4,737		
Unrecorded	8,531	848		
Total	386,493	17,208,139	32,129	17,626,761

It is thus seen that slightly more than 80 per cent of the entire population of Korea is dependent for its subsistence upon direct use of land.

The exact number of Koreans living outside the Japanese Empire is not known, but the latest investigations put it at more than 1,500,000, the large majority of whom live in Manchuria and Siberia, and the remainder in China (chiefly in Shanghai), in the United States, Hawaii, and Mexico. For the protection of Koreans living abroad, particularly for those in neighboring Chinese territory, a special item was incorporated in the Korean budget for 1920; and the Governor-General, in co-operation with the Japanese consulates in Manchuria, is doing his best for their welfare by founding schools, hospitals, and monetary organs in important places, by sending doctors to treat gratis the sick in

remoter parts, by encouraging the formation of Korean societies and giving them financial help, and by providing for the relief of poor Koreans in times of natural calamity.

Moreover, as the activities, open or otherwise, of agitators abroad were the first cause of the popular unrest in Chosen at the time of the Independence Movement, the Japanese authorities saw the necessity of controlling them, as well as of protecting law-abiding Koreans from the intrigues of the disaffected, by a more efficient method than had hitherto been employed. Accordingly, the Japanese consuls at Antung, Mukden, Kirin, and Chientao—all in Manchuria—were, in 1920, charged with the duty of acting as secretaries of the Government-General of Korea.

Little is known of the original inhabitants of Korea. When the Chinese statesman, Ki-tze, invaded the country in the twelfth century, B.C., he found the Peninsula occupied by cave-dwellers living in a state of savagery. The race as it exists today is clearly of Mongol stock, but it presents points of difference from both the Chinese and the Japanese. The general consensus of opinion among foreign residents is that the Koreans are an amiable and intelligent people quite capable of responding to education and to other measures designed to foster social progress. I may add that neither in Korea nor

in Japan proper did I encounter any anti-Korean feeling. On the contrary I met many Japanese who were eager to enlarge upon the admirable features of the early Korean culture and to express their appreciation of the contribution which Koreans had made to the art, religion, and philosophy of Japan itself, in the centuries preceding the accession of the Yi Dynasty, which, after more than five hundred years of misrule had reduced the Korean people to a cultural and economic condition deplorable in the extreme, and which came to an end when Japan annexed the country in 1910.

Railways—

The first railway construction undertaken in Korea was a line of about 25 miles between Seoul and Chemulpo. A concession for this undertaking was secured from the Government of Korea by an American citizen, Mr. James R. Morse, in 1898. The selection of this particular route was due to the circumstance that the line would connect the capital of the country with the nearest deep-water port.

Whilst the line was still under construction it was bought by a Japanese company which carried the undertaking through and opened the line to traffic in 1902. The next line to be constructed was that from Seoul to Fusan, a port at the extreme southeastern tip of the Peninsula,

about 135 miles from Moji, the nearest Japanese port. The concession for the construction and operation of this line was granted in 1898 to a Japanese syndicate which began work in 1901. The line was completed in 1904 and was opened to traffic on January 1, 1905, its length being 268 miles.

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904 gave a strong impetus to railway construction, and by the end of 1905 the total mileage had increased to 636. In the following year the Japanese Government purchased the lines from Seoul to Fusan, and from Seoul to Chemulpo, and took over the two lines (Seoul-Shingishu, and the Masan branch line) built by the Japanese military engineers, thus bringing the whole railroad system under government control and management. At the time of the annexation of the country by Japan (1910) the management of the railways was assigned to the Railroad Department of the Government-General.

From this time onward a steady increase has occurred in railroad mileage, and a great deal has been spent on improving the lines. Among the more important undertakings are to be noted the construction of an iron bridge, about 3000 feet long, across the Yalu River, connecting the Korean railroad system with that of the South Manchuria Railway Company; and the building of branch lines connecting the ports of Gensan

on the east coast, Chinampo on the west coast, and Mokpo on the south coast with the main line running north and south the whole length of the Peninsula. Several other lines are projected as part of a general plan to provide Korea with an adequate net-work of standard-gauge and light railroads.

The management of all the state-owned railways in Korea was, in 1917, entrusted to the South Manchuria Railway Company—an important and highly efficient Japanese Corporation. The terms of the arrangement are, in brief, that the Government makes the plans for new construction and improvements, and provides the capital for these purposes, while the Company is responsible for carrying out these plans, for the proper maintenance of the railways, and for their operation. With respect to the capital advanced by the Government since the annexation the Company must pay interest on it at the rate of 6 per cent, though the concession was made in 1921 that for the following three years it should pay interest at 4 per cent instead of 6 on the capital advanced in and after 1921. In the management of the railways the Company must work within the terms of the laws and regulations of the Government-General, which are, except in minor details, the same as those in force in Japan proper.

The general features of railway development

during the ten years ending on **March 31, 1922** are shown in the following table:

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN KOREA

	1912*	1921 *
	<i>Yen.</i> 114,720,385	214,906,215
	<i>Yen.</i> 8,767,647	18,287,156
Passenger receipts	<i>Yen.</i> 3,820,185	13,361,903
Freight receipts	<i>Yen.</i> 2,816,482	11,454,094
	<i>Yen.</i> 180,596	3,293,689
Total receipts	<i>Yen.</i> 6,817,263	28,109,695
	<i>Yen.</i> 5,012,712	21,629,879
Number of passengers carried. . . .	4,399,022	13,821,144
Tons of freight carried	1,105,362	3,331,381
Miles of line open to traffic	837	1,165

* The figures are for fiscal years, which end on March 31.

† Invested up to the year,

‡ During the year.

Later figures are available for some of the foregoing items. Thus at the end of March, 1925, the mileage had increased to 1300, the number of passengers carried to 17,487,874, the receipts from traffic to 29,027,866, whilst the tonnage of freight carried remained practically stationary.

In addition to the state railways there are a number of short privately owned lines. At the time of annexation there was only one private line in operation, having a length of five miles. In 1914 the Government decided to subsidise such lines, on the principle of making up any deficit in profit below a certain percentage on the paid-up capital. Up to 1917 deficiencies were

made up by subsidy to the point of 6 per cent. This was raised to 7 per cent in 1918, and to 8 per cent in 1919. This policy exerted a marked influence on private railway construction. By 1923 the length of such lines open to traffic had increased to 333 miles, whilst those under construction, or projected, totaled 1340 miles.

During the ten years 1912-1922 the number of passengers carried on private railways increased from 156,523 to 1,995,259, and the tonnage of freight carried from 4161 to 536,650, including baggage. During the same period the paid-up capital of these undertakings mounted from less than 200 thousand yen to more than 26 million.

Roads—

Prior to the establishment of the Government-General, 1910, there were not fifty miles of good road in the whole country, almost all travel and transportation being done on narrow, deep-rutted tracks. In the interest of cultural and economic progress the Government-General laid out a project for constructing a net-work of good roads throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. The first part of the programme provided for the construction, over a number of years, of about 8000 miles of first- and second-class roads, the cost to be borne by the general revenue of the country, and of about 7000 miles

of third-class road, to be paid for out of local taxation. Of this programme there had been carried to completion by the end of 1923 between 60 and 70 per cent of the proposed road-mileage—more than 5000 miles of first- and second-class roads and a little under 5000 miles of the third class.

The classification of the roads is made according to the width—24 feet or more for the first class, not less than 18 feet for the second, and not less than 12 feet for the third. Of the total mileage now open to traffic, about 4000 miles can be used by automobiles.

Streets—

The most recent issue of the *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen* is that covering the year ending on March 31, 1923. It deals as follows with the question of street improvements.

Towns in Chosen for the most part contain narrow, dirty, and crooked streets, causing great inconvenience to communications and to sanitary and fire-brigade arrangements, and naturally hindering their development, so of late years much has been done for their improvement by straightening, grading, and widening existing streets, and by constructing new ones as circumstances required.

Keijo (Seoul) is the capital of Chosen and quite different in scale and plan from other towns, so it was decided to conduct street improvements in it at

national expense. Forty-three of its streets were selected for improvement, of which thirteen were completed at a cost of three million yen in the eight years from 1911 to 1918. The most important of these were made from 72 to 90 feet in width and provided with sidewalks. Where the traffic is heaviest the macadamised surface is tarred. Other roads were made not less than 48 feet in width, thus bringing about an extraordinary change in both the appearance and traffic-efficiency of the city.

The second programme takes in nine streets, the budget estimate for which is 3,400,000 yen spread over six years from the fiscal year 1919, and this is still in course of execution. Chosen being still in the first stages of modernization in many ways, it was highly necessary to lay down a permanent plan for street improvement in towns of importance and promise, so the Government-General incorporated in the budget for the fiscal years 1921 and onward an item for investigation regarding town-planning, and started work on it in four large cities—Keijo, Fusan, Taikyū, and Heijo.

There are now nine towns marked out for street improvement, including the principal seaports and provincial centers. The expenditure for this is to be defrayed out of local revenue with some assistance from the national treasury, and work in each is going on actively as a four to seven year enterprise.

A proper sewerage system is a very necessary aid to sanitation, so it was decided to carry on its establishment side by side with street improvement. On this work the city of Heijo was pledged to spend

580,000 yen in eleven years, Keijo 1,600,000 yen in seven years, and Taikyū 150,000 yen in five years. Part of the money thus allocated is provided by the national treasury and part by public bodies.

Maritime Transportation—

In order to insure regular maritime communication, both coastwise and foreign, the old Korean government found it necessary to subsidize local steamship lines. This policy was adopted by the Government-General at the time of annexation, and has been continued down to the present time. At the beginning of 1923 it was granting an annual subsidy of 1,144,371 yen, distributed among 126 vessels of a total tonnage of about 20,000. The contracts under which these subsidies are granted prescribe the routes to be followed, the number of voyages to be made, and the time-schedule to be maintained. In 1923 there were eighteen routes, of which four connected Korea with Japan, North China, and Vladivostock, the remainder linking up the various Korean ports with each other.

Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Communications—

Prior to 1876 there was nothing in Korea which could be dignified by the name of a postal service. In that year, however, the Japanese

Government opened a post office at Fusan, when the port was opened to foreign trade, and later, as Japanese settlers became more numerous, the number of post offices was gradually increased. At first only ordinary mail business was done; but as early as 1880 money orders were made available and a postal savings system started. To these services a parcel post was added in 1900. In the meantime the Korean Government had, in 1896, engaged a Japanese adviser in the Communications Department and organized the post office on modern lines. An agreement was concluded in 1905 by which the postal service of Korea was placed under the charge of the Imperial Japanese Government; but in the following year the control was transferred to the newly-established Residency-General. When Korea was annexed to Japan in 1910 a Communications Bureau was created in the Government-General, and to it were assigned the control and management of all postal, telegraph, and telephone business. In 1923 the permanent staff of the communication services numbered nearly 11,000 employees, with several thousand temporary workers engaged as occasion demanded.

As illustrating the rapidly increasing use made of the communication services it may be noted that between 1910 and 1923 the number of pieces of ordinary mail delivered in Korea advanced

from 53 to 174 million, the number of parcels delivered from less than one million to more than two million and a half, the number of offices available for postal, telephone, or telegraph service from 395 to 739, and the number of telephone calls from less than 25 million to more than 82 million in the year.

There is a steadily growing resort to the Post Office Savings Banks. In 1910 the total amount deposited by Japanese was 3 million yen, and by Koreans 200 thousand yen; in 1922 these figures had grown to 17 million and 2,750,000 respectively.

Wireless apparatus was installed in 1910 on the Government signal-inspecting ship, and at three lighthouses; but the service has not yet been opened to the general public.

Historical—

A brief account of the relations between Korea and Japan in modern times will suffice to give the reader the broad facts pertinent to a consideration of the situation as it exists today.

In 1894 Japan declared war on China, largely for the purpose of settling once for all the international status of Korea, about which there had existed for centuries a dispute which constantly threatened the peace of the Far East. During more than two thousand years Korea had been alternately independent, and under the suze-

rainty of China, or of Japan. She had been repeatedly invaded from the north—by China, under both the Chinese and Manchu dynasties, by Mongols, and by nomadic tribes—and in 1592 the Regent of Japan, Hideyoshi, attacked Korea with an army of 300,000 men, as part of a project for the conquest of China. These various invasions and raids, together with the prevalence of piracy in Korean waters led the Korean authorities to adopt and to enforce with the utmost rigor a policy of absolute national seclusion, a policy which was followed for several centuries and was enforced with great rigor. It was from this circumstance that Korea became known throughout the world as the Hermit Kingdom. History has proved that this attitude of no-intercourse cannot be indefinitely maintained. In the case of Korea the matter was complicated by the question of the Chinese suzerainty. Was Korea a vassal state of China, or was she not? The answer made by Korea and China was at one time yes, at another time no. Thus, whenever it suited the purpose of the Koreans to claim the protection of China, the plea was made that the suzerain must defend the vassal; when, however, China sought to make its suzerainty effective for some purpose of her own, the Korean argument was that the suzerainty was a mere figment, the annual tribute being paid solely on sentimental grounds in perpetua-

tion of an ancient custom which had completely lost its practical significance.

Conversely, when Peking saw some advantage to be gained by insisting on the living force of the suzerainty the point was made very clear to the Koreans; but when, as occurred from time to time—as, for example, when French and American punitive expeditions attacked Korea in 1866 and 1871, respectively—foreign nations sought redress from Korea for wrongs done to their citizens, China disclaimed any kind of bond with Korea which made her responsible for the latter's acts.

No country had more reason to be irritated by the posture of Korean affairs than had Japan. In 1875 a Japanese war-ship was fired on by a Korean shore-battery without the slightest provocation. The Japanese at once captured the fort, and seized all the arms and ammunition in it. Tokyo decided that the occasion was favorable for bringing to an end the equivocal relationship between Korea and China. General Kiyotaka Kuroda was sent to Korea as Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, charged with the task of concluding a treaty between Japan and Korea. This compact, known as the Treaty of Kwangha, was signed in 1876. It provided for the mutual opening of ports, for mutual permission to trade, and for the formal recognition by Japan of the independence of

Korea. It is from this date that an account of Japanese-Korean relations, in modern times, may take its departure.

In 1880 a Japanese Legation was established at Seoul, and it was hoped by sober-minded Japanese statesmen that with direct representation at the Korean capital the relations between the two countries would assume a more friendly tone. These hopes were not destined to be fulfilled. There existed at the time a long-standing rivalry between a party headed by the King of Korea's uncle, the Tai Wen Kun, and the rich and powerful family of the Mins, of which the Queen of Korea was a member. In this domestic quarrel China intervened on the side of the Mins, sending troops into the Peninsula for the purpose of suppressing a revolt started by the Tai Wen Kun. For years Korea was the scene of coups d'etat and of insurrections, in the course of which the Japanese Legation was twice attacked—once in 1882 by a Korean mob aided by Korean soldiers, and once in 1884 by Korean and Chinese troops acting in co-operation. On each occasion the Japanese Minister, with his wife and children, had to seek safety in flight.

The constant intrusion of China upon the field of Korean domestic affairs is what led up to the Chino-Japanese War of 1894-5. Japan had recognized the independence of Korea in 1876, by the Treaty of Kwangha; and there was, of

course, a reciprocal obligation on the shoulders of Korea to repudiate the Chinese suzerainty. Notwithstanding this, the Korean Government, in 1894, asked China to send troops to Korea to put down a formidable rebellion. Early in June the Chinese force arrived, and the Japanese immediately countered by sending a military guard to her Minister in Seoul, and, a little later, by despatching to the Peninsula a force of some 5000 troops. The situation thus created was difficult in the extreme. The Japanese were not prepared to recognize the Chinese claim that Chinese troops were in the country as the defenders of a Chinese dependency; but they suggested that the Chinese and the Japanese should act together in restoring order and in initiating such reforms as should conduce to the future peace of the country. This proposal was rejected. In the meantime China had moved an army of about eight thousand troops to a point on the Yalu, near the Korean frontier. The Japanese Minister brought the matter to a head by delivering an ultimatum to the Korean Government in respect to its failure to live up to the terms of the Treaty of Kwangha. This was on July 20th; three days later the Japanese occupied the palace and, virtually, made the King prisoner.

Japan declared war on China on August 1st, actual fighting having taken place a few days

earlier, both on land and at sea. The details of the fighting are of no interest in the present connection. Japan was completely victorious, the extent of her triumph being testified to by the terms of the Treaty of Shimonoseki. So far as Korea was concerned, Japan carried her point, the recognition of the absolute independence of the country.

Shortly after this the Queen of Korea was murdered under circumstances for which no terms of condemnation could be too strong. The facts are relevant to the relations of Korea and Japan at the time, for the murder had a very important influence upon the subsequent course of events. On October 8, 1895, a band of Korean and Japanese assassins, after long and careful preparation, entered the inner chambers of the Palace at Seoul and killed the Queen. Not only does the evidence establish it beyond doubt that one of the prime movers in this plot was the Japanese Minister at Seoul; but that evidence is supplied by the Japanese Judge of Preliminary Enquiry who investigated the murder. The findings of this judge make the most extraordinary reading. He describes the plot, names all the prisoners before him as having been concerned in it, states that its object was to murder the Queen, leads his conspirators to the outside of the palace, and continues: "About dawn the whole party entered the palace through the

Kwang-hwa Gate, and at once proceeded to the inner chambers. Notwithstanding these facts, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any of the accused actually committed the crime originally meditated by them . . ."; and then immediately discharges all the prisoners!

This is certainly one of the most disgraceful episodes in the annals of colonial rule. It is relieved by only one mitigating circumstance, namely that there is no evidence to show that any of the Government officials in Tokyo were concerned in the matter.

The murder of the Queen improved the general aspect of affairs, from the Japanese standpoint, by removing a woman who had been their bitterest and most unscrupulous opponent, and by increasing the influence of the Tai Wen Kun, who was supple to the Japanese intentions.

The conception undoubtedly entertained in Tokyo at the conclusion of the war with China was that, with the question of the Chinese suzerainty definitely and finally disposed of, Korea, reformed and strengthened by Japanese aid and advice, would serve as an effective buffer state as against China or Asiatic Russia, should either of them attempt to use the Peninsula as a base for operations against Japan. It is very doubtful whether the real independence of Korea could have been preserved even under the most favorable circumstances; and as time passed the cir-

cumstances became, from the Japanese point of view, as unfavorable as could be imagined.

A Japanese statesman called upon to defend the Korean policy of his country in the years following the Chino-Japanese War would present his case somewhat as follows.

In going to war with China, Japan had thrown her own fate into the scales. If she should suffer defeat—and when you fight a people which outnumbers your own by ten to one, and whose territory and natural resources present an equal disproportion, defeat is certainly a very serious possibility—she was prepared to suffer the consequences. That among these would have been loss of territory and the payment of an indemnity cannot be doubted.

If Japan secured a complete victory—as, in the event, she did—she expected to gather such fruits as she could compel her adversary to deliver as the price of a treaty of peace. Among these fruits was the cession to Japan of the Chinese Peninsula of Liao-tung. Before the treaty was signed, however, France, Germany, and Russia intervened, and forbade the cession to Japan of any territory on the Chinese mainland. It was impossible for Japan to offer any resistance to an ultimatum with such formidable backing: her victorious troops were withdrawn; the Liao-tung Peninsula was restored to China.

Within three years of the date on which the

principle of an inviolate Chinese mainland had been used as the pretext for forcing Japan out of Liao-tung, the three defenders of China against Japanese "aggression" were all in comfortable occupation of various parts of the "inviolate" Chinese mainland—Germany in Kiaochow, on a 99 years' lease; France in Kwangchouwan, on a 99 years' lease; and, as a crowning triumph of international cynicism, Russia, on a 25 years' lease of the very Liao-tung Peninsula from which she had been chiefly instrumental in ejecting Japan.

Although Great Britain had refused to take any part in the coercion of Japan, her conception of her own national interest led her to adopt the policy of occupying Chinese territory on lease. In the south she secured a 99 years' lease of 370 square miles on the mainland opposite Hong Kong, as an offset to the French lease of Kwangchouwan; in the north she leased the territory of Wei-hai-wei, 285 square miles, for so long a time as Russia should remain in possession of Port Arthur.

In what sense was Japan to interpret these manoeuvres? Was it possible for her to see in them anything but a determination on the part of the great European powers to prescribe for and to enforce upon Japan a rule of conduct totally different from that by which they themselves would be bound; and which, if Japan

should subscribe to it, would deprive her not only of every advantage attached to her geographical situation off the coast of Asia, but also of every further advantage which she might legitimately (according to the international code of ethics hitherto in force) expect to derive from her rapid development, from her strong and unifying sentiment of nationality, from her tireless industry, and from her heroic military qualities?

Was Japan, in brief, to accept the restrictions of a self-denying ordinance at the very moment when England had reached the climax of her territorial acquisitions in every quarter of the globe, when Russia and Germany were fortifying themselves on Chinese soil almost within sight of the Japanese coast, when France was reforming her administration, strengthening her garrison, and extending her control in Indo-China, when the United States had recently taken possession of the Philippine Islands?

To have yielded to such a preposterous demand would have constituted a betrayal of the Japanese nation in which no reputable statesman could conceivably have become an accomplice, since so to yield would have earned for the persons responsible the just execration of their own nationals and the just contempt of all men who esteem patriotism to be a virtue.

Thus, a hypothetical Japanese statesman. For my own part I am convinced that whatever

chance there had ever been of Korea attaining independent nationhood, was destroyed when Germany, France, and Russia deprived Japan of the fruits of her victory over China, took those very fruits for themselves, and thus taught Japan the bitter lesson that if she wished to obtain a valid guaranty for her future security, to present to the world a valid sanction for her foreign policy, she must develop her own military strength.

This Japan proceeded to do. Prior to the Chino-Japanese War, Japan's expenditure on her army had, for a number of years, averaged less than seven million dollars; in 1903 the army estimates exceeded 25 million dollars. At the outbreak of the Chino-Japanese War Japan's navy consisted of about fifty vessels of a total tonnage of less than 75,000; at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904, the number of vessels had increased to 160, the tonnage to approximately 300,000.

I was in the Far East during the years 1902-4. Everyone with whom I discussed the matter, from Lahore to Wei-hai-wei, was confident that war between Japan and Russia was inevitable unless one or the other of two highly improbable contingencies should arise—one that Japan should decide to acquiesce in Russia's obvious intention of making herself the dominating power in Korea; the other that Russia should reverse

her historic policy of thrusting southward from the Trans-Siberian Railway until she found herself, at whatever cost of men and money, mistress of an ice-free port in northeastern Asia.

The Russian advance toward the north Pacific had been carefully planned and effectively executed. At the beginning of the twentieth century Japan saw her great rival occupying the Liao-tung Peninsula, in virtual control of the Chinese Province of Manchuria, and in possession of two of the most formidable naval and military bases to be found anywhere in the world—Vladivostock, within a few hours' steaming of Korea's northeastern boundary; Port Arthur, within a few hours of her southwestern boundary. That these fortresses were separated by the Korean Peninsula, that the former was ice-bound for six months in the year, that the latter was too small to serve adequately the naval and commercial needs of Russia in that quarter were facts to be set side by side with Russia's diplomatic pressure on the Korean Court, her intimate relations with the anti-Japanese party in Korea, and her efforts to purchase land in or near Korea's southern ports. There were a number of attractive possibilities: the excellent ice-free port of Malsampo might be leased, thus giving Russia a naval base within two hundred miles of the Japanese coast; it might be feasible to secure control of the proposed railroad from Wiju, on the Manchurian

frontier, for the construction of which a French company had obtained a concession, thus assuring an all-rail connection from northern Manchuria into the heart of the Peninsula; and other, similar, opportunities presented themselves.

During the summer of 1903 Japan decided that the time was ripe to make a definite stand against Russia's steady advance through Manchuria to the Korean border, and to put an end to the ceaseless intrigues by which, within Korea itself, Russian agents were preparing for the day when the Russian flag would fly over the palace at Seoul. Negotiations were opened with St. Petersburg with a view to reaching some agreement on the broad question of Russian-Japanese relations in the Far East. Between August, 1903, and February, 1904, ten different drafts of a proposed treaty were discussed; but the evasive and otherwise unsatisfactory character of the Russian proposals and counter-proposals convinced the Japanese cabinet that it was hopeless to look for a peaceful solution of the problem. Japan having, in defence of her Korean policy, fought the most populous nation of Asia would now, in the same cause, fight the most populous nation of Europe. On February 5, 1904, the negotiations were broken off, and a few days later war was declared.

From this point onward Japanese policy toward Korea stiffened. The first evidence of the

new attitude was the conclusion of a Protocol between the two countries on February 23, 1904. Although Japan reasserts her guaranty of the independence and territorial integrity of Korea, it is agreed that ". . . the Imperial Government of Korea shall place full confidence in the Imperial Government of Japan and adopt the advice of the latter in regard to improvements in administration"; and, further, that "in case the welfare of the Imperial House of Korea, or the territorial integrity of Korea, is endangered by the aggression of a third power, or by internal disturbances, the Imperial Government of Japan shall immediately take such necessary measures as the circumstances require, and in such cases, the Imperial Government of Korea shall give full facilities to promote the action of the Imperial Japanese Government. . . . Japan may, for the attainment of the above mentioned objects, occupy, when the circumstances require it, such places as may be necessary from strategical points of view."

Another agreement, signed on August 22, 1904, makes it mandatory on the Korean Government to engage a Japanese financial adviser, whose advice must be heard before any financial matter is acted upon; and a foreign diplomatic adviser, recommended by the Japanese Government, without whose previous counsel no important matter concerning foreign relations is to be

dealt with. The final article of the agreement reads: "The Korean Government shall previously consult the Japanese Government in concluding treaties and conventions with foreign powers, and in dealing with other important diplomatic affairs, such as the grant of concessions to or contracts with foreigners."

It is obvious that one effect of this agreement was to make Korea a protectorate of Japan, whilst leaving public authority to be exercised in the name of the Emperor of Korea. The next step taken in the course which led, finally, to annexation, was an agreement dated November 17, 1905. The preamble contains the significant provision that "the following stipulations are to serve until the moment arrives when it is recognized that Korea has attained national strength." The agreement provided that the external relations of Korea should in future be conducted by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo; that Japanese diplomatic and consular officers should have charge of the subjects and interests of Korea in foreign countries; that Japan should assume responsibility for the execution of treaties already existing between Korea and other powers; that the Government of Korea should not in future enter into any act or engagement of an international character except through the medium of the Government of Japan; and that the Government of Japan undertakes to maintain

the welfare and dignity of the Imperial House of Korea.

Article 3 completely changed the character of Japan's representation *vis-a-vis* the Korean Court. The envoy is replaced by a Resident-General, having the right of private and personal audience with the Emperor of Korea, and the Japanese consuls are replaced by Residents, to be stationed at the several open ports and at such other places in Korea as the Government of Japan may deem necessary.

It is to be observed that in this agreement no mention is made of Korean independence, the fact being, probably, that by this time Japan realized the impracticable quality of a policy which on the one hand made her responsible for Korea's national status, and on the other left her with no sufficient authority in the country to prevent the occurrence of events which might at any moment involve her in the most serious international difficulties.

On November 22, 1905, the Japanese Government issued a declaration to the powers in treaty-relation with Korea, in which is presented a clear and frank account of her new Korean policy. The document runs as follows:

The relations of propinquity have made it necessary for Japan to take and exercise, for reasons closely connected with her own safety and repose, a paramount interest and influence in the political and

military affairs of Korea. The measures hitherto taken have been purely advisory, but the experience of recent years has demonstrated the insufficiency of measures of guidance alone. The unwise and improvident action of Korea, more especially in the domain of her international affairs, has in the past been the most fruitful source of complications. To permit the present unsatisfactory condition of things to continue unrestrained and unregulated would be to invite fresh difficulties, and Japan believes that she owes it to herself and to her desire for the general pacification of the extreme East to take the steps necessary to put an end once for all to this dangerous situation. Accordingly, with that object in view and in order at the same time to safeguard its own position and to promote the well-being of the government and people of Korea, the Imperial Government has resolved to assume a more intimate and direct influence and responsibility than heretofore in the external relations of the Peninsula. The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Korea is in accord with the Imperial Government as to the absolute necessity of the measure, and the two Governments, in order to provide for the peaceful and amicable establishment of the new order of things, have concluded the accompanying compact. In bringing this agreement to the notice of the powers having treaties with Korea, the Imperial Government declares that in assuming charge of the foreign relations of Korea and in undertaking the duty of watching over the execution of the existing treaties of that country, they will see that those treaties are maintained and respected, and also engages not to prejudice in any

way the legitimate commercial and industrial interests of those powers in Korea.

Both in respect of foreign and of internal affairs the new arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory. So far as reforming the Korean system of administration was concerned two circumstances combined to make the task hopeless; the Korean officials were bound to listen to the advice of their Japanese advisers in the various departments, but they were not bound to follow it; and most of these officials were dishonest and grossly incompetent. The situation might have prolonged itself had it not been for a highly injudicious step taken by the Korean Emperor, in 1907, in direct violation of that article of the agreement of 1905 under which Korea pledged herself not to enter into any act of an international character, except through the medium of Japan. In July, 1907, there appeared at The Hague three Koreans who sought recognition as delegates to the Peace Conference, offering as their credentials a document bearing the seal of the Korean Emperor. When this news reached Japan it created a good deal of excitement, since it appeared to contain the threat that the whole Korean problem was about to be opened up again. Public opinion was seriously disturbed, and the press was almost unanimous in demanding a strong course of action. Such a course the Government decided to adopt.

At the time, Marquis Ito (a sincere friend and well-wisher of Korea) was Resident-General in Seoul. To him was sent Viscount Hayashi, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, with authority to act in the circumstances, after consultation with the Resident-General. He arrived in Seoul on July 18. During his service as Resident-General, Marquis Ito had reached the firm conviction that Korean affairs could never be put in any decent state of order as long as the throne was occupied by the Emperor, who had shown himself to be wholly untrustworthy, and who, moreover, had done everything possible to hinder the progress of internal reform. Fortunately there had recently been appointed a new Korean Cabinet, composed of men who saw clearly that unless the Emperor and his Court should cease their pernicious interference with the conduct of Government, it would be impossible to save the Imperial House from the most serious consequences. The present crisis put in the hands of the Cabinet a weapon which they were glad to employ in the general interest of the country. Even before the arrival of Viscount Hayashi the Cabinet had urged upon the Emperor the advisability of abdicating in favor of his son. The day after the Viscount's arrival their arguments prevailed; and on July 17, the Korean Minister of Justice carried to the Resident-General the Emperor's announcement of his

abdication. Shortly after the matter became generally known there was serious rioting in Seoul, precipitated by a mutinous regiment of Korean troops.

After a series of conferences between the Japanese Representatives and the Korean Cabinet, and between the latter and the new Emperor, an agreement was signed between Japan and Korea on July 24, 1907.

This agreement left the Imperial Korean House still on the throne; but it placed Japan in practical control of the administration of the country, by making the appointment and dismissal of all high officials in Korea dependent upon the concurrence of the Resident-General, by providing for his previous assent to the enactment by the Korean Government of all laws, ordinances, and regulations, and by binding the Government to appoint as Korean officials any Japanese subjects recommended by the Resident-General.

Having in view the general conditions of the country in the period after the new agreement, it is difficult to see how Japan could long postpone an act of annexation, unless she was prepared to face indefinitely the risks and inconveniences of an anomalous administrative system. A Treaty of Annexation was negotiated between the two governments, and was signed on August 22, 1910, by Viscount Masakata Terauchi, Resident-

General, and by Yi Wan Yong, Minister President of State.

In the first *Annual Report* compiled by the Government-General, which succeeded the Residency-General, the subject of the annexation is thus dealt with:

The Governments of both Japan and Korea, exerting for more than four years, their utmost efforts in the way of administrative reform, and looking forward to the consummation of the desired end, the improvements and progress made were by no means small. But they failed to find in the Protectorate regime sufficient guarantees of the permanent welfare of the Imperial Family of Korea and of the prosperity of the people.

In spite of the fact that a number of pacificatory measures with regard to insurgents were put into effect, insurgents and brigands continued to appear in certain localities, and could not be put down. Escorts of police or gendarmes were often needed for officials, individuals, and letter-carriers, travelling in the remote interior or mountainous regions. Even a certain class of peaceful people, instigated by reckless agitators, were led to believe that Japanese revenue officers would carry away to Japan the money collected as taxes; and thus, frequently, they attempted to do injury to these officials. In the blindness of fury and inspired by short-sighted superstition and mistaken patriotism, a band of Koreans assassinated Mr. Durham White Stevens, a citizen of the United States, Councillor to the Korean Government, in March, 1908, in San Francisco, on his way

to Washington on furlough. In October of the following year, Prince Ito, who had filled the office of Resident-General in Korea till June, was also assassinated by a Korean in Harbin Station, when he was on a visit to North China. In the following December, a Korean further attempted to kill Mr. Yi Wan-Yong, the Prime Minister of the Korean Government. Thus distressing conditions still existed in Korea, and uneasiness and anxiety often kept the Imperial Family of that country in a state of misery, while the Ministers of State had to be constantly escorted by armed policemen.

In these conditions the Imperial Government failed to find in the regime of a Protectorate in Korea sufficient hope of realising the improvements which they had had in view, despite the fact that many reform measures had been introduced for the benefit of the Korean people. Stability of public peace and order not being firmly established yet, a spirit of suspicion and misunderstanding still dominated the whole Peninsula, and the mass of people were burdened with anxiety. Most of the Japanese and foreigners in Korea had to confine their residence to cities, ports, or towns along the railway lines and could not enter the interior to engage permanently in business.

In order to sweep away evils rooted during the course of many years as well as to secure the well-being of the Korean Imperial Family, to promote the prosperity of the country, and at the same time to insure the safety and repose of Japanese and foreign residents, it had been made abundantly clear that, the Protectorate system being unable to achieve these aims, Korea must be annexed to the Empire and

brought under the direct administration of the Imperial Government. There being no other way to attain the object in view, the Japanese conceived the policy of annexation as early as July, 1909. Even afterward the actual condition of affairs in Korea had continued to grow worse and worse, with no apparent hope of improvement. The assassinations of Mr. Stevens and Prince Ito, and the attempt to assassinate Premier Yi, mentioned already, induced certain classes of Koreans to tender to their Sovereign and the Resident-General a petition for annexation, so that the question became a matter of public agitation among officials as well as among the people of Japan. In fine the necessity of annexation grew day by day, and the measure was finally carried into effect on August 29, 1910.

That the aims set forth in the foregoing quotation have been pursued during the past sixteen years with a great, and in some directions with an astonishing measure of success is made evident in the body of the present volume. For the first nine years of the Government-General's existence Korea was administered under a system which, though it yielded many benefits for the Korean people, was applied with far too much military harshness and inflexibility. It was most unfortunate for everybody concerned that a rule of this character should have existed at the time when the extremely difficult and arduous work of organizing a new government was in progress. In such an undertaking the authorities could have

found no more powerful ally than a spirit of friendliness among the people.

The measures taken to stamp out the Independence Movement of 1919, stupid, cruel, and unjustifiable as some of them undoubtedly were, accomplished their purpose. From that time onward Korea has enjoyed a period of internal tranquillity and of general progress for which the previous history of the country affords no remotest parallel.

Of the Independence Movement itself I have little to say in the present connection. The Independence Party contained many Koreans of excellent intelligence and education, inspired by a deep nationalist feeling. Whether or not the Japanese administration of the country had been so conducted as to justify an attempt to subvert it has no bearing upon the "right" of the Koreans to make the attempt. The "right" of revolt is inherent wherever Government exists, whether that government is of native origin or has been imposed from without.

Whenever such revolts occur those who take part in them fall into three groups—one is made up of men and women profoundly convinced that success will result in benefit to the general welfare, and who have no aim other than this; one contains those who, from selfish motives of personal advantage, wish to substitute themselves for those then in power; one is a nondescript rabble

which welcomes the opportunity of fishing in troubled waters. Those who belong to the first group deserve and usually receive the respect which mankind pays to those who offer their lives and their property in support of an honestly held conviction; and of these sincere patriots the Korean Independence Movement contained an unusually large proportion.

It seems to me that there is absolutely no possibility of Korean Independence being reached by the road of revolt. The Koreans cannot drive the Japanese out of the country; and if the cause of Korean Independence were espoused by any nation powerful enough to create a serious threat to the Japanese occupancy, the first move made to carry out that threat would, without question, plunge Asia into war overnight, and would bring most of the balance of the world into the struggle within a month. There is one possibility, and one only, of an independent Korea. If at some future time the League of Nations, or some similar Association of Powers, should prescribe a universal surrender of all colonial dependencies to their native inhabitants, Korea would be one of Japan's contributions to the general settlement. Such a possibility is, of course, too remote to call for present discussion.

I found informed opinion both in Korea and in Japan divided on the question of what, short of independence, would be the ultimate status of the

Peninsula. Two theories held the field—one that it will become an integral part of the Japanese political system, sending elected representatives to the Imperial Diet; the other that it will eventually be given Dominion home-rule within the Japanese Empire.

Speaking as a person in whom the idea of Korean Independence incites neither mental nor moral resistance I may express my belief that those Koreans will be doing their country the greatest service who co-operate with the Japanese in building up the cultural and economic conditions favorable on the one hand to the granting, and on the other to the successful use, of local self-government.

During the past year the news from Korea justifies the hope that a trend in this direction has already set in. To whatever extent it exists the credit is due chiefly to the humane and conciliatory attitude of Governor-General Saito toward the Korean people, and to the wise measures which, for more than six years, have been the fruit of an unstinting employment of his unusual energy and of his still more unusual administrative talents.

CHAPTER III

SUMMARY

The internal administration of Korea has, for many years, been a matter of earnest solicitude to the Japanese. The dangers and annoyances associated with corrupt and grossly inefficient rule in a country whose southern coast-line is within a few hours' steaming from Japan will be obvious to those who have had occasion to study the causes of the Spanish-American War, and to those who, today, are hoping to see Mexico develop in such a way as to encourage the most cordial relations with the United States.

There exists, indeed, a certain type of mind to which the contagion of misrule conveys no threat to domestic tranquillity on the other side of a frontier, to which the circumstances of American territorial expansion, and of the extension of British rule in India, teach no lesson. Intelligent observers, however, are aware that bad government can be as poor a neighbor as bad health, that social unrest can cross a boundary line as readily as small-pox or yellow fever, that the "land-grabbing" of the English-speaking races, which followed the original conquest or settlement was

due in large measure to the necessity of bringing within the national sovereignty a neighbor who, for one reason or another, was a menace to the national welfare.

In the case of Korea the menace to Japan arose from two main causes—first, that centuries of misrule had reduced the Korean people to a condition from which it was hopeless to expect that, through a popular demand for internal reform, Korea might lift itself into the rank of a State having sufficient wealth and sufficient power to maintain its independence; second, and as a consequence of the first, that, either by force or by guile, Russia or China might take possession of the Peninsula, thus creating a strategic situation which could not be tolerated by any person or party responsible for the national defence of Japan.

All available evidence tends to prove that for many years Japanese policy toward Korea was concerned chiefly with securing for that country the position of an independent sovereign State, and for herself the acceptance by the great powers of the principle that Japan's interest in Korean affairs was to be considered predominant, in the sense that England's special interest in Egypt, and that of the United States in Latin America, had received tacit recognition in the world's chancelleries.

In support of the first conception Japan de-

clared war on China in 1894 and, in the Treaty of Shimoneseiki, exacted the renunciation of China's suzerainty over Korea and the acknowledgment of that country's independence. In defence of the second conception Japan, having in view the Russian occupation of Vladivostok and of Port Arthur, the conversion of these places into two of the most formidable fortresses in existence, the extension of the Trans-Siberian Railway to the Korean frontier, and the persistent Russian intrigues in Manchuria and in Korea itself, fought the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905.

At the conclusion of the War Japan decided that in the interest of Korea, in her own interest, and in the general interest of peace and progress in the Far East, her power to influence the Government of Korea in respect of administrative reform, which had hitherto depended upon diplomatic procedure and upon the activities of several Japanese advisers in various departments, could be made effective only by establishing a Residency-General somewhat after the pattern of that set up by the British in the Federated Malay States, a system which had yielded the most beneficial results. This was done in 1905, and had the practical effect of making Korea a Japanese Protectorate. Under the original arrangement the results of the new policy were unsatisfactory, because it was not mandatory upon the Korean

officials to follow the advice of the Resident-General. This situation was remedied in 1907 by the conclusion of a Convention between Korea and Japan, under the terms of which the Government of Korea "shall follow the direction of the Resident-General in connection with the reform of the administration" and "shall not enact any law or ordinance, or carry out any important administrative measure, except with the previous approval of the Resident-General."

Three years' experience under the new system showed that it could not be operated successfully in face of the hostility, of the indifference, incompetence, or dishonesty of the Korean officials. In Korea, as elsewhere, divided authority and responsibility—the method of diarchy—led to little but social unrest and administrative impotence. Accordingly, under the terms of a Treaty signed on August 22, 1910, by the plenipotentiaries of the two countries, the Emperor of Korea made complete and permanent cession to the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea. A week later the Emperor of Japan issued an Imperial Rescript announcing the annexation and ordering the establishment of the office of Governor-General of Korea. From August 29, 1910 Japan has had full responsibility for, and full power in, the administration of Korea.

The Japanese proclamations issued at the time

of the annexation were couched in conciliatory language, and the measures adopted when the transfer of authority was effected were well calculated to mollify public sentiment. The imperial house of Korea was liberally provided for, its dignity was preserved by granting to the emperor and to other members of the imperial family the same privileges and honors enjoyed by princes of the imperial blood in Japan, peerages were conferred upon a number of Korean nobles.

An imperial donation of thirty million yen (fifteen million dollars U. S.) was made by the Emperor of Japan, of which about one third was bestowed upon Korean noblemen, meritorious public servants, scholars, indigent widows, widowers, orphans, and others, the balance, of something over seventeen million yen, being set aside as a permanent fund of which the annual interest was to be devoted to giving various forms of aid to Koreans. If the imperial donation to Korea was only equal to three-quarters of that which the United States had paid in respect of the cession of the Philippine Islands, it should not be overlooked that the American money went to the Spanish Government, whereas the Japanese Donation went to the Korean people.

The problems confronting the Government-General of Korea were neither few nor simple. The purpose of the Japanese was to set up a thoroughly modern administrative system, to de-

velop the natural resources of the country, and to foster trade and industry. The road to success was encumbered with every imaginable obstacle. The whole machinery of administration had to be planned, a complete civil service had to be created, a large staff of technical experts had to be engaged, a financial system had to be devised capable of yielding the revenue essential for the carrying out of the government's policy.

The situation presented but one favorable circumstance, the docile character of the mass of the Korean people. There was not, at the time of annexation, nor has there since arisen, any ground for serious anxiety on the part of the Japanese military authorities. It is, therefore, difficult for a foreign observer to understand why the Japanese Government should have made the rule that the Governor-General of Korea could only be appointed from the roster of officers of the army or navy. Experience proved that in this matter a serious mistake in policy had been made, and in 1919 the restriction was removed, the appointment being thrown open to civilians.

The selection of military officers for colonial governorships has been a common practice both of the Dutch and the British; but it is an objectionable procedure. History furnishes, indeed, instances in which the talent for conducting military enterprises has been combined with the talent for civil administration; but such instances

are extremely rare. The task of administering the affairs of a colonial dependency is one which calls for a temperament totally different from that which goes to the making of a good military man. The success of a military commander, sound technical knowledge being assumed, will depend upon the extent to which he enforces discipline and exacts compliance with thousands of precise and inflexible regulations; his duties are to issue orders and to see that they are obeyed without argument or protest; he need give no thought to the feelings engendered by his administration.

A civil administrator, on the other hand, can only succeed if he adopts a policy of give and take, and carries it out in a spirit of compromise. A large proportion of his work is constructive in its nature, and needs, for its fruition, the goodwill of the people. What is necessary above all things is that the administrator's rule should bear the impress of urbanity and conciliation—the two qualities least to be expected in a military man.

From 1910 to 1919 Japanese rule in Korea, though it accomplished much good for the people, bore the stamp of a military stiffness which aroused a great deal of resentment, hampered the progress of reform, and was largely responsible for the discontent which culminated in the proclamation of Korean Independence by the leaders of the Korean nationalists on March 1, 1919.

The merciless severity with which the revolt was repressed shocked the public sentiment of the world. In Japan itself the indignation reached such a height that the government was compelled to find means of appeasing it. The Governor-General of Korea was recalled, the rule excluding civilians from eligibility for that post was canceled, the new Governor-General, Admiral Baron Saito (now Viscount), though not a civilian, was recognized throughout the Far East as a man of high administrative ability, of generous and humane disposition, and of great personal charm.

The New Korea of which I write is the Korea which has developed under the wise and sympathetic guidance of Governor-General Saito. I may quote here a few paragraphs of an article by Bishop Herbert Welch, Resident Bishop, in the Korean capital, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The article appeared in *The Christian Advocate* of May 13, 1920, and the quotation derives particular significance from the circumstance that Bishop Welch has always been an outspoken critic of everything he has deemed to be blameworthy in the Japanese administration of Korea.

Referring to Baron Saito's assumption of the Governor-Generalship, Bishop Welch says:

A sharp contrast at once became evident with the methods and spirit of the preceding administration.

The Governor-General himself was simple and unaffected in manner, genial, approachable, evidently anxious to know and to propitiate foreign opinion in the country. His advent was marked by the speedy disappearance of countless swords and uniforms. . . . His chief associate, Dr. R. Midzuno, the Administrative Superintendent, an official of high standing and wide executive experience, seemed to share with the Governor to a large degree the ideals of simplicity, directness and the permeation of the government activities by the civilian as contrasted with the military spirit. . . .

Meanwhile, on the Korean side the past year has unquestionably brought a further crystallization of opinion which is hostile to any Japanese government. The minds of many are fixed on complete national independence as the only goal, and they declare that they have no interest whatever in the question of reforms by the present or any Japanese administration. On the other hand many, including some of the most intelligent and far-seeing, are persuaded that there is no hope of speedy independence, and that they must settle down for a long period to build up the Korean people, in physical conditions, in knowledge, in morality, and in the ability to handle government concerns. . . .

It must be fully recognized that the Japanese government has by no means as yet won the hearts of the Korean people; rather they are further off from that today than fifteen months ago. • . . On the other hand, there are elements of decided encouragement. One of these I find in the character of the Governor-General, Admiral Baron Saito himself. He

came to Korea last September with the possibility in his thought of declaring a general political amnesty—wiping the political slate clean and making a new start on the basis of a liberal and humane policy. He was met at the railway station in Seoul by a bomb thrown by the hand of a fanatic, an action which was promptly disavowed by representative Koreans, yet which could not but affect somewhat one's view of the situation.

Baron Saito, however, instead of taking a strong hand, as some would have justified him in doing under those circumstances, has continued of mild and friendly temper. I have implicit trust in his sincerity, and I believe that with time enough he will show the strength, even in spite of the difficulties which confront him in Korea, and of the backfire of criticism and opposition from the militaristic and bureaucratic groups in Tokyo, to bring to pass large things for the welfare of the Korean people. . . .

The foregoing paragraphs were written in 1920, when Governor-General Saito had only been a few months in the country. At the time of my own visit to Korea, in 1922, the Governor-General had nearly completed three years of his tenure of office. He had latterly had the advantage of having as Vice-Governor-General, or Administrative Superintendent (the two titles appear to be used indiscriminately in the official documents) Mr. T. Ariyoshi, one of Japan's most expert and highly regarded civil administrators—a man whom, from my own observation, I know to

be a tireless worker and sympathetic toward the Korean people.

The general consensus of opinion in Korea in 1922, except in so far as it reflected the feelings of the anti-Japanese extremists, was that Governor-General Saito had been animated by a sincere desire to rule Korea through a just and tolerant administration, that he had accomplished notable reforms, that in the matter of education he had ministered very generously to the cultural ambitions of the people, and that in regard to their political ambitions he had, whilst setting his face sternly against anything which could encourage the vain hope of independence, shown himself eager to foster local self-government, and to infuse into the personal relations of the Japanese and Koreans a spirit of friendliness and co-operation.

Discussing Korean affairs with a good many people—Korean, Japanese, and foreign, official and non-official—I found almost unanimous agreement on two points: one, that native sentiment had, in recent years, shown a continuing tendency to become less anti-Japanese; the other, that the remarkable increase in the country's prosperity had been accompanied by a striking improvement in the living conditions of the Korean people at large.

Writing now, four years after the date of my visit, and having in mind the most recent accounts

of the state of Korea, I can express my conviction that there has occurred a steady and accelerating improvement in the general conditions of the country, in the administrative organization and personnel, and in the temper of the intercourse between the Koreans and the Japanese.

In the following pages I present a brief summary, under specific heads, of the salient features of Korean progress from the time of annexation down to the date of the latest available information. With reference to statistics it is to be noted that the official fiscal year begins on April 1 and ends on March 31 of the year following. The unit of money is the yen, which has a par value of fifty cents, U. S., fluctuating, however, with the movement of the foreign exchange market.

Material Progress

Production—

About eighty-two per cent of the total population of Korea depend directly upon agriculture for their livelihood. The area under cultivation increased from about 10,600,000 acres in 1912 to nearly 15,000,000 in 1923.* During the same period the estimated value of agricultural produce rose from 435,000,000 yen to 1,169,000,000 yen. A considerable proportion of the increases noted above was due to measures taken by the

* When two or more crops are raised in one year on the same land the area is counted for each crop.

Government for improving the condition of the farmers. Among these may be named organization of various forms of agricultural credit, the reclamation of waste lands, the construction of irrigation works, the improvement of farming methods, and the introduction of new agricultural industries.

In respect of the first of these measures it may be noted that in 1912 the amount of outstanding agricultural loans was less than five million yen, and in 1923 was more than 134 million yen, a large part of the increase representing investment in agricultural improvements of one sort and another. As an instance of the introduction of new industries silk culture is an example. In 1910 the total value of Korean sericultural products was only 400,000 yen; in 1923 it had risen to nearly 26 million yen.

Closely associated with agriculture is forestry. Under native rule there had been an almost complete neglect of forest conservation, so that at the time of annexation there was a serious shortage of fire-wood and of building lumber. What was even worse was that the denuded mountain sides could no longer absorb the heavy rainfall of the wet season. This resulted in serious annual floods and in the loss of the land's natural supply of moisture. As early as 1907 the Japanese Residency-General had induced the Korean Govern-^{*}ment to undertake afforestation work; and in

1911 the Government-General issued its new forestry regulations. In the same year the Governor-General established an Arbor Day. Since annexation more than a thousand million seedlings have been planted for the purpose of re-establishing the Korean forests. The Government, further, encouraged the formation of Forestry Associations, and of these there were in 1925 three hundred and fifty, with a total membership of nearly a million.

The Government also interested itself in the development of the Korean fisheries. Measures were taken to improve the methods of fishing and of curing and packing aquatic products. Between 1912 and 1921 the value of the catch increased from eight million to forty-five million yen; the value of the exports of fresh fish from 138 thousand to over seven million yen; the value of marine products manufactured, from four million to twenty-five million yen; and the value of manufactured marine products exported, from less than two million yen to more than eleven million.

In the mining industry the total output was valued in 1912 at nearly seven million yen and in 1921 at over fifteen million yen. In the main group of metals and minerals the gold production shows a decline in value, other production a marked increase. Coal mounted from something over 500,000 yen to a little over three million,

iron ore from 156,000 to nearly two million, pig iron from nothing to nearly five million, concentrates from 275,000 to nearly five million.

In regard to manufactures, commerce and industry progress was seriously hampered under native rule by the deplorable condition of the native system of currency, by the insecurity of life and property, by the lax or corrupt administration of law, and by the lack of governmental interest in the general question of development and in the advantages to be derived from scientific research in the various fields of industry. In each of these matters the Government-General has introduced wide-reaching reforms, of which the consequences can be observed in the following table:

TEN YEARS' GROWTH OF COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND BANKING
(Values in thousands of yen)

	1912	1921
Exports by sea	20,985	207,280
Exports by land	356*	10,996
Imports by sea	67,115	205,210
Imports by land	467*	27,171
Total foreign trade	88,101	450,658
Paid-up capital of business corporations...	103,720	1,083,551
Value of factory products	29,302	166,414
Number of Koreans employed in factories.	14,974	40,418
Number of Japanese employed in factories.	2,291	6,330
Government expenditure for advancement of I commerce and industry	2,932	8,797
Bank deposits	27,837	171,891
Value of clearing house transactions	98,488	852,053

* Figures for 1913.

Government

On October 30, 1910, the Organic Regulations of the Government-General of Chosen (Korea) were promulgated by a Japanese Imperial Ordinance. The Regulations established a Secretariat, and five Departments, to which were assigned, respectively, General Affairs, Home Affairs, Finance, Justice, and Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. For the purpose of carrying on the government a large staff of Japanese officials was installed. As few of these officials had any close knowledge of local conditions or of the Korean language, the actual position was that although a complete administrative machine was set in motion, it was realised by the authorities that from the experience of its employment the necessity would become apparent of many changes designed to make the system increasingly suitable to the particular circumstances of the country.

From year to year various reforms were introduced; but it was not until 1919 that, following the outbreak and suppression of the Independence Movement, and the appointment of Admiral Raron Saito to the Governor-Generalship, a matured plan of general reorganization was undertaken under the authority of an Imperial Rescript.

The statement of the matters to be effected by

the new plans shows that the authorities recognized clearly the character of the defects which had become apparent during the nine years which had elapsed since the original Organic Regulations had been put in force. The official list of the purposes to which the new measures were addressed was as follows:

- (1) **Non-discrimination between Japanese and Korean officials.**
- (2) **Simplification of laws and regulations.**
- (3) **Prompt transaction of state business.**
- (4) **Decentralization policy.**
- (5) **Improvement in local organization.**
- (6) **Respect for native culture and customs.**
- (7) **Freedom of speech, meeting, and press.**
- (8) **Spread of education and development of industry.**
- (9) **Re-organization of the police system.**
- (10) **Enlargement of medical and sanitary agencies.**
- (11) **Guidance of the people.**
- (12) **Advancement of men of talent.**
- (13) **Friendly feeling between Japanese and Koreans.**

In a Proclamation to the People of Chosen, issued by Governor-General Saito on September 10, 1919, His Excellency made the following declaration:

I am determined to superintend officials under my control and encourage them to put forth greater

efforts to act in a fairer and juster way, and promote the facilities of the people and the unhindered attainment of the people's desires by dispensing with all formalities. Full consideration will be given to the appointment and treatment of Koreans so as to secure the right men for the right places, and what in Korean institutions and old customs is worthy of adoption will be adopted as a means of government. I also hope to introduce reform in the different branches of administrative activity, and enforce local self-government at the proper opportunity, and thereby ensure stability for the people and enhance their general welfare. It is most desirable that the government and the governed throw open their hearts and minds to each other and combine their efforts to advance civilization in Chosen, solidify its foundations of enlightened government, and thus answer His Majesty's benevolent solicitude. If anybody is found guilty of unwarrantably refractory language or action, of misleading the popular mind, and of impeding the maintenance of public peace, he will meet with relentless justice. May it be that the people at large will place reliance on all this.

The reader of the administrative chapters in the present volume will see that Governor-General Saito has been as good as his word. He has kept his promise to rule with justice, firmness, and tolerance, and to keep in view the cultural and economic interests of the Korean people.

Among the more important of his adminis-

trative measures are to be noted the abolition of the gendarmerie, the abolition of the old Korean custom of flogging convicted offenders, the appointment of an increasing number of Koreans to high posts in the Government, the appointment or election of advisory councils, largely composed of Koreans, the delegation of a great deal of local administration to local authorities, thus contributing to the education of the people in local self-government, the expenditure of large funds in aid and in encouragement of agriculture, industry, and commerce, the notable increase in the expenditure on education, culminating in the founding of a University at which Koreans will be able to secure in Korea an education as thorough as they would be able to get in Japan proper.

Some of the foregoing points, and others bearing upon the general progress of the country, can be established statistically, as will be seen from the following table:

BUDGET ESTIMATES OF EXPENDITURES BY THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL
ON VARIOUS SPECIFIED OBJECTS
(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

	1918*	1921†	Increase
	4,440	10,133	128%
Medical and Sanitary. •	730	1,883	157
Education	2,196	6,100	180
Encouragement of industry.	3,573	8,798	146
Public Works	7,341	15,329	108

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BUDGET ESTIMATES FOR VARIOUS CLASSES OF EXPENDITURE
BY PROVINCIAL AND OTHER PUBLIC BODIES
(In thousands of yen)

	1918*	1921 †	Increase
Medical and Sanitary	782	1,723	120%
Education	4,897	19,382	287
	2,139	5,411	153
Public Works	8,210	11,953	272
Social and Charitable	194	383	97

* The year before Governor-General Saito's arrival,

† The second year after his arrival.

The following explanations may be given of the terms used in the foregoing tables: "Local Administration" means in this connection the local administrative offices of the Government-General, situated in each province, county, and municipality; "Public Works" includes road-making, bridge-building, and the construction and repair of public buildings; "Encouragement of Industry" covers items such as subsidies and expert services to various agricultural and manufacturing enterprises. The term "Provincial and Other Public Bodies" refers to administrative units organized in provinces, districts, municipalities, and villages for dealing with education, sanitation, industrial encouragement, civil engineering, social and charitable undertakings in various localities, and with general administrative services in villages. The increases in expenditure on education and on public works register the

practical character of Governor-General Saito's cultural policy; and it is to be noted that these increases were brought about within two years of Viscount Saito's assumption of office.

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

1. THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL

Prior to the annexation of Korea—effected by the Treaty of August, 1910—the influence exerted by Japan upon government in Korea passed through two phases. The first of these may be described as a period of diplomatic advice, during which the Japanese Minister at Seoul, aided by a number of Japanese advisers engaged by the Korean Government, attempted to improve the deplorable condition into which the internal administration of Korea had fallen under native control. This period came to an end in November, 1905, when the Japanese-Korean Convention formulated a new relationship between the two countries.

This Convention introduced the second phase of Japan's influence in Korean government. It may be described as a period of administrative control and participation. In accordance with the terms of the Convention, Japan established in Korea, in February, 1906, a Residency-

General, with subordinate Residencies at various points.

The functions of the Residency-General were defined in a Convention signed in July, 1907. It was then provided:

(1) That the Government of Korea shall follow the directions of the Resident-General in respect of administrative reforms;

(2) That the Government of Korea shall not enact any laws, ordinances, or regulations, or take any important administrative measures without the previous approval of the Resident-General;

(3) That judicial administration in Korea shall be conducted independently of other branches of administration;

(4) That the appointment and dismissal of all high officials in Korea shall be made with the concurrence of the Resident-General;

(5) That the Government of Korea shall appoint, as Korean officials, Japanese subjects recommended by the Resident-General.

Under this arrangement considerable improvement occurred in the general administration of the country; but in two important matters the system failed of efficiency. These were finance, and the administration of justice.

In respect of the first of these Japan was confronted by the fact, almost universally overlooked, that whatever advantages may flow from

administrative reform, and whatever economies such reform may eventually effect, these advantages and economies cannot be produced without increasing the initial cost of administration; in a word, that good government is cheap at the price, but that it cannot be had at a cheap price.

So far as justice was concerned the Korean system was such, both as to its procedure and its officials, that far-reaching reform appeared to be impossible unless its administration was placed in the hands of Japanese public servants.

In order to meet these difficulties Japan arranged for a loan, free of interest, estimated at ten million dollars, but actually reaching a total of thirteen million, for the purpose of stabilizing the Korean budget; and took over the administration of justice and of the prisons, whilst assuming the cost of these departments as a charge upon the Japanese Treasury.

The period of administrative control and participation was brought to an end by the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. The circumstances which led to this step have been dealt with in the historical section of Chapter I I .

Simultaneously with the annexation of the country the Government-General of Korea was established, on August 29, 1910. It was not, however, until September 30, 1910, that the Organic Regulations of the Government-General were promulgated by an Imperial Japanese Or-

dinance which made them effective as from the following day.

These Regulations provided for the appointment of a Governor-General, and of a Vice Governor-General; and for the erection of a Government-General to consist of the following six departments: Secretariat; General Affairs; Home Affairs; Finance; Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry; and Justice. Provision was made for the executive, administrative, technical, and clerical services; and an annual budget was prescribed as the basis of the financial system.

The Organic Regulations have been amended from time to time as experience indicated the necessity. Before describing the organization of the Government of Korea as it now exists a few paragraphs may be devoted to the form it assumed at the end of the first year after the creation of the Government-General.

At the head of the Government was the Governor-General, who conducted public affairs through the instrumentality of two groups of offices—one classified as the Government-General of Korea, the other as Affiliated Offices of the Government-General. The organization of these two groups at the end of 1911 is exhibited in the following table:

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PERSONNEL OF THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL, 1911

	High Officials	Subordi- nate Officials	Total
Government-General:	5		
Department of General Affairs	13	116	129
Department of Home Affairs..	26	140	166
Department of Finance	30	142	172
Department of Agriculture,...	23	66	89
Commerce, and Industry...	4	16	20
Total, Government-General.	101	485	586
Affiliated Offices:			
	363	811	1,174
	404	2,321	2,725
Railway Bureau	55	405	460
	39	1,005	1,044
Land Survey Bureau	29	1,069	1,098
Government Schools	24	91	115
Customs Service	17	245	262
Hospital and Medical School..	15	28	43
Model Farm	13	52	65
	4	43	47
Printing Bureau	3	22	25
Bureau of Ancient Customs...	6	8	14
Government Lumber Station..	5	16	21
	2	5	7
		2	2
Total, Affiliated Offices , ,	979	6,123	7,102
Grand total	1,080	6,608	7,688

All the items in the foregoing table are, in a broad sense, self-explanatory, except " Central Council." This body was created at the time of the annexation, 1910, for the purpose of providing the Japanese Governor-General with a Korean advisory committee, which he could consult in regard to administrative measures. The

ivice President and all members of the Council were chosen from the ranks of the Korean nobility, gentry, and officialdom. The president of the Council, the chief secretary, and the secretaries were chosen from the higher ranks of the Japanese officials attached to the Government-General.

The members of the Council were given honorary official rank; but as they were not to be classed as Government servants, they were not included in the official figures from which the foregoing table was compiled. The actual number of Koreans in the Council at the end of 1911 was 71; and the Japanese staff of the Council consisted of one president, one chief secretary, one assistant secretary, and one interpreter-secretary.

Provincial Government

By Imperial Ordinance No. 357, promulgated on September 10, 1910, provision was made for local government in Korea. The country was divided into thirteen provinces. The Organic Regulations for Provincial Government established a central authority in each province, headed by a Provincial Governor, and equipped with the administrative staff necessary to conduct the provincial business connected with Finance, Medical and Sanitary Service, Police, Education, Harbors, Forestry, Public Works, and so on.

Each province was subdivided into districts of three types—municipal prefectures, rural counties, and insular districts. The last-named group comprised two of the larger islands lying off the coast of Korea.

As originally designed, the Government of Korea presented the following administrative pattern:

- 1 Government-General,
- 13 Provincial Governments,
- 12 Municipal Prefectures,
- 218 Rural Counties, and
- 2 Insular Districts.

The problem presented to Japan by its responsibility for the Government of Korea was one of extreme complexity. The task had neither that kind of simplicity which exists where a powerful and "superior" race assumes control of a people low in the scale of civilization, weak in physical resources, and devoid of the sentiment of nationalism, nor that kind of simplicity which exists when a mere transfer of political control occurs between two peoples of somewhat similar economic and social status.

In a word, the problem was neither that of England ruling the native tribes of New Guinea, nor that of Italy taking over the Austrian administration of Fiume.

The situation was, in fact, almost without

precedent in modern times. Measured by the standards of Asiatic civilization the people of Korea constituted an advanced race; like the Japanese they owed much of their culture to China; unlike the Japanese they had been little affected by the political and economic progress of the Western world. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the description "Hermit Kingdom" would have applied with equal force to Japan and to Korea. Each country possessed an ancient religion, an ancient philosophy, an ancient culture, an ancient aristocracy, and an ancient social organization. If the two countries had been compared at that time on the basis of their national evolution as Asiatic states it would have been impossible to attribute to the Koreans any inherent inferiority to their Japanese neighbors.

At the present time a comparison of such a character would be wholly irrelevant to any practical issue. Since 1858 Japan has become westernized. If the process has conferred upon her many of the alleged advantages of Western progress, it has also infected her with the many evils which appear to be inseparable from the Western type of civilization. Her own problems are now those of the West; their solutions will be found, if at all, by adopting Western methods and by improving upon them, not by attempting to make Asiatic theories and Asiatic practices

serve the necessities of a modern society of the Western type.

For my own part, having spent a number of years in various parts of Asia, I am unable to entertain the conviction, so commonly held in Europe and in the Americas, that Western civilization is superior to that of the East. But the question now before me is not one into which any speculations of this kind can enter. It is that of describing the Japanese administrative system in Korea, as an example of an attempt to govern an Asiatic dependency by Western methods.

For the purposes of such a discussion it is essential that two separate subjects should be kept separate—the right of Japan to govern Korea, and the way in which Japan is actually governing Korea. The former subject is one of great interest and importance, viewed from the standpoint of Imperialism as a phenomenon of statecraft; but it can receive no more than incidental treatment—as it does in the introductory chapter—in a volume devoted to a discussion of matters subsequent to the acquisition of a dependency.

Any description of the Government of Korea, as it is now constituted, must start from the fact that Japan took over the responsibility in 1910, that she was confronted immediately by the condition of the country as it then was, and that in

view of that condition she had to establish a Government, formulate a public policy, and construct an administrative machine.

Approaching these tasks from the base line of her own experience of half a century under a westernized Constitution, she found that the immediate situation was full of difficulty; but that, on a long view of her undertaking, the future held out the possibility of a success at least as great as that achieved by any other nation in the direction of governing dependencies.

The chief difficulty with which the newly-formed Government-General was faced was that in respect of modernizing the public administration of the country it could count upon little aid from the past. The existing body of Korean officials were for the most part indifferent, and in some part violently hostile, to reform along Western lines; the mal-administration which, by common consent, had for many years characterized the Government of the native Yi Dynasty, had affected adversely the whole of the Korean public service; the economic stability of the country had been wrecked by an unsound system of taxation and by a debased currency; means of communication were wretched; the country districts were overrun by bandits; banking facilities were inadequate for the development of commerce and industry; above all, the Korean people **had** been reduced by many years of stupid mis-

government and oppression to a state of patient lethargy.

Even if there be attributed to Japan no higher motive than that of making a profitable investment out of the annexation of Korea, the pursuit of such an aim could only end in success if the general condition of the country was improved.

The general policy through which this improvement was to be achieved was announced in a Proclamation issued on August 29, 1910, by Viscount Masakata Terauchi, the Japanese Resident-General. The Proclamation made official announcement of the annexation, and it was supplemented by a statement in the form of general instructions to the high Japanese officials who would be responsible for the administration of Korea until the Government-General had been organized.

Divested of the rhetorical phrases which are to be found in all documents of this character, the Proclamation outlined a clear policy.

(1) To afford relief to the people by abandoning the Government's claim on unpaid land taxes, by making a reduction of twenty per cent in the land tax about to fall due, by making a donation of seventeen million yen (about \$8,500,000) from the Imperial Japanese Treasury for promoting education and for the relief of famine and other disasters.

(2) To establish law and order throughout

the country, in order that life and property might be secure and the people supplied with an incentive to industry.

(3) To improve the means of communication and transportation, thus aiding material development whilst affording occupation to large numbers of Koreans.

(4) The creation of a Council of responsible and experienced Koreans to be consulted with reference to proposed administrative measures.

(5) The establishment of a charity hospital in each province to extend and supplement the work of the Central Hospital at Seoul, and of the three charity hospitals, institutions which had been put in operation by the Japanese before annexation.

(6) The extension of educational facilities and the adoption of an educational policy which should "instil into the minds of the young men the detestation of idleness and the love of real work, thrift and diligence."

(7) The guaranty of freedom of religious belief. The paragraph in the Proclamation of Annexation which deals with this matter was framed as follows:

The freedom of religious belief is recognized in all civilized countries. There is, indeed, nothing to be said against anybody trying to gain spiritual peace by believing in whatever religious faith he or she considers to be true. But those who engage in

strife on account of sectarian differences or take part in politics or pursue political intrigues under the name of religious propaganda, will injure good customs and manners and disturb the public order, and, as such, will be dealt with by law. There is no doubt, however, that a good religion, be it Buddhism, or Confucianism, or Christianity, has as its aim the spiritual and material improvement of mankind, and in this not only does it not conflict with the administration of Government, but really helps it in attaining the purpose it has in view. Consequently all religions shall be treated equally and, further, due protection and facilities shall be accorded to their legitimate propagation.

The Instructions issued to Japanese officials at the time of annexation include a paragraph which is quoted in full here, because it discloses the fact that up to that time the relations between the Japanese and the Koreans had been marked by an attitude of contempt towards the natives, and that the Resident-General was fully aware of the obstacles which such an attitude would place in the way of his general policy of conciliation and development.

The aim and purpose of the annexation is to consolidate the bonds uniting the two countries, to remove all causes for territorial and national discriminations, necessarily existing between separate powers, in order that the mutual welfare and happiness of the two peoples may be promoted. Consequently, should the Japanese people regard the annexation

as a result of the conquest of a weak country by a stronger one, and should speak and act under such an illusion in an overbearing and undignified manner they would act in a spirit contrary to that in which the present step has been taken.

Japanese settlers in Korea seem hitherto to have considered that they were living in a foreign land, and have often fallen into the mistake of adopting a superior attitude toward the people of the country. If, in connection with the inauguration of the new order of things, they were to increase their self-conceit, and were to subject the people just incorporated into the Empire to any sort of insult, they would arouse ill-feeling, with the result that in everything they would be in collision with the natives, and the opportunity would be denied of establishing an intimate relation between the two peoples, which would be an unmeasurable calamity for the future. It is opportune that things have now assumed a new aspect. Let the Japanese settlers take this occasion to change their ideas and their attitude toward the people of Korea. Let them always bear in mind that they are our brothers, and treat them with sympathy and friendship, thus, by mutual help and co-operation, enabling both peoples to contribute their share to the growth and progress of the whole Empire.

The Present Organization of the Government of Korea

Starting with the organization briefly described in the foregoing pages, the passage of time and the extension of governmental activities

pointed to the necessity of effecting a number of changes in the routine of public business. Both as to methods and as to personnel experience served as a guide to a number of adjustments and reforms which, in the aggregate, have brought the administrative system to the highest state of efficiency attained since the annexation.

The actual development of administrative work in Korea, in the more important branches, is shown in the following table:

PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON VARIOUS OBJECTS

(In yen. One yen = 50 cents U. S.)

	Actual Outlay	Actual Outlay	Increase
	1911	1920	%
Central Administration	2,771,753	6,306,518	127
Local Administration	3,901,735	8,902,995	128
Courts and Prisons	2,372,951	6,816,139	187
Schools	2,127,653	19,757,048	820
Public Health	893,684	2,793,942	212
Construction: buildings,	14,401,000	35,620,104	147
Research: chiefly relating to in- dustry, and natural resources.	264,553	1,969,010	645

Allowing for certain minor changes in administrative organization effected between the years 1910 and 1919, Korea was, in effect, governed for the ten years following annexation under the provisions of the Organic Regulations of the Government-General, which were promulgated

on September 30, 1910, and went into effect on the following day.

On August 19, 1919, an Imperial Ordinance was promulgated on the subject of the reorganization of the Government-General of Korea; and was put in force the same day. The general purpose of the reorganization is set forth in the following quotation from the Rescript:

We are persuaded that the state of development now reached in Korea calls for certain reforms in the administrative organization of the Government-General; and We hereby issue our Imperial command that such reforms be put into operation. The measures thus taken are solely designed to facilitate the working of administration and to secure enlightened and efficient government, in pursuance of Our settled policy, and for the purpose of meeting the altered needs of the country.

The instrument through which the Imperial Rescript was to be made effective was a revised "Organic Regulations of the Government-General" published at the same time as the Rescript. The revised Regulations embodied all amendments made from time to time since the issue of the original Regulations, and such additions of new matter as were needed to give effect to the Rescript.

The organization of Government in Korea, as fixed by the Regulations of 1919 is described in

the following pages. The administration of government, that is to say the work performed by the organization, is described in the chapters following this.

At the head of the Government is the Governor-General, appointed by the Emperor of Japan, and directly responsible to him for the administration of government in Korea. Until 1919 it was obligatory that the Governor-General be selected from the Japanese military establishment. The new Regulations abolished this restriction, and made civil officials also eligible for the appointment.

Next in rank is the Vice Governor-General, sometimes described as Director of Civil Administration. His duties resemble those performed by the Secretary General in Java, and by the Colonial Secretary of a British Crown Colony. He is the Governor-General's right-hand man, and is responsible for all administrative decisions, unless or until they require the formal sanction of the Governor-General.

The Governor-General conducts the administration of Korea through the agency of two groups of administrative organs, one of which constitutes the Government-General, the other being designated as Affiliated Offices of the Government-General.

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL

(As of March, 1923)

Central Offices

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S SECRETARIAT :

Private Secretaries Office, Councillors Office, Inspectors Office, Foreign Affairs Section, General Affairs Department, Public Works Department, Railways Department.

HOME AFFAIRS BUREAU:

Local Administration Section, Social Works Section, Officials Training Institute.

FINANCIAL BUREAU!

Internal Revenue Section, Customs Section, Budget Section, Financial Section.

INDUSTRIAL BUREAU!

Agricultural Section, Afforestation Section—• Branches, Fishery Section, Commercial and Industrial Section, Mining Section—Branches, Land Investigation Section, Geological Investigation Office, Fuel Laboratory, Commercial Museum.

JUDICIAL BUREAU:

Civil Section, Criminal Section, Prison Section.

EDUCATIONAL BUREAU:

School Affairs Section, Compiling Section, Historic Remains Inquiry Office, Religious Section, Museum, Meteorological Observatory—Branches.

POLICE BUREAU:

Police Affairs Section, High Police Section, Peace Preservation Section, Sanitary Section, Export Cattle Inspecting Station.

Affiliated Offices

CENTRAL COUNCIL:

General Affairs Section, Investigation Section.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT:

Governor's Secretariat, Internal Affairs Department, Financial Department, Police Department, Municipalities—Districts—Islands, Charity Hospitals, Police Stations.

POLICE TRAINING INSTITUTE.

COMMUNICATIONS BUREAU:

General Affairs Section, Supervising Section, Accounts Section, Engineering Section, Electric Works Section, Marine Affairs Section—Branches, Special Water-power Inquiry Section, Postal Money Order and Savings Supervising Office, Post Offices—« Branches, Employees Training Institute, Sailors Training Institute.

MARINE COURT.

MONOPOLY BUREAU:

General Affairs Section, Management Section, Manufacturing Section, Branch Offices.

CUSTOMS :

General Affairs Section, Surveillance Section, Customs Duty Section, Inspecting Section, Branch Offices, Coastguard Stations.

LAW COURTS:

Supreme Court—Procurators Office, Appeal Courts—Procurators Offices, Local Courts—Procurators Offices, Local Branch Courts.

PRISONS—BRANCHES.

PUBLIC DEPOSITORIES.

LUMBER UNDERTAKING STATION!

General Affairs Section, Management Section, Saw Mill, Branch Offices.

GOVERNMENT-GENERAL HOSPITAL:

Medical Departments, Medicine Section, General Affairs Section, Nurses and Midwives Training Institute.

GOVERNMENT CHARITY ASYLUM!

Orphans Department, Blind and Deaf-Mutes Department, General Affairs Section.

MODEL FARM:

Branches, Sericultural Experimental Station, Sericultural School for Girls.

CENTRAL LABORATORY.

CATTLE-DISEASE SERUM LABORATORY.

FISHERIES EXPERIMENTAL STATION.

FORESTRY EXPERIMENTAL STATION.

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PERSONNEL OF THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL

The following table shows the number of officials of the Government-General engaged in each branch of administration. The figures refer to the fiscal year 1922-23.

	High Officials	Subordi- nate Officials	Total
The Government-General:			
General Secretariat	52	361	413
	8	32	40
Bureau of Finance	11	51	62
Bureau of Industry	48	226	274
Bureau of Justice	5	20	25
Bureau of Education	11	35	46
Bureau of Police	24	49	73
Total	159	774	933
Offices Affiliated to the Government-General:			
Central Council	3	9	12
Higher Land Investigation Committee	5	1	1
	51	6	11
	35	1,502	1,553
Customs	11	401	436
Supreme Court	12	345	356
	253	5	17
Prisons	22	650	908
	84	140	162
Provincial Government and its Sub-	84	266	350
	487	4,853	5,340
Government Lumber Business	11	147	158
Government Hospitals and Asylums	22	47	69
	4	13	17
1 Model Farm		37	49
	10	39	49
1 Police Training Institute	5	7	12
1 Total	1,032	8,468	9,500 I
Grand total	1,191	9,242	10,433

The terrible economic effects of the Japanese earthquake, 1923, made it necessary to adopt

throughout the Empire a policy of drastic retrenchment in government expenditures. One of the measures carried out in Korea was the reduction by nearly twenty-five per cent of the number of government officials.

The Civil Service

Appointment and Salary—

Appointment to the government service in Korea is made in conformity with very elaborate rules and regulations, which, in the main, follow the lines of the Imperial Japanese services. Provision is made for a lower and for a higher examination of candidates, for salaries and allowances, for promotion, for pensions, for leave of absence, and for the appointment, resignation, and dismissal of officials.

Civil servants are classified by rank and by grade in the rank. The highest ranks are those of *Shinnin* and *Chokunin*; the next lower rank is *Sonin*; and the lowest rank attached to any official of the Government-General is *Hannin*. Promotion goes from grade to grade within the rank, and from rank to rank. For the appointment, resignation, or dismissal of civil servants of *Sonin* rank the Governor-General obtains the Imperial assent, through the Prime Minister of Japan; in respect of persons of *Hannin* rank the Governor-General decides.

The total salary of an official is made up of his regular salary, and his additional salary (for colonial service). In the *Shinnin* and *Chokunin* ranks the yearly total salaries range from that of the Governor-General, 12,000 yen, down to 6300 yen, which is paid to Chief Public Procurators of Local Courts and to Presidents of Professional Schools. In the *Sonin* rank the range is between 6300 yen and 1260 yen; and in the *Hannin* rank between 3840 yen and 652 yen, according to grade and nature of employment.

In addition to the foregoing salaries there are three kinds of special allowances: residential allowance, where a residence is not provided; traveling allowances, approximately equal to out-of-pocket expenses; and bonuses. There is no fixed rate for the bonus, but it is usually between 80 per cent and 100 per cent of a month's pay. The general rule is that the lower the pay the higher the rate of the bonus.

Pensions—

The pension regulations are too elaborate to permit of detailed description in a volume of this size. The annual pension is based on the salary received at the time of retirement and on the number of years served. For one retiring after serving fifteen years and less than sixteen years the pension is one-third of his annual salary at

the time of retirement. For each additional full year served, up to forty years, one-one hundred and fiftieth of the annual salary is added.

The pensions are paid from the public funds; but each civil servant above the *Hannin* rank must pay one per cent of his yearly salary to the pension fund.

Special provisions are made to cover the cases in which an official dies in office after fifteen years' service, or dies in execution of his duty with less than fifteen years' service, or dies after retirement on pension. These provisions exhibit a wise generosity, which other governments would do well to emulate. In any of the foregoing circumstances the pension is classed as an allowance-in-aid. The amount is fixed at one-half of the annual pension received by or due to the deceased at the time of his death; but if death occurred while or through executing his official duty, the allowance is increased to four-fifths; and when death occurs through injury or disease caused by war or by a similar contingency the total amount of the pension is paid to the surviving beneficiary.

The allowance-in-aid is claimable by a relative of the deceased in the following order of precedence: (1) wife; (2) children under age, in the order of their rights as heirs; (3) husband, in case the deceased is a married woman; (4) father, but the father-in-law claims before the natural father if the deceased was an adopted son or

daughter; (5) mother, with the same proviso; (6) children above age; (7) grandfather; (8) grandmother.

At the time of the annexation special regulations were framed for the treatment of Korean officials, placing them in a less favorable position than that of the Japanese officials. Governor-General Saito, shortly after his appointment, and in conformity with the policy of non-discrimination announced in an Imperial Rescript, annulled all the ordinances relating to the status and salaries of Korean officials, and applied in their stead the ordinances applicable to Japanese officials, thus removing a grievance which had been detrimental to the civil service. At the same time revision was made in the educational regulations which had the effect of making Korean teachers eligible for appointment as principals of public common schools—posts which up to that date, October, 1919, had been strictly reserved for Japanese. In the following year an ordinance was promulgated removing the restrictions which had hitherto existed on the authority exercised by Korean judges and public procurators.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

II. LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

One of the most important elements in the new policy inaugurated in 1919 on Viscount Saito's assumption of the Governor-Generalship was that of administrative decentralization. Indeed it may be said that the backbone of the new policy was that the Koreans should, in the largest possible measure consistent with the country's political status, learn to take part in the administration of their own public affairs.

I have had before me a great deal of material describing the extension of local self-government in Korea; but the whole subject is so fully and lucidly treated in the *Annual Report on the Administration of Chosen, 1922-1923*, that I have transcribed practically the whole of this chapter from that document.

Introductory—

The administrative divisions of the Peninsula were in a very confused state prior to the annexation of the country in 1910. In addition to prov-

inces, urban prefectures, districts, and villages, there existed a number of other district organs, such as police and financial organs, local residencies for resident Japanese, Japanese municipalities, foreign settlements, Chinese exclusive settlements, and school associations for the education of Japanese children. The mixed relations of those organs making it impossible to maintain uniformity and efficiency in matters of local administration, these differences all required to be adjusted simultaneously at the time of annexation. But during the time of transition, when everything else was necessarily unsettled, sudden radical changes were avoided as far as possible, and above all the question of the disposal of the settlement system was held over, as it required most careful negotiation with the powers interested. So, when the Government-General was established, the first step toward general reform in the local organization was to abolish all local residencies and financial bureaus, and to establish a financial department in each province, while giving prefectural and district magistracies part management of financial affairs. At the time of the enforcement of this readjustment the local administrative organs comprised 13 provincial governments, 12 municipal and 317 district magistracies, and 4,322 village offices, presided over by governors, prefects, sub-prefects, and headmen.

Although the administrative boundaries of municipalities, counties, and villages were left much the same as before the annexation, there were marked differences among them in area, population, and resources, and this was especially the case with villages, so that some villages bore much too disproportionate a burden of taxation, causing not a little difficulty in the execution of administrative duties. After careful study it was decided to amalgamate certain villages and alter the boundaries of others in order to secure greater uniformity and convenience in local administration. Accordingly, the area of each municipality was reduced to its natural limits by taking from it all attached villages, while the area of each district was restricted to about 40 square *ri* containing about 10,000 people, and that of each village to about 4 square *ri** containing about 800 families. This readjustment of areas left the number of municipalities as before at 12, but reduced districts from 317 to 220, and villages from 4,322 to 2,504. All this was done to promote their administration, curtail local expenditure, and secure a fair distribution of the burden of taxation on the people.

On the other hand, Saishu and Utsuryo are islands so distant from the mainland that their administration could not be smoothly carried on owing to difficulty of communication. So in

* 1 square *ri*-5.95 square miles.

May, 1915, they were made separate districts, and the governor of each was empowered to issue all necessary instructions for the good of the island, and was also made head of the island police. Below are given the local administrative divisions as at present constituted:

Province	Area	Percent- age of Total Area	Divisions			Seat of Provincial Govern- ment
			Munici- palities	Dis- tricts	Vil- lages	
Keiki	<i>SQ. ri</i> 830.83	5.8	2	20	249	Keijo
North Chusei.	480.93	3.4		10	110	Seishu
South Chusei.	525.59	3.7		14	175	Koshu
North Zenra..	553.13	3.9	1	14	188	Zenshu
South Zenra..	900.41	6.3	1	22	269	Kwoshu
North Keisho.	1,231.16	8.6	1	23	272	Taikyū
South Keisho.	797.78	5.6	2	19	257	Shinshu
Kokai	1,084.82	7.6		17	226	Kaishu
South Heian..	967.70	6.7	2	14	165	Heijo
North Heian..	1,844.24	12.8	1	19	193	Gishu
Kogen	2,702.79	11.9		21	178	Shunsen
South Kankyo	2,073.36	14.5	1	16	141	Kanko
North Kankyo	1,319.19	9.2	1	11	81	Ranan
Total	14,311.99	100.0	12	220	2,504	

A Provincial Governor, while being held responsible to the Governor-General, executes laws and ordinances, supervises the administration of his province, controls all public corporations, and is also authorized to issue provincial ordinances. Formerly, the police organs existing in a province were entirely separate from all other local administrative organs, and the Governor

had no power whatever over them, and in all police and sanitary affairs the head of the provincial police alone could set on foot measures deemed necessary, though he was required to obtain the approval of the Governor before issuing instructions. But with the progress of the times and the development of local administration it was recognized that a Provincial Governor ought to be in control of all police and sanitary affairs, so when the gendarme system was abolished in August, 1919, the police were transferred to the control of the Provincial Governors, and in each province a Third Department was instituted, composed of police, medical, and quarantine officers, and this was later renamed the Police Affairs Department. During the transition period special importance was placed on the unity and consistency of general administrative business, and a policy of centralization was adhered to, so that the powers of a Provincial Governor were somewhat circumscribed. As improvement in local administration was effected, and each year saw increase in official business, it was seen that this policy was losing in efficiency, so one of decentralization was gradually adopted, and following on the general revision in August, 1919, the powers entrusted to a Provincial Governor were by degrees widened.

After the annexation careful investigation was made concerning the revision of the existing sys-

tem, and in March of 1914 it was found possible to abolish the foreign settlement system by agreement with the nations interested. In the following month, new regulations relating to urban prefectures and school associations came into force, by which both were recognized as juridical persons, the jurisdictional district of the settlements being incorporated into that of their respective urban prefectures, while all business concerning the education of Japanese children was transferred to the hands of school associations formed within each prefectural jurisdiction. In this way the long pending question of the adjustment and unification of the local administrative system was brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

As a consequence of the revision of the system all business regarding the registration of perpetual leases, hitherto conducted by the consular representatives of the Powers concerned, was turned over to the law courts. Perpetual leases being particular real rights, the provision of ownership was applied correspondingly, and it was recognized that they could be made objects of other rights. Further, foreign lease-holders of land in perpetuity were given the option of converting their leases into actual ownership, while those preferring to make no alteration in their lands were required to bear as a rule taxes and other public charges on a par with actual landowners.

Since the enforcement of the local administrative readjustment, steady progress has been made in all lines of society, in industry, education, communications, and commerce, as well as in the various official functions. Especially noteworthy has been the recent development of local interests. So the reorganization of the Government-General being effected, it was decided to introduce greater reforms into the administration of the country, and in particular to aim at decentralization of power, so that a system of local self-government might be firmly established in the future. Accordingly, as the first step in this direction, in July, 1920, further amendment was made in the existing local system, providing for the creation of advisory councils for public corporations, the members to be either appointed or elected, in order to give advice about local finance and other important matters. By these organs it is hoped that popular sentiment will be reflected in the local administration, and that through them more complete organs of local self-government will gradually be evolved.

Formation of Local Councils—

After a year or so of careful inquiry into the subject the revised system of local administration was at last proclaimed on July 29, 1920, and advisory bodies were formed for the administration of provinces, municipalities, districts, and

villages. Of course these organs were far from being real local self-governing bodies, since Chosen was still not in a condition to justify the immediate enforcement of a complete system of local self-government, and the people needed a course of training in the transaction of public affairs. Still, they marked an important step forward in the right direction.

In the local administrative system hitherto obtaining in Chosen there existed municipalities and villages as the lowest magistracies, the former in cities and towns and the latter in rural communities. Besides, there were organs called "the public common school expenditure" for the benefit of Korean children, school associations for the education of Japanese children, and water-utilization associations dealing with irrigation. Of these the two last only possessed anything of a self-governing aspect. Although the municipalities had their own advisory councils, and specially designated villages had advisers attached to them, they were composed of comparatively few members, and all were nominated by the Government, so it could not be said that they really represented popular desires and ideas. On the other hand, the prefects were always government officials, and even village headmen were appointed by the Government. Then, too, the public common school expenditure was under the management of prefects, sub-prefects, and island

governors, whilst provincial expenditure was supervised exclusively by Provincial Governors. In addition, each province had three councillors and each city, district, and island two councillors, yet these men being appointed by the Government from among a few men of influence, and their posts being merely honorary, they too could hardly be considered representative of popular sentiment, so a revision of the local system was imperatively necessary that the way might be opened for expression of the popular will, and it was effected in the following manner:

In revising the organization of municipal advisory councils it was arranged that the members should be elected by popular vote instead of being appointed by the Government, and, at the same time, all villages were to be provided with advisory councils for discussion of village finances and other important affairs. Since, however, the elective system was quite new to the Koreans in general and, if enforced in all villages without exception, might become the source of endless disputes and confusion, it was arranged that only in specially selected villages should the members of the advisory council be elected by popular vote, and that in all other villages the appointment of the councils should be left to the discretion of the district or island magistrates who, in making appointments, were to take into account the opinions of the principal inhabitants in their districts.

Public common school expenditure, so-called, existed only for providing an elementary education for Korean children. But new regulations were framed to deal with all affairs relating to the general education of Koreans throughout the country. To meet the expenditure the authorities were empowered to levy school taxes, requisition labor and goods, collect rents, raise public loans, and also form plans for consecutive expenditure. Then, as advisory organs, school councils were created. In cities the members are elected by popular vote, while in districts or islands they are appointed from among candidates elected by village councils.

Further, as advisory organs to discuss provincial budgets, etc., provincial councils were created, the members of which are appointed by Provincial Governors from among candidates elected by municipal or village councils, as well as from among men of knowledge and repute.

The revised local system came into effect on October 1, 1920, and the election of members of councils of municipalities and designated villages took place on November 20 following. At first the Koreans seemed to adopt a rather indifferent attitude, many of them evidently being duped by the seditious talk of agitators. However, as the election day drew near, inspired by the Japanese canvassing, they began to show great interest and enthusiasm, and many offered themselves as can-

didates, and the elections proceeded without a hitch. The following list gives the result in 12 municipalities and 24 specially designated vil-
lages:

MUNICIPALITIES

	Number of Voters	Votes Cast	Percent- age	Number of members Elected
Japanese	6,251	5,486	88	134
Korean	4,713	3,122	66	56

VILLAGES

	Number of Voters	Votes Cast	Percent- age	Number i of members Elected
	1,399	1,224	88	130
Korean	1,623	1,198	73	126

The members elected were mostly leading persons in their localities. Especially creditable was it that the elected Koreans were all rising men with moderate ideas. Another very creditable thing was the fact that Japanese restricted the number of their own candidates by agreement among themselves, and that some elected Japan*
ese resigned in favor of Koreans next to them at the polls, while not a few Koreans gave their votes for Japanese candidates.

A little later, the members of councils of vil-
lages other than those specially designated were

appointed, and in this way the election and appointment of members of all the municipal and village councils were successfully completed. The election and appointment of members of school councils in cities, districts, and islands, as well as those of provincial councils, were all completed with equal success on December 20, 1920. The composition of these provincial councils is shown in the following list:

	Members Appointed	Members Elected	Total
Japanese	63	24	87
Korean	56	219	275
Total	119	243	362

The first meetings of these councils after the reform initiated in the local administrative system were held between February and April of 1921, and each proved fairly successful and was well attended. The discussions were very smoothly conducted and were marked by great enthusiasm. Indeed, during the sessions all showed a co-operative attitude, and laid before the authorities questions and opinions reflecting the popular will, to which the latter responded with the utmost sincerity. On the whole, the meetings ended to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

Inspection of Local Administration—

In old Korea an institution existed for maintaining certain officials charged with the duty of going about incognito to inspect local administration and check official oppression. This was lauded as an excellent system under the Yi Dynasty, but these secret agents are said to have frequently abused their power by turning the misdeeds of local officials to their own profit. On the division between the judicature and executive being distinctly marked out, in 1907, officials were no longer able thus to abuse their power and oppress the people. However, in view of the fact that local public affairs had not only rapidly increased and become more complex in substance, and that the powers of Provincial Governors had been extended so as to carry on the administration in a manner more fitted to local conditions, it was found imperative to institute thorough superintendence of their doings in order to see that enterprises undertaken were really adapted to the situation, and that they contributed to the promotion of the popular welfare. At the same time, it was considered necessary to secure closer connection between the central and local governments in order to make the new administrative policy as effective as possible, and to probe fully popular sentiments. For these reasons a Local Administration Inspectorate was formed with a

staff consisting of 2 chief inspectors, 5 special secretaries, and a number of clerks.

Local Finance—

At present the revenues of the provinces are mainly obtained by making additional levies on the land and urban land taxes, and by imposing household, market, abattoir and slaughtering, fishing, shipping, and vehicle taxes. To those sources of revenue must be added the subsidies from the national treasury and receipts derived from Government undertakings. The revenue thus obtained meets the outlays for education, sanitation, public works, industrial encouragement, etc., of a local nature. Besides, there is a certain amount of interest accruing from the Imperial donation funds which is spent on philanthropic undertakings. The incidence and management of local expenditure are much the same as those in Japan proper, but, unlike the mother country, from financial considerations the two items of local police and district office expenditure have been excluded from provincial budgets and are still borne by the national treasury.

The Budgets for Local Finance are shown in the table on page 122.

The local finance budget for 1925-26 makes a preliminary estimate of 22,567,529 yen for revenue, the proposed expenditures balancing at that figure. The most notable increases in ex-

LOCAL FINANCE BUDGETS

(In yen. 1 yen=50 cents U. S.)

Description	1923	1922	1910
Revenue:			
Additional Levy on Land and Urban Land Tax	4,775,288	4,361,898	605,427
Household and House Tax	4,817,992	4,801,493	
Market Tax	593,924	581,388	137,535
Abattoir and Slaughtering Tax...	664,622	684,630	241,347
Fishing Tax	158,181	151,089	
Shipping Tax	1,142	3,119	
Vehicle Tax	541,729	432,238	
Receipts from Imperial Donation Funds	917,439	937,298	
Subsidy from Central Government	2,804,691	3,618,778	235,427
Balance Transferred	1,714,847	1,360,725	56,890
Other Sources	2,445,735	2,361,005	33,644
Total	19,135,590	19,293,656	1,309,770
Expenditure:			
Civil Engineering	5,199,480	4,911,100	303,464
Affording Means of Livelihood...	4,758,504	4,810,867	104,458
Education	1,481,697	1,340,684	
	5,581,195	6,098,395	164,238
	296,273	211,922	85,281
Relief and Charity	31,304	33,880	3,600
Provincial Councils	81,820	83,671	
Social Works	359,798	485,902	
Transferred to Imperial Donation Funds	56,817	75,835	
Miscellaneous	954,611	771,794	135,265
	334,591	369,606	
Total	19,135,590	19,293,656	746,306

penditure are those for education, which rises to seven million yen, and for sanitation and hospitals, which rises to two million yen. The latter item is of special significance, since it discloses an advance in local expenditure in public health

from 212,000 yen in 1922 to nearly ten times that amount in 1926.

On the revenue side one item alone calls for explanation—receipt from the Imperial Donation Funds. These, amounting in all to 30,000,000 yen were granted to Korea at the time of annexation, by the Imperial Japanese Treasury. Of the whole amount 17,398,000 yen were allotted to prefectures and districts as funds for such works as undertakings affording means of livelihood, educational works, and relief works. The funds are permanently in the care of the Provincial Governors, and the interest derived from them, aggregating 869,900 yen per annum, is devoted to the above-mentioned works in the proportion of sixty, thirty, and ten per cent respectively. These undertakings, carefully selected to accord with actual local conditions, have been established as widely as possible.

On the expenditure side it is to be noted that enterprises at provincial expense come under five heads, viz., (1) public works, (2) sanitation and hospitals, (3) relief and charity, (4) industrial encouragement, and (5) education. Public works are primarily concerned with road construction and repairs, rivers, harbors, water-utilization, irrigation, land-clearing, etc. Sanitation occupies itself chiefly with vaccination, inspection of carcasses, and also the building of isolation hospitals, public wells, street latrines,

etc. Relief and charity works take care of the sick or dying on the road and other needy people. Industrial encouragement takes up the development of local industries such as agriculture, sericulture, forestry, fishery, weaving, paper manufacture, etc., and, for agricultural improvement, seedling stations are now maintained by all the provinces after the example of Japan proper. These stations conduct experiments with various species, and distribute among the farmers improved seeds, seedlings, and livestock, while they give the training needed in farming, carry on inspection of all rice and beans for export in order to secure uniform quality, and also send out itinerant technical experts for the practical guidance of the country people. Besides, as economic crops the planting of American cotton and the sugar-beet is extensively encouraged. In sericulture, the climatic conditions of Chosen being very favorable, remarkably good results have already rewarded this official encouragement, and to effect further improvement in it nurseries have been formed for the production of silkworm eggs of superior species, and stations for the combating of diseases attacking the silkworm and for controlling the sale of silkworm eggs and mulberry trees, and in addition, visiting experts are sent round to give the farmers proper suggestions for the betterment of their work. For forestry and fishery a number of experts have spe-

cially been appointed to instruct the people in these lines. Lastly, in education the establishment or maintenance of agricultural, industrial, and commercial schools of secondary grade is carried on, and by the aid of subsidies from the Imperial Donation Funds elementary educational works also.

Originally, enterprises with the Imperial monetary grant were of three kinds, but in view of the rapidly changing social conditions various social works have been added. Relief works are carried on in the time of calamities, giving succor to the sufferers by providing them with seed-grain, foodstuffs, huts, farming tools, etc. In educational works the aim is principally to subsidize elementary schools. Undertakings affording means of livelihood are chiefly for those having no fixed occupation or property, so as to enable them to obtain permanent employment. For instance, to those too poor to enter the sericultural school, boarding expenses are allowed, and to those successfully completing the training course capital is furnished to enable them to start on their own account. As social works, the establishment of public markets, pawn-shops, bath-houses, lodging-houses, laundries, people's luncheon-rooms, agencies for laborers, free medical treatment of the sick poor, and the care of orphans are extensively carried on.

Municipalities—

At the time of annexation most of the urban prefectures were found in open ports, and in them Japanese municipalities, foreign settlements, and other local bodies existed side by side, each pursuing its own system, while for the management of public business relating to Koreans no organ was provided, so that many obstacles were encountered in conducting municipal administration. In April, 1914, therefore, new organic regulations for urban prefectures were enforced, and Koreans, Japanese and foreigners alike were brought under one uniform system.

Prefectural Municipalities were then created as legal bodies in the principal cities in Chosen, and their respective jurisdictional districts were made to coincide with those prefectures established as state administrative divisions. The Prefects, who are appointed by the State, represent *eooc officio* the inhabitants and conduct all municipal business, and the municipal councils act as their advisory organs. Until recently the members were appointed by the Provincial Governor subject to approval by the Governor-General, but as a result of the reorganization of the Government-General, and in response to the demands of the times, the members are now elected by popular vote so that the councils may be really representatives of the general public.

The expenditure by municipalities was in principle to be defrayed with the income from rents, fees, and public properties, but these sources being inadequate the chief source of revenue is now found in municipal taxes, while receipts from rents and fees, municipal loans, and State and local subsidies follow in order. Municipal taxes consist of additional levies in the State taxes on urban land and the local taxes on buildings, and other special taxes of which the major are the business tax and the house tax. In imposing these taxes care is taken to avoid any pronounced increase in the burden on the residents, especially on the Koreans, so on the whole few complaints have been made; on the contrary, the income from municipal taxes improving year by year, the financial condition of the municipalities may safely be said to present a flourishing aspect.

The aggregate annual revenue of the twelve municipalities of Chosen has risen from about two million yen in 1918 to about eight million in 1922, the expenditure-estimates balancing at those figures. In practice the revenue shows a surplus over the expenditure, and this in 1923 reached the substantial sum of 1,714,847 yen.

The chief single source of municipal revenue is municipal taxation. The average per household in 1922 was 14.3 yen. The average does not, however, represent the actual incidence of municipal taxation, for the taxes are so framed that

Japanese and foreigners pay a much higher sum per household than do the Koreans. In 1922 the per household figures were for foreigners 26.1 yen, for Japanese 32.4, and for Koreans 5.2.

Although there are many works that have to be undertaken and managed by municipalities, anything like sudden increase in the burden on the inhabitants, especially on the Koreans, has been avoided as far as possible, and works most urgently needed and requiring big expenditure have been undertaken by raising public loans. The more important works undertaken by the municipalities are (1) waterworks, (2) sewerage, (3) general and isolation hospitals, (4) social works, and (5) street, road, and bridge construction and repair, scavengering, and maintenance of abattoirs, cemeteries, crematories, markets, parks, town halls, public libraries, and fire-brigades.

Villages—

In the days of the Korean Government village administration throughout the country was in a very confused state, no distinction being maintained between public and private affairs, yet it was concerned with hardly anything beyond the collecting of State taxes and census-taking. So, on the present regime being instituted in 1910, organic regulations for local government were promulgated, and contained a specific provision

respecting village headmen. By it a headman was to act as assistant to the district magistrate in conducting the administrative business in a village, while he was required to have a public office, or, if conducted at his own house, to set apart a room for public business only, and at the same time permanent clerks were appointed to village offices. Later on every district held occasional conferences of village headmen and formed an institute for village clerks, so that the better management of their respective villages might be secured.

Formerly, villages were not authorized to make a levy for anything outside salaries and office expenses, so that being in reality without financial power to conduct any public enterprise, those most necessary for their development could only be carried out by various private associations or as joint undertakings, and great lack of uniformity was experienced. Accordingly, in 1914, the number of villages was reduced by one-half to give effect to financial readjustment, and, taking into account gradual improvement in popular conditions as well as in village affairs, a new village system was finally instituted in 1917. Indeed, the adoption of this new system might be called an epoch-making event in the history of local administration, for by this villages for the first time were distinctly recognized as public bodies of some importance.

According to this system, villages are the lowest of the administrative divisions, and are local bodies conducting all public business within their jurisdictions, with village headmen as sole managers. The expenses of village offices are met by the income from levies, fees, and rents, but, by those villages specially designated by the Government, loans can be floated for enterprises, and 4 to 8 honorary advisers were appointed to each as consultants.

After the reorganization of the Government-General in 1919 it was considered advisable to make further revision in the existing village system, and this was done in July, 1920. The most important revision was the creation of new village councils as advisory organs in all villages. Membership of these was made elective or nominative according to the standing of the village, and their function is principally to discuss village finances.

At present the number of villages is 2,504, including 41 designated ones. Their total expenditure figured in 1919 at some 6,093,000 yen and increased in the fiscal year 1922-23 to nearly 16,654,000 yen, largely due to the growing expansion of the various works with which they are charged. Public undertakings common to a majority of them are (1) the building of roads and bridges and the upkeep of ferry-boats and river-banks; (2) the holding of markets, and

work in model forestry and farming; (3) the maintenance of cemeteries, crematories, abattoirs, isolation hospitals, water supply, drainage, cleansing, and disinfection; and (4) fire-brigades and defence against floods. Besides these, some villages maintain jetties, moorings, electric lighting and relief works.

School Associations for Japanese—

Formerly, in places other than cities or open ports in which Japanese municipalities were organized, the education of Japanese children was conducted by School Associations, and these were finally recognized as juridical persons by virtue of the regulations issued in 1909. On the abolition of Japanese municipalities and the adoption of the new municipal system, all public undertakings were transferred to the Prefectural Office. But educational measures for Japanese children could not be transferred to the local administration proper, since it bore on Koreans and Japanese alike, because the different conditions and language of the two peoples prevented their being brought under the same educational treatment for some time to come. On account of this, the regulations for school associations were revised, and a school association was required to be organized in each urban prefecture, and to it was transferred all educational matters affecting Japanese.

According to the revised regulations, a school association is formed by Japanese residents possessing a certain qualification. It being self-governing, in contrast to other government offices, it has a council composed of six to eighteen elected members. Prefects act *ex officio* as superintendents of school associations, provided the jurisdictional district of the association covers that of the urban prefecture, otherwise the superintendent is selected "from among Japanese residents of good repute by the Provincial Governor, and, with few exceptions, the post is honorary.

School Associations maintain elementary schools in general, but those in cities maintain girls' high schools, commercial schools, and kindergartens in addition. Under the management of these school associations there were, at the end of March, 1922, 430 primary schools, thirteen girls' high schools, five commercial schools, and five elementary commercial schools.

As the school association system has been but a short time established its financial foundation is not yet sufficiently firm. Its chief source of revenue being found only in the levying of rates, its upkeep is not an easy matter in most cases, so the Government not only grants the associations special subsidies to aid in school building and equipment, but yearly subsidies also toward ordinary expenses. In the fiscal year 1920 the increase in salaries and expenses due to the ex-

traordinary rise in prices, with the consequent increase in rates by about 80 per cent, caused considerable increase in the general accounts as well. The following table shows the aggregate budget of school associations and the average burden on each household for the last few years:

	Number of Associations	Population forming Associations	Budget	Average Burden per Household
			<i>Yen</i>	<i>Yen</i>
1922	401	342,905	5,580,526	25.23
1921	394	322,437	4,418,749	24.38
1920	384	325,483	4,354,070	21 15
1919	363	312,541	2,391,245	11.79
1918	352	304,481	1,863,264	3.93

District Educational Bodies for Koreans—

What School Associations are to the education of Japanese children in Chosen, District Educational Bodies are to the education of Korean children.

In the fiscal year 1918 public schools for Korean children numbered 466 throughout the country, and the expenditure for them amounted to 1,835,000 yen, of which only 195,000 yen, namely about ten per cent of the whole, fell upon the Korean population, the average burden on each household being as low as six sen,* while the rest was met by government assistance. How-

* 1 sen = 1/2 cent U.S.

ever, in view of the ever growing need of common education among the people a programme was drawn up in 1919 to found 400 more schools within the next four years on the standard of "one school to every three villages at least," and this necessarily meant large increase in expenditure and consequent increase in the incidence of the school tax, as well as in the amount of government aid.

The number of elementary schools for Koreans, and their financial condition is shown in the following table:

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FOR KOREANS

	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918
Schools.....	890	753	603	498	466
Expenditure (<i>Thousands of yen</i>).....	13,309	10,385	8,143	2,514	1,835
School Tax (<i>Thousands of yen</i>).....	6,511	4,766	4,377	527	195
Average Burden per Household (<i>Yen</i>).....	2.03	1.49	1.39	0.16	0.06

It is to be noted that between 1918 and 1922 the expenditure on the elementary education of Koreans increased nearly eight-fold.

For information as to the Korean educational system above the primary grade the reader is referred to the chapter on Education.

Water-utilization Associations—

Agriculture leads all other productive industries in Chosen and, in especial, is the production of rice of great importance. In developing this industry therefore and thereby enhancing the wealth of the country nothing is more essential than irrigation works. Possessed with this idea, the Japanese Resident-General prevailed on the old Korean Government to promulgate Regulations for Water-utilization Associations so that they might conduct irrigation, drainage, reclamation of waste land, etc. But as these regulations were enacted simply to meet the needs of the times they soon fell out of date and could no longer cope with the situation, so new regulations were framed and put into force in October, 1917, thus consolidating the system of Water-utilization Associations as well as making them conform with the progress in agricultural ideas in the populace.

These associations are recognized by the new regulations as juridical persons with irrigation, draining, and flood prevention for their object, and the land served by any one association is regarded as its scene of operations, while the owners of the lands, houses, and other properties necessarily form its membership. The associations have each a president and secretaries, besides a council whose business it is to discuss

financial and other important matters. The associations are also authorized to levy rates from their members for their maintenance, as well as to raise public loans for fresh enterprises, and in case of need they can co-operate by forming unions. In April, 1919, with the object of promoting their work the Government issued regulations for subsidizing these associations, and at the same time arranged to detail special engineers from the Government to assist them. Further, in December, 1920, new regulations for helping on land improvement work were published, and the amount of subsidy was increased.

At the end of the fiscal year 1922-3 existing associations numbered 50. Of these, four were organized previous to annexation, while of the 46 remaining 38 date from the year 1919 onward. For further particulars the reader is referred to the chapter on Agriculture.

CHAPTER VI

THE LAWS AND COURTS OF KOREA

Prior to 1895 the laws in force in Korea were those of the native system which had been developed after the Chinese model, and which embodied rules of justice and methods of procedure wholly repugnant to the modern Western conception of such matters.

There was, before the introduction of the reforms, hereafter to be described, but one written code, the penal law; there was no independent judiciary, justice being administered by the Emperor's executive officers, who rarely had any legal training or any understanding of legal principles ; torture was commonly employed not only to prisoners for the purpose of exacting confession, but also to witnesses for the purpose of securing the desired evidence.

In such circumstances it was inevitable that the administration of justice should be grossly corrupt, and that the power of the law was generally used for the enrichment or other gratification of those who could evoke it. As in China, so in Korea, foreign powers insisted on the right of consular jurisdiction over their nationals.

The first judicial reforms were undertaken shortly after the conclusion of the China-Japan war in 1895, at the instance of Japanese advisers. The Emperor of Korea promulgated an order for the constitution of law courts on March 25, 1895. It provided for the establishment of a special court to deal with crimes committed by members of the Imperial family, a court of appeals, circuit courts, local courts, and treaty-port courts for the purpose of dealing with cases having an international aspect. The order was, however, more honored in the breach than in the observance, as only two of the courts were effectively established—the court of appeals and the local court at Seoul.

Referring to these paper reforms, the following comment is made in a volume entitled *Recent Progress in Korea*, published in 1910 by the Japanese Residency-General.

. . . the distinction between the judiciary and the executive existed only in form, and the administration of justice continued to be one of the principal means of satisfying covetous executive officials.

As if these evils were not enough, both the municipal and district magistrates, by special provisions of the law, were empowered to give decisions in any action whatever. These local officials discharged their judicial functions independently of the Law; for the Constitution of Law-Courts, thus largely defeating its object. The majority of the people, **both**

governing and governed, had a very imperfect knowledge of judicial proceedings, and in spite of Regulations clearly providing for appeals from judgments pronounced by municipal and district magistrates, litigants who had adverse judgments given against them by a district magistrate often went to a second district magistrate instead of going to the appellate tribunal fixed by law. Nor was it rare for the magistrate to whom such appeal was made to give hearing to it.

The police stations also frequently usurped some of the functions of a law-court, while the Military and the Household Departments not only sometimes caused people to be arrested in an arbitrary manner, but actually pronounced judgment on their prisoners. In short it is not too much to say that nearly all offices of the executive departments meted out justice and always abused this power at the expense of the helpless masses. Amidst all this complicated judicial system, the Seoul Court, and the Supreme (Appellate) Court stood somewhat prominent on account of their comparatively regular constitution.

In 1906 the whole governmental situation in Korea was changed by the establishment of the Japanese Residency-General, in conformity with the terms of an agreement signed on November 17, 1905. Although the Japanese immediately introduced certain reforms in the judicial system, and insured their execution by placing a Japanese legal councillor in the Korean Department of Justice and in each court of trial, it was

not until 1907 that a thorough overhauling of the whole system was undertaken. The power to do this was conferred on Japan by an agreement, signed on July 24, 1907, which had the practical effect of making Korea a Japanese protectorate. In this compact it was specifically provided that the judiciary should be separated from the other branches of administration, and that the Government of Korea should not enact any law, ordinance, or regulation without the previous assent of the Resident-General.

Acting upon this agreement, law courts were opened in August, 1908, competent Japanese being appointed judges, public prosecutors, and clerks, in association with selected Korean judicial officers. But the financial resources of Korea proved to be insufficient for an adequate reconstruction of the judicial system, which would have involved large expenditures for court houses, and for modern jails to replace the unsanitary and otherwise unsatisfactory prisons of the old type. In 1907 the Japanese Government, in order to advance the cause of the administrative and judicial reforms which were then contemplated, had arranged for the Government of Korea to borrow approximately twenty million yen, in six annual instalments, the loan to bear no interest and to have no fixed date of redemption. When it became clear that this sum would not suffice to finance the judicial as well as general adminis-

trative reforms, an agreement was concluded on July 12, 1909, under which the whole of the judicial and prison administration of Korea was transferred to the Japanese, who undertook to defray all the expenses of reforming and of administering these services.

Accordingly, in October, 1909, all the law courts which had been established by the Korean Government under the reforms of 1908 were converted into Residency-General Courts, and in addition twenty-six new district courts were established. As the administrative organ of justice and prisons a Judicial Bureau of the Residency-General was created by an Imperial Japanese Ordinance. At the end of 1909 there were in Korea one Supreme Court, three Courts of Appeal, eight Local Courts, nine Branch Local Courts, and eighty District Courts.

The transfer of the Korean Law Courts to Japanese administration did not make Japanese law applicable to Koreans, for the Residency-General Courts were required to administer justice in conformity with Korean law. Japanese residents in Korea continued to be subject to the jurisdiction of their own Consular Courts, as were all other foreigners whose governments had concluded treaties with Korea providing for extraterritorial rights. These were, of course, extinguished in 1910 when the constitutional status of Korea was completely changed through

the annexation of the country by Japan, The general judicial principle then adopted was that Japanese law should be held applicable to Korea; but in view of the wide differences between the social conditions of the two countries, the courts were authorized to apply Korean laws and ordinances in so far as Japanese law was not specifically provided as applicable, when both parties to a civil suit are Koreans. In civil suits between Koreans and non-Koreans it was provided that Japanese laws and ordinances should be applied, with such modifications as local customs and usage showed to be equitable.

In the matter of the criminal law the Japanese Code was to be applied, except in regard to murder or armed robbery committed by Koreans. This exception was made on the ground that these forms of crime were at that time of too common occurrence, and were of such brutal cruelty in their commission, that the more severe punishments provided by Korean law were better calculated to check them than the milder penalties of the Japanese law.

In respect of minor offences the Japanese retained, so far as Koreans were concerned, the usual Korean punishment of flogging; but an exemption was made in the case of women, of boys under sixteen, of men over sixty, and of persons who were sick or insane at the time of sen-

tence. Flogging as a penalty was finally abolished in 1920.

At the time the new system was inaugurated a distinction was made between Japanese and Korean judges, the latter being authorized to sit only in cases in which Koreans alone were concerned; and the same distinction applied to public prosecutors. This distinction was abolished in 1920.

The Sources of Law in Korea—

Civil and criminal law in Korea, substantive and adjective, is derived from several sources; from the Imperial Constitution of Japan, from Treaties between Japan and other Powers, from such laws of the old Korean Government as were made valid at the time of annexation, from Residency-General Ordinances made valid at the same time, from Imperial Japanese Laws, passed by the Diet and sanctioned by the Emperor, having specific application to Korea as originally passed, or made applicable later, from Imperial Edicts (*Chokrci*), and from Decrees (*Seirci*) of the Governor-General.

The power of the Governor-General in respect of issuing Decrees is clearly defined and limited in an Imperial Ordinance, promulgated at the time of annexation. When local circumstances call for the enactment of a law, he may draft such

a law, but it cannot be put in force until the Imperial sanction has been received through the Prime Minister of Japan. In case of emergency, the Governor-General may issue a Decree and make it immediately effective; but he must at once forward it to Tokyo for the Imperial sanction, and if this is withheld, he must withdraw it from operation. No Decree may be in conflict with any part of Japanese law which has been extended to Korea, or with any Imperial Laws or Ordinances which have been promulgated for special application to Korea.

Japanese laws, in part, or in their entirety, are often adopted as the contents of a Governor-General's Decree. In respect of Decrees formulated in Korea by the Governor-General the procedure is as follows:

A draft is prepared either by the Council or by the department immediately concerned with the particular subject; this is then referred to other departments for consultation; if the draft was originally made by a department, it is at this stage referred to the Council for discussion; it then goes to the Chief of the Archives Section, for reading; from him to the Vice Governor-General, for examination, then to the Governor-General, for his final approval; as approved it returns to the Chief of the Archives Section for transmission to Tokyo for Imperial sanction; in Tokyo it is received by the Colonial Bureau,

which transmits it to the Secretary of the Cabinet, who, in turn refers it to the Bureau of Legislation, for discussion; it is then returned to the Secretary of the Cabinet, and by him submitted to the Prime Minister for deliberation at a Cabinet meeting; the Prime Minister reports it to the throne, and, Imperial sanction having been given, the document is returned to the Secretary of the Cabinet for transmission back to Korea; the Decree then becomes effective on publication in the Korean official gazette.

Local rules and regulations are issued by the Governor-General in the form of administrative ordinances (*Furei*) and by the Governors of the thirteen provinces of Korea. These latter do not require the previous sanction of the Governor-General before going into effect. Municipal by-laws are drawn up after consultation with the Municipal Council, and require the sanction of the Governor-General before they are applied.

Civil Procedure—

A plaintiff institutes a civil suit by a written application to a local court or its branch, which sits with a collegiate bench, and is a court of first instance. Judgments of such courts may be carried to appeal to a court of second instance; and from the second decision an appeal lies to the Supreme Court, such appeals to be lodged within thirty days of the notification of a judgment to

the parties concerned. In the court of second instance, as in that of first instance, the facts of the case are examined. In the Supreme Court questions of law alone are generally dealt with in appealed cases, though the Court may, at its discretion, enter into the facts.

The work of the courts in civil suits shows a steady increase in recent years. This is due in part to the growing complexity of civil relations, which has been the natural accompaniment of the economic development of the country, and in part to the gradual spread among the people of confidence in the administration of justice.

The following table shows the number of civil suits instituted in courts of first instance, for several years, classified according to the subject-matter.

CIVIL CASES INSTITUTED IN		THE COURTS OF FIRST INSTANCE KOREA				
Cases Referring to	1912	1921	1922	1923	1924	
Land	6,827	5,587	5,532	5,750	7,493	
Buildings	695	1,228	1,379	1,640	2,106	
Money	21,515	35,997	31,501	36,064	38,322	
Itice	2,080	1,893	2,284	2,262	2,843	
Other goods	531	911	838	896	888	
All other matters....	3,089	3,431	3,774	4,994	5,340	
Total	34,737	49,047	45,308	51,606	56,991	

About seven per cent of the decisions of the courts of first instance are carried to appeal in

the courts of second instance; and of these appeals about half are dismissed. About sixteen per cent of the decisions of the courts of second instance go to appeal in the courts of third instance; and of these appeals about two-thirds are dismissed.

Criminal Procedure—

All criminal cases are brought into court by the public procurators, whose position corresponds, roughly, with that of district-attorney in the United States. The procurator acts either upon his own information, or upon the complaint of a victim, or upon the statement of a witness, or upon evidence gathered by the judicial police, a body of men assigned to the duty of criminal investigation. They are specially selected, and rank above the assistant police inspectors of the ordinary police.

A person caught in the actual commission of crime may be arrested by an ordinary policeman; otherwise he must produce a warrant issued by a procurator or by one of the judicial police, as auxiliary to a procurator. The police may hold a suspect under detention for not more than ten days, to prevent him from absconding, or from destroying or concealing evidence.

The following table shows the number and nature of the sentences imposed in criminal cases by the courts of first instance. Penal servitude

involves hard labor; imprisonment does not. A major fine is one which exceeds twenty yen; a minor fine is below twenty yen. Detention, as used in the table, means imprisonment for less than thirty days. Flogging was abolished as a penalty in 1920.

SENTENCES IMPOSED IN CRIMINAL CASES BY COURTS
OF FIRST INSTANCE

Nature of Sentence	1912	1921	1922	1923
Death	81	69	17	30
Penal Servitude:				
For life	44	47	16	26
For a term	9,533	16,744	12,892	9,585
Imprisonment:				
For a Term	0	0	1	0
Major Fine	19	60	62	66
Minor Fine	840	8,657	12,155	11,576
	309	1,162	1,022	1,074
	42	53	61	50
	4,321	0	0	0
Total	15,195	26,792	26,209	22,377

In a population of nearly eighteen million, of which less than four hundred thousand are Japanese and foreigners, the figures given above refer, naturally, for the most part to Koreans. The racial distribution of serious crime, that is to say of crimes which involved penalties of death, penal servitude or imprisonment, was as follows in 1923: Japanese 638; foreigners 147; Koreans 8,922.

The total number of convicts entering the prisons of Korea in 1923 was 8,978, and of these, 5,299 had sentences to serve of less than one year. This leaves a balance of 3,679 persons—21 per 100,000 of the total population—who may be assumed to have committed more or less serious crimes. Of the penalties, twenty-seven were death, twenty-three penal servitude for life, twenty-seven penal servitude for fifteen years or more, and seventy-one penal servitude for terms from ten years to less than fifteen years.

From the foregoing figures one may deduce that the Koreans are a law-abiding people, and that the Japanese are giving them a mild administration of criminal justice so far as the character of the sentences is concerned. At the present time, when the prevalence of serious crime in the United States is being investigated by a number of states and cities, by private organizations, by university faculties, by the Federal Government, and by a National Crime Commission, one feature of the administration of criminal justice in Korea is of particular interest—the extremely high percentage of convictions.

During the twelve years ending with 1923 there was no year in which less than 95.1 per cent of the cases tried in the criminal courts ended in the conviction of the accused; and the average for the period was 96.8 per cent of convictions. The circumstance that less than five persons charged

with crime in each hundred, so charged, escaped conviction contributed no doubt to the excellent record of Korea in respect of the incidence of crime.

A convicted criminal in a court of first instance may take an appeal to a court of second instance, and from the decision there rendered he may appeal to a court of third instance. In 1923 there were 2,292 cases of criminal appeal before the courts of second instance; of these, 939 were withdrawn, 607 were dismissed. In 565 cases the decision of the court of first instance was reversed in whole; and in thirty-six cases in part. Of appeals to the courts of third instance there were 196, of which 164 were dismissed, and seven withdrawn. The decision of the lower court of appeal was reversed in whole in seven cases, and in part in one case.

The Judiciary—

The judicial staff of Korea consisted at the beginning of 1923 of 162 Japanese and 37 Korean judges, of 67 Japanese and 10 Korean public prosecutors, of 4 Japanese chief clerks, of 4 Japanese interpreters, and of 432 Japanese and 232 Korean clerks and assistant interpreters.

The judges are appointed directly by the Emperor of Japan, and their tenure is for life, up to the legal age of retirement, which for the president of the Supreme Court is fixed at sixty-three,

and for other judges at sixty. An extension of not more than five years can be granted by the Governor-General after the passage of a resolution by the General Council of the Supreme Court in favor of it.

The regulations governing the eligibility of persons to be appointed as judges in Korea are strict and precise; and they are in the main identical with those in force in Japan proper. The independence of the judiciary is protected by the rule that a judge can be dismissed only if he has been sentenced to imprisonment by a Court of Law, or if a special commission of his colleagues on the bench have sentenced him to disciplinary punishment. Both Koreans and Japanese are eligible for admission to the bar, under the regulations for barristers.

The standing of the judiciary has been greatly improved in recent years by raising the salaries of all judicial officers. This has had the effect of attracting to the service a higher type of men than could be secured for the pittance paid during the period of native Korean rule. Thus, the salaries of judges and of public procurators have gradually been raised from a minimum of 500 yen a year to one of 1,200, and from a maximum of 2,200 yen a year to one of 6,500. At the other end of the scale the salaries of secretaries and student-interpreters have been raised from a minimum of 120 yen a year to one of 480, and

from a maximum of 600 yen a year to one of 1,920. Similar advances have been made in the salaries of the intermediate grades of the judicial service.

Courts of Law—

In 1925 there were in Korea one Supreme Court, three Courts of Appeal, eleven Local Courts, forty-six Branches of Local Courts, and 160 Detached Offices of Local Courts, the last named dealing only with business under the law of registration, and with notarial matters.

Both civil and criminal cases are first heard in Local Courts or their Branches. The first appeal goes to one of the Courts of Appeal; the next, and final, appeal is heard by the Supreme Court. Decisions of the Korean Courts cannot be carried for appeal to the Courts of Japan proper.

As a general rule a single judge presides at a Local Court; but in civil suits involving a sum of money greater than a thousand yen, and in criminal cases when the penalty attached to the offence is death, or penal servitude, or imprisonment for more than one year, a collegiate bench of three judges sits. In the Appeal Courts cases are heard by three judges, and in the Supreme Court by five, sitting as a collegiate bench. Trial by jury does not exist in Korea.

Petty cases are seldom taken to the Law-Courts; but are summarily disposed of by the

chief of a police station, first offenders being generally dismissed with a warning. The matter of summary jurisdiction is dealt with in the chapter on Police and Prisons.

Suspended Sentences—

A considerable proportion of the sentences passed upon criminals are converted into suspended sentences, known locally as a stay of execution of sentence. Persons sentenced to penal servitude or imprisonment for two years or less are eligible to have their sentences suspended, provided such persons have not been sentenced to imprisonment during the seven years immediately preceding the new sentence. Suspension of sentence is granted by the sentencing court either on the application of the public prosecutor, or of the judge's own motion. That the public prosecutors are favorable to the grant of this form of relief is proved by the fact that of the 6,709 suspensions of sentence granted during the five years ending with 1921, more than 30% were at the instance of public prosecutors.

In this connection it may be mentioned that, in the case of a first offender, and particularly in that of a juvenile first offender, it is the policy of the public prosecutors to admonish instead of to prosecute him, where the individual circumstances of the offender indicate that this leniency is advisable.

CHAPTER VII

POLICE AND PRISONS

(I) Police Administration

Historical—

Prior to the year 1894 police administration in Korea was under the full control of the Korean Government. Police work was regarded as a branch of military affairs; and throughout the various provinces the local garrisons acted as the local police forces. In Seoul, the capital city, there was a separate police organization known as the Potochong (Burglar Capturing Office); but the Chief and other officials of this metropolitan police force were all soldiers.

Observers are generally agreed that under the old Korean police system the people at large had more to fear than to hope for from the activities of the police. Little protection was afforded to life and property, and the police force was, in practice, rather the corrupt instrument of a few influential people than an impartial agent for the preservation of law and order.

Under the terms of an Agreement concluded between Japan and Korea in 1894, the Korean

Government engaged the services of a number of Japanese officials for the purpose of removing the gross abuses which had long existed in the police administration of the country. Acting in conformity with Japanese advice the Government separated police affairs from the military administration, and created a Bureau of Police Affairs in the Home Office. Provincial Governors were made responsible for the police affairs of their provinces, thus transferring the local control and execution of police work from the military to the civil authorities.

In Seoul the office of the Potochong was re-named Kyongmu Chong (Police Affairs Office); its functions were extended; and a school was established for the training of Korean police officials. It was hoped that the various changes introduced at this time would reduce, and finally eliminate the abuses of the old system. Ten years' experience of these early reform measures showed, however, that changes in administrative technique were powerless to offset the defects of an inferior police personnel.

Accordingly, in 1904, the Korean Government engaged the services of Mr. Maruyama, an experienced Japanese police official, with a view to placing the police administration upon a sound basis. Mr. Maruyama brought over from Japan twenty-one police inspectors, eighteen sergeants, and 1,205 policemen, and distributed them among

the Metropolitan and Provincial Police Offices. He also enlarged the curriculum of the Training School for Police Officials.

In 1905 the police situation was altered by the appointment in Korea of a Japanese Resident-General, who replaced the Japanese Minister to the Court of Korea. The creation of a Residency-General called for corresponding adjustments in the administrative regulations of Korea; and amongst these not the least important were those which affected the police force.

Hitherto the Japanese officials, and their subordinates, doing police work in Korea had been known as the Advisory Police, since they held no rank in the Korean service. This arrangement having proved unsatisfactory from the standpoint of administrative efficiency, the Korean Government, in October, 1907, abolished the Police Advisorship, and made Korean officials of all members of the Japanese police force in Korea.

The Director of Police Affairs in the Central Government was left with the power to issue instructions to the Chiefs of the Police Departments in the Provinces, and to the Captains of local police stations in respect of any agitation among the people, of any movements of insurgents, and of any other matters of national importance.

The extent to which the Japanese interested

themselves in the reform of the Korean police system may be measured roughly by the fact that the expenditure on the police force was increased from \$196,453 in 1906 to \$1,349,599 in 1909. In the latter year the ordinary police force was made up of 36 Japanese and 11 Korean inspectors, 156 Japanese and 102 Korean sergeants, 1,924 Japanese and 57 Korean interpreters, and 63 Japanese physicians—a total of 5,554.

In addition to the ordinary police force the Japanese maintained for a number of years in Korea a force of gendarmes. This gendarmerie was originally established after the China-Japan War of 1894, for the purpose of guarding telegraph lines. Later, its functions were extended to include protection of the railroads and the performance of ordinary police work.

The necessity of having such a force available was emphasized by the outbreak of insurgency in various parts of the country after the establishment of the Residency-General in 1905. Apart from the special problems created for the authorities by the insurrection, the general question of maintaining law and order in the country districts was one of great complexity.

For many years the people of the interior had suffered greatly from the activities of outlaws. Without the co-operation of the Koreans the Japanese gendarmerie would have made little headway in suppressing these marauding bands.

The task was one of extreme difficulty, owing to the reluctance, through fear of reprisals, of the local population to give information to the authorities, or to appear as witnesses at trials.

In order to overcome these obstacles, as far as possible, a force of native Korean gendarmes was enrolled and placed under the command of the Commandant of the Japanese Garrison Gendarmerie.

At the end of 1909 there were 2,369 Japanese and 4,392 Korean gendarmes, stationed at 499 points.

After the Annexation—

In 1910 Korea was annexed to Japan and made an integral part of the Empire. The Annexation was proclaimed in Korea on August 29, 1910, but the complete control of police affairs had been transferred to the Japanese two months before this date.

During the next ten years the Government-General carried out many changes in police organization. These led, finally, in 1919 to the disbandment of the gendarmerie, to the establishment of a Bureau of Police Affairs in the Government-General, and to the transfer to the Provincial Governments of control over the local police. This last step placed the police administration in Korea upon the same basis as that of Japan proper.

In each of the thirteen provinces a police Department was set up, with a Provincial Secretary as its official head; and to the ordinary duties of preserving law and order there were added those of a sanitary police. In order to increase the efficiency of the force, whose work was constantly becoming heavier and more comprehensive, the police training school was greatly enlarged, and was given the status of an independent institution under the direct supervision of the Government-General.

In the following table the composition of the Korean Police Force in October, 1922, is given. Under the head "Officers" are included 13 Chiefs of Police, all Japanese; 41 Japanese and 14

PERSONNEL OF KOREAN POLICE FORCE, 1922

Province	Officers		Policemen		Total	Grand total
	Jap.	Korean	Jap.	Korean		
Keiki	161	60	1,456	1,161	2,617	2,838 1
North Chusei	50	18	391	329	720	788
South Chusei	65	25	607	465	1,072	1,162
	67	25	659	501	1,160	1,252
	91	30	981	697	1,678	1,805
	94	37	1,002	768	1,770	1,901
	101	30	996	658	1,654	1,791
	77	30	799	642	1,441	1,548
	78	20	762	538	1,300	1,404
North Heinan	113	38	1,113	691	1,804	1,955
Kogen	87	36	731	628	1,359	1,482 1
South Kankyo	93	29	819	568	1,387	1,509 1
North Kankyo	83	27	713	514	1,227	1,337
Total	1,161	422	11,028	8,160	19,188	20,771

Korean Police Superintendents; 377 Japanese and 140 Korean Police Inspectors; and 730 Japanese and 268 Korean Assistant Police Inspectors.

In addition to the above, there were attached to the police staff thirteen civil engineers, two harbor doctors, two veterinary surgeons, four harbor officers, six assistant harbor officers, three assistant veterinary surgeons, thirty-six assistant engineers, and four student-interpreters.

Taking the population in 1922 as approximately 17 million, there was one policeman to 818 inhabitants. The total area of Korea being 85,156 square miles, the police force if evenly distributed would have averaged about one policeman to four square miles.

Summary Police Jurisdiction—

Chiefs of police stations in Korea may exercise summary jurisdiction in cases where persons are charged with trivial offences. Such cases are, for the most part, connected with gambling, simple assault, violation of the traffic regulations, and so on. No offender can be tried by summary jurisdiction unless he assents to that process; and if he assents to it and is then dissatisfied with the result he can appeal the decision in one of the ordinary law courts. The right is seldom exercised, as first offenders in petty cases are usually let off with a warning. Although the chief of a

police station may inflict a penalty as severe as three months' penal servitude, he usually imposes a fine of not more than 100 yen, or simple detention for not more than three months.

In the year 1921 there were 73,262 cases decided by summary police jurisdiction. Of these, 71,802 ended in a conviction of the defendant; and against these decisions there were only 54 appeals, of which 42 resulted in confirmation of the sentence, and 12 in reversal.

Cost of the Police Force—

The following table shows the total cost of the Korean Police System. The figures refer to the ordinary police. The Judicial Police is made up of officials who have the authority, *ex officio*, to investigate crimes. The officials having this power are Provincial Governors, Chiefs of Police departments of Provincial Governments, Police Superintendents, Police Inspectors, and Assistant Police Inspectors, whose salaries are carried in the budgets of their several offices.

COST OF THE KOREAN POLICE SYSTEM

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

1915	4,217	1920	16,702
1916	4,173	1921	22,754
1917	4,183	1922	22,265
1918	4,212	1923	21,924
1919	4,840	1924	22,402

The marked increase after 1919 was due to the abolition of the gendarmerie, and the absorption of that force into the ordinary police force. It will be noted that in the fiscal year 1924-5 the cost of the Korean police system averaged less than sixty-five cents per head of the population of the country.

(II) Prison Administration

Under native Korean rule the prisons, like those of almost all Oriental countries, were horrible beyond description. Sanitary conveniences were lacking, gross ill-treatment of the prisoners was common; and overcrowding was carried to an almost incredible point. When the Japanese took over the prison administration they found that the average floor-space per prisoner was less than five square feet.

From year to year since annexation the number of prisons has been increased, and their condition improved, so that today, the larger prisons, at least, will bear comparison with those of any country, and are greatly superior to most of the prisons in the United States.

Under the old system the prisons were under the control of the Home Department of the Korean Government, and were usually attached to police stations. At present all prisons in

Korea are under the direct control of the Governor-General, and their administration is supervised by the Judicial Bureau of the Government-General. On the spot the responsibility for prison administration lies with the chief public procurator of a Court of Appeal. As a rule the staff of a prison consists of a Governor, a physician, a chaplain, with a complement of warders, technical experts, and interpreters. In the larger prisons there are in addition teachers and pharmacists.

Each year a certain proportion of the warders—about ten per cent—are sent to a training institute to receive a course of instruction in matters connected with their duties. In addition to this, a special course of training is given to a number of picked men each year, in order to fit them for promotion in the prison service. Forty men were given this special course in 1922, the subjects of study and the hours devoted to them being as follows:

Criminal law, 50; penology, 25; factory administration, 25; accountancy, 30; drill, gymnastics, etc., 45; prison laws and regulations, and their application—indoor business, 65, outdoor business, 60; sanitation, 12; education, 10.

Chief warders and the more efficient warders are occasionally sent to Japan to attend higher technical courses.

The following table gives the number of new convicts for each of the ten fiscal years ending with 1921-22.

NUMBEK OF PERSONS ENTERING PRISON UNDER SENTENCE
IN KOREA

	Japanese		Koreans		Foreigners		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1915...	1,073	66	13,544	867	366	5	15,921
1916...	1,059	52	16,587	990	376	7	19,071
1917...	980	49	18,840	1,124	300	4	21,297
1918...	890	53	17,863	1,164	344	3	20,317
1919...	672	31	20,383	802	159	2	22,049
1920...	661	32	13,075	568	125	3	14,464
1921...	645	23	13,601	675	150	4	15,098
1922...	527	14	10,447	579	122	6	11,695
1923...	517	20	7,835	462	140	4	8,978
1924...	362	14	8,255	313	99	3	9,046

The foregoing figures include, up to the end of 1920, Korean male convicts whose penalty was flogging, but who were not held in prison after the punishment had been inflicted. Flogging was abolished in 1920. The average number of floggings administered annually between 1915 and 1920, both included, was 7,210.

Having regard to the early age at which Koreans reach maturity, there is very little juvenile crime in the country. Of the 8,978 persons convicted of crime in 1923, only 546 were under twenty years of age, and of these only eighty were females. Between the ages of 20 and 30 there were 3,786; between 30 and 40 there

were 3,029; between 40 and 50 there were 1,191; and over 50 there were 426. Perhaps the most striking single feature of the prison statistics is that of a total population of Korea, nearly 18,000,000 persons, only 486 females were convicted of crime in the year 1924,

First Offenders—

Under the present prison law and regulations first offenders are kept apart from other convicts, both in the cells and in the prison work-shops, and are given special treatment. They are better paid than old offenders for the work they do in prison; are afforded more chances of writing to and of meeting their relatives; particular care is taken with their schooling and admonition, and upon their release they are either returned to their near relatives or are placed in the care of one of the Prisoners' Protection Associations.

Recidivism—

It will be seen from the following table that about eighty per cent of the yearly batch of prisoners are first offenders. In the table male and female prisoners are combined into a single total. The detailed figures show, however, that almost all the female prisoners are first offenders. During the four years ending with the fiscal year 1921-22 the total number of female prisoners was 3,360, of whom all but 128 were first offenders.

PRISONERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RECIDIVISM

	1st Offence	2nd Offence	3rd Offence and over	Total
11pl	16,289 19,038 11,743 12,545	nil	1,395 1,157 965 864	1 fill

Pardons—

In accordance with Japanese custom pardons are granted to prisoners or their sentences are reduced on occasions of national importance. Since the annexation of Korea in 1910 five such occasions have occurred. The first was at the time of annexation, when 1,711 prisoners benefited by the Imperial grace; the second was at the time of the demise of the Emperor Meiji in 1912, when 4,767 prisoners were affected; the third followed the death of the Dowager Empress Shoken in 1914, when 8,872 prisoners were shown clemency; the fourth was the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Yoshihito in 1915, affecting 10,208 prisoners; the fifth was in 1920 when, on the marriage of the Korean Prince Yi to the Japanese Princess Nashimoto-no-Miya, the sentences of 3,546 prisoners were reduced. Among these was a large number of political prisoners who had been convicted and sentenced for taking part in the disturbances connected with the independence movement of 1919.

Prisoners' Labor—

Under the old Korean Government little was done to provide work for the prisoners. It was not until after annexation that this matter was taken up seriously with a view as well to making an offset against the increasing expenditure on prisons as to counteracting the evils which invariably result from the enforced idleness of persons in confinement. At the present time about ninety-six per cent of healthy and able-bodied prisoners are kept at work. From time to time the scope of prison work has been extended, the principal occupations now being weaving, paper-making, tailoring, straw-work, brick-making, cabinet-work, and farming.

According to the Japanese system of Government accountancy, the wages of prisoners, whether coming from the proceeds of the sale of their work, or actual payments by employers of prison labor, are incorporated in the State revenue account, the actual wage paid to, and becoming the personal property of prisoners is charged against prison expenditures. In recent years the average daily wage paid to prisoners has been between six and eight cents.

Morbidity and Mortality of Prisoners—

Both the sick rate and the death rate among prisoners in the jails of Korea are very low when

compared with those of countries of similar situation in respect of the general public health.

In the five years ending with 1923 the average daily population of the prisons was 15,220; the annual average of deaths in prison was 288; and the daily average number of patients under treatment in the prison hospitals and sick bays was 1,083. These figures show an average annual death rate of 18.9 per thousand; and a morbidity rate of 71.1 per thousand.

CHAPTER VIII

GOVERNMENT FINANCE

Historical—

Under the old Korean regime the finances of the country were administered by two organizations, the Finance Department of the Korean State, and the Financial Department of the Imperial Korean Household. Although, in theory, these departments were independent of each other, each collecting its revenue from different sources, in practice the distinction was often disregarded, the latter encroaching from time to time on the revenues payable to the former, and occasionally exacting appropriations from it.

The principal sources of revenue upon which the Imperial Korean Household depended were the mining tax, the courier service tax, the house tax, the income derived from the sale of official appointments; and later the profit on the ginseng monopoly, which the Imperial Household took away from the State Financial Department in 1899.

Another source of Imperial Household revenue was the profit made on the minting of coins.

A curious sidelight is thrown upon the Korean conception of economic law by the habit, which prevailed for many years, of selling to private individuals the right to mint coin and to put it in circulation as a competitor of the official coinage. An amusing abuse of this custom was the renting out of the official mint dies by corrupt officials to the highest bidder, for his private use.

The principal tax collected by the Finance Department of the Korean State was the Land Tax, based upon a registry of occupancy, and upon an assessment made in respect of the situation, fertility, and irrigation facilities of the land. The standard of land taxation was called the *hyel*, which represented a figure arrived at by estimating the quantity of grain which could be produced from a given area of land.

The land tax was, until 1894, payable in kind, after which it had to be paid in money, and it was imposed upon the person using the land, not upon the owner. The actual collection of the tax was accompanied by many abuses. The desire of the officials to enrich themselves at the expense of the State, and of the people to evade payment of the tax, led to the falsification of the register, and to dishonest assessments.

In 1904 Korea agreed to engage a Japanese financial adviser and to accept his decisions in respect of financial reforms. In the years immediately following, many changes were effected in

the Korean system of taxation, both in the direction of reforming the methods of collecting the old taxes, and in that of imposing new taxes. But it was not until after the establishment of the Residency-General, in 1906, that it was practicable to undertake a thorough overhauling of the Korean finances.

The financial reforms are thus described in the *Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen, 1918-1921*:

To know the Financial condition of Chosen in its true aspect, it is necessary to have a general idea of what it was previous to annexation. From very early times the finance of the country lacked solid foundation, the taxation and the currency systems both being in the wildest confusion, the annual expenditure wasted to no purpose, and the Court and Government having no definite distinction between themselves with regard to their revenues and expenditures. . . . With regard to expenditures each Government department spent as it pleased, being restrained by nothing save the lack of funds. The result of this mismanagement was that no reliable foundation existed on which to base accounts, and the compilation of the budget was a mere farce.

On the conclusion of the agreement between Japan and Chosen in August, 1904, resulting in the appointment of a financial adviser recommended by the Japanese Government and the establishment of the Residency-General in 1906, strenuous efforts were made to bring to an end the haphazard method of

dealing with the finance of the country, by adopting the gold standard in order to secure a uniform currency, by establishing a central bank and making it the national treasurer, whilst giving it power to issue convertible notes, and by founding agricultural and industrial banks and people's banking associations in important centers, for the purpose of facilitating the development of industry.

The financial resources of the country were fully investigated, the financial law requiring the compilation of a yearly budget and the proper carrying of it into practice was strictly enforced, regulations relating to taxes for the purpose of ensuring an annual revenue, and its natural increment, and the equitable distribution of the tax burden were introduced, the system of tax collection was improved so as to combat and root out the vicious habit of extortion, and various taxes, as well as the income from the ginseng monopoly, etc., formerly collected by the Imperial Korean Household Department, were placed under the control of the Korean Government itself, thus making a clear distinction between the properties belonging to the Imperial Household and to the State respectively, and a great expansion was effected in the financial sphere of the Korean Government.

The result produced by the above-mentioned measures was so great that the poor financial condition of the fiscal year 1905—plainly shown by the expenditure (9,550,000 yen) exceeding the revenue (7,480,000 yen) by over 27 per cent—improved so rapidly that in the fiscal year 1910 the revenue and expenditure, each amounting to over 23,960,000 yen,

showed an even balance; and by the time the **Government-General** was established, as a consequence of the annexation in August, **1910**, the finances of Chosen had been put on a firm basis, though only six years had elapsed since the work was first taken up.

Subsequent to the Annexation of 1910—

Korea having been annexed in August, 1910, the accounts for the first fiscal year, ending on March 31, 1911, covered only seven months. The first complete fiscal year was that of 1911-1912. From that year onward the Revenue and Expenditure Accounts of the Government-General are shown in the following table. The figures down to and including 1922-23 refer to actual revenue and expenditure, and for the following three years are those of the budget estimates.

In the budget estimates revenue and expenditure are made to balance, as is seen from the figures of the last three years. In practice the revenue has almost always exceeded the estimate, and the expenditure has always fallen below it. Referring to the first thirteen years in the table, in each of which the figures are those of the finally settled accounts, it is to be observed that there has been a substantial annual surplus of revenue over expenditure. The surplus is always carried over to the following year and is incorporated in the budget as an item of extraordinary revenue.

**REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL
OF KOREA**

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

	Revenue			Expenditure		
	Ordinary	Extraor- dinary	Total	Ordinary	Extraor- dinary	Total
1911	25,564	26,720	52,284	25,548	20,624	46,172
1912	28,765	33,862	62,127	28,000	23,781	51,781
1913 „	31,347	31,746	63,093	31,690	21,764	53,454
1914	35,692	26,355	62,047	32,278	22,822	55,100
1915	38,829	23,893	62,722	34,725	22,145	56,870
1916 „	44,764	23,438	68,202	36,188	21,374	57,562
1917	46,433	28,470	74,903	31,944	19,227	51,171
1918	59,371	40,740	100,111	34,811	29,251	64,062
1919	73,951	51,852	125,803	89,248	52,778	93,026
1920	71,343	75,000	146,343	64,213	58,008	122,221
1921	93,417	81,717	175,134	91,366	57,047	148,414
1922	100,248	69,112	169,360	96,089	59,023	155,113
1923	90,885	61,828	152,713	94,560	50,207	144,768
1924	102,384	38,440	140,824	106,209	34,615	140,824
1925	143,465	32,583	176,048	136,868	39,180	176,048
1926	149,454	38,553	188,006	140,339	47,667	188,006

The average revenue raised during the first three years covered by the foregoing table was 59 million yen, the average for the three years 1921-23 (the latest for which settled account figures are available) was 166 million yen. On this basis the revenue of the Government-General increased by 181.3 per cent, as between 1911-13 and 1921-23. During the same period the value of the import and export trade of Korea (upon which the prosperity of the country depends) increased from an average of 88 million yen to an average of 456 million yen, or 418.1 per cent.

In round figures this means that the value of the principal element in the economic development of Korea has increased at two-and-a-half times the rate of the revenue raised by the Government-General. It is to be noted that in the system of accounting followed by the Government-General the proceeds of the flotation of public loans are merged in the revenue receipts. The revenue figures—classed as Ordinary and Extraordinary—include all receipts whether from taxation, loans, profits on Government enterprises, or any other source. The expenditure figures include all payments of interest on the public debt, and all repayments on account of loans.

Sources of Government Revenue—

The Ordinary Revenue of the Government-General falls under two general heads—Revenue from Taxation, and Revenue from Other Sources. Under the former head the total receipts during the ten years ending on March 31, 1921 were 218 million yen, of which 43.5 per cent was derived from the land tax, 32 per cent from customs duties, 8.5 per cent from the tobacco tax, 5.8 per cent from the liquor tax, 2.8 per cent from the rural household tax, 2.4 per cent from the mining tax; the remaining 5 per cent being distributed among small items, none of which reached a proportion as high as 2 per cent of the total.

Ordinary Revenue from sources other than taxation reached a total of 238 million yen in the ten fiscal years 1911-1920. To this total the Government Railways contributed 28.6 per cent, communications (postal, telegraphic, and telephonic) 18.2 per cent, revenue stamps 16.1 per cent, the rental of Government land 6.4 per cent, Government monopolies 6 per cent, Government coal 5.9 per cent, Government lumber 5.3 per cent, revenue from salt, forests, opium, and water-works 4.1 per cent, printing, and the sale of weights and measures 3.2 per cent, Government undertakings other than those referred to above 2.3 per cent.

During the same ten-year period the Extraordinary Revenue amounted to 219 million yen. Of this total Government loans accounted for 59.9 per cent, subsidies from the Imperial Japanese Treasury for 34.7 per cent, the sale of Government property for 2.2 per cent, and various small items for the remainder.

Comparing the revenue figures given above with those for the five-year period immediately following, that is to say for the fiscal years 1921 to 1925, some changes are to be noted in the sources from which the revenue was derived. In the latter period the percentage of the revenue derived from the land tax fell to 38.9, and that from customs duties to 27.1, while that from the tobacco tax was reduced from 8.5 to 2.5, as a con-

cession to tobacco-loving people. On the other hand the revenue from the liquor tax moved up from 5.8 per cent of the total to 20 per cent, and that from the sugar tax from 0.6 to 4.5 per cent.

In the category of Ordinary Revenue from sources other than taxation the only important change to be noted is the receipts from Government Monopolies, of which the proportion moved up from 6.0 per cent of the total to 31.9 per cent, owing to the establishment of the Tobacco Monopoly in 1921.

The sources of Extraordinary Revenue showed several important changes. Receipts from the sale of State properties rose from 2.2 per cent of the total to 8.8 per cent, surpluses from previous years rose from 1.9 to 22.1 per cent while the receipts from public loans declined from 57.4 to 37.1 per cent, and those from Imperial subsidies from 34.9 to 28.6 per cent.

During the five-year period 1921-25 the average total annual revenue was, in round figures, 161 million yen, the average annual revenue from taxation was 37 million yen, the average annual revenue from ordinary sources other than taxation was 71 million yen; and the annual average of the extraordinary revenue was 53 million yen.

Assuming that the average population of Korea during the period was 17 million it is seen that the total revenue of the Government-General was 9.5 yen (\$4.75) per capita of the

population; that the revenue from taxation was 2.2 yen (\$1.10) per capita; that the revenue from ordinary sources other than taxation was 4.2 yen (\$2.10) per capita; and that the extraordinary revenue—chiefly public loans, and subsidies from the Imperial Japanese Treasury—was 8.1 yen (\$1.55) per capita.

Monopolies and Other Government Undertakings—

The Government-General maintains two monopolies—the manufacture and sale of tobacco and of ginseng.

Tobacco manufacture was started in Korea in 1903 by the Korean-Japanese Tobacco Company, and other companies soon entered the business. In 1921 the Government-Generars Monopoly Bureau bought out the existing tobacco companies and started the manufacture of a variety of cigarettes and cut-tobacco. In 1923 tobacco manufacture afforded employment to 4,000 men and 1,000 women. In the fiscal year 1922-23 the production of cigarettes was something over three and a half billion pieces, and of cut-tobacco 897,500 pounds, of which the sale yielded about 18 million yen.

Ginseng is a perennial herb of the *araliaceae* family, highly esteemed in China as a stimulant and aphrodisiac. It was made a monopoly by the old Korean Government as early as 1899. After

the annexation of Korea in 1910 the Government-General encouraged its cultivation by adopting scientific methods and by lending money, without interest, to associations of ginseng cultivators. In 1911 the amount of prepared ginseng sold was 2,120 pounds, which brought a price of 120 thousand yen. In the fiscal year 1922-23 the amount sold was 45,670 pounds, from which the receipts were 2,269,664 yen.

Salt manufacture is conducted by the Government-General by the process of natural evaporation; and salterns have been established at various places on the Korean coast. Up to the year 1921 crude salt only was produced, good table-salt being imported; but in that year a refinery was set up for the manufacture of superior qualities. In 1911 the production of salt was about six million pounds, yielding 80,000 yen; in the fiscal year 1922-23 the production of salt was 100 million pounds, from which the Government-General received a revenue of 860 thousand yen.

Lumber Undertaking Station—

The Lumber Undertaking Station is the special government office controlling the State forests covering about 5,500,000 acres in the basins of the Yalu and Tumen. It engages in various kinds of work tending not only to improve the

forests themselves but to improve their indirect utilization.

The principal trees in the forests are mostly those found in the frigid zone, such as the larch, fir, birch, and aspen, all valuable for utilitarian purposes. As for afforestation, not only is the natural way utilized but plantation on a large scale is carried on, seedlings of the most suitable varieties for this region being raised in special nurseries.

For the proper protection of the forests the Station established sixty branches in 1919 to guard against wilful damage being done to them, and since the fiscal year 1915 protection unions have been organized in that region to the advantage of both officials and people, and such numbered 232 at the end of this fiscal year, guarding an area of over 1,245,000 acres. The result being very good it is proposed to encourage more such organizations in the future.

For further details as to the forests of Korea the reader is referred to Chapter XIII.

The preparation of timber was formerly carried on by private saw-mills under contract. As this proved unsatisfactory both to buyers and to the Station, it was decided that it should be done direct by the Station so that better adjustment between demand and supply might be maintained. A saw-mill at Shin-gishu was bought, enlarged, and equipped with modern machinery

for this purpose, and in the fiscal year 1922-23 turned out 2,172,000 cubic feet of timber from logs measuring 3,852,000 cubic feet.

The timber prepared by the Station finds its market mostly in Chosen, though a small demand for piles and sleepers comes from Manchuria. Even in Chosen the output by the Station was at first taken solely by the Government, but of late years it has become recognized as excellent in quality and, the credit system being introduced, the general demand for it is increasing.

The total production in 1910 was 200,000 cubic feet, of which 121,000 was in lumber, 48,000 in logs, and 31,000 in standing trees. In the fiscal year 1922-23 the total sales amounted to 859,000 cubic feet, of which 176,000 was in lumber, 111,000 in logs, and 571,000 in standing trees. In 1910 the profit from this undertaking was 80,000 yen; in 1920 it rose to 850,000 yen; in 1922-23 it fell to 370,000 yen, owing to the universal depression in the business world.

Objects of Government Expenditure—

The budget estimates of the expenditure of the Government-General do not afford a clear view of the objects to which the expenditure was applied, for the items are in some instances given as the expenditure of the disbursing department or bureau, and this expenditure may be devoted to several different

objects. For example, in the budget estimates for the fiscal year 1921-22 the expenditure of the local offices of the Government-General is given as 32,980,000 yen, and the expenditure on police is given as 378,000 yen. This latter sum represents, in fact, the cost of the central police administration ; whilst the actual cost of the police force throughout the country accounted for about 23 million yen out of the **33** million yen set against the budget item "Local Offices of the Government-General." Again, the budget item, "Education," shows in 1921-22 an expenditure of about three million yen, whereas the actual expenditure on education under all items of the Government-General's budget exceeded six million yen.

The following table has been made up by analyzing the figures in the budgets according to the objects to which they were devoted, and recombining them under the several heads.

It will be observed that the largest single item of expenditure in each year is "Government Undertakings." These include the Government Railways, the Government Printing Office (abolished in 1923), the Tobacco Monopoly, the Ginseng Monopoly, Salt Manufacture, Sale of Opium (in charge of the Police Bureau, formerly in charge of the Monopoly Bureau), the Manufacture and Sale of Weights and Measures, Forests, Prison Work, the Lumber Station. **Com-**

ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE BY THE GOVERNMENT-GENERAL OF KOREA,
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ITS OBJECTS

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen=50 cents U. S.)					
Objects	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Prince Yi Household	1,500	1,800	1,800	1,800	1,800
	5,483	6,936	8,263	7,786	8,227
	8,503	10,133	10,711	10,711	11,096
	6,034	7,117	6,962	7,295	7,561
Police	16,702	22,754	22,265	21,924	22,402
Medical and Sanitary	1,765	1,882	1,656	1,735	1,747
Education	4,595	6,099	7,279	5,995	6,017
Encouragement of Industry..	5,864	8,798	11,757	10,627	11,724
Government Undertakings...	33,570	68,742	57,653	51,241	45,352
Repairs and Construction	8,897	8,582	6,298	4,703	4,312
	7,441	9,485	11,700	12,797	13,568
Reserve Fund	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	3,250
Roads and other Public Works	7,108	6,743	7,914	6,182	4,621
Miscellaneous	4,351	900	2,142	1,083	1,018]
Total	114,317	162,474	158,993	146,007	142,700

munications (Post, Telegraph, and Telephone), the Water-works (transferred to Municipal Bodies in 1922), and the Heijo Coal Mine Station (transferred to the Japanese Navy in 1922).

In respect of the items, "Local Administration" and "Education," it must be borne in mind that most of the expenditure on these objects is, in accordance with the decentralization policy of Governor-General Saito, carried on the budgets of Local Finance. These expenditures are given in Chapter V. It is sufficient here to remark that the total of the Local Finance Budget increased from less than a million yen in 1910 to more than 19 million yen in 1923-24.

The Korean National Debt—

The following account of the Korean National Debt is taken in the main from the *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1922-23*, compiled by the Government-General.

Under the old Korean regime there existed no national debt lawfully raised by the Government. The credit of the national treasury was far too poor to admit of such being contracted, and plans laid for the welfare of the people were pigeon-holed almost as soon as conceived owing to the lack of means to carry them on to anything like fruition.

In 1904 the Korean Authorities, acting on the suggestion of the Japanese financial adviser, determined to make a fundamental reconstruction of the administrative system, and thereby rescue the country from its helpless condition and lay the foundation for national development.

But, to do this the Government realized there was no other way than to resort to a national loan for raising the funds necessary for that purpose, and Exchequer Bonds for 2,000,000 yen were, for the first time in the history of the country, floated in Tokyo in 1905 and the proceeds applied to the adjustment of the Annual Account. From then on, several loans were made to get funds for the adjustment of the currency system, industrial undertakings, monetary circulation,

and the various plans and enterprises taken in hand for the development of the Peninsula. The total of these loans amounted to 32,190,658 yen in all, of which 1,500,000 yen was loaned free of interest by the Imperial Government of Japan as a monetary circulation fund, and the rest at a yearly interest of 6 to 6.5 per cent was advanced by various Japanese banks and the Korean bank.

From 1908 onwards, loans amounting to 13,282,623 yen in all were advanced by the Imperial Government of Japan for unlimited periods and free of interest, to meet the increased expenditure necessary for the improvement of the administration. On the other hand, the Public Loan Special Account was established to make adjustment of all these loans, and by August 28, 1910, the eve of annexation, the exchequer bonds of 2,000,000 yen had been redeemed, and the net balance of the national debt on the same day stood at 45,590,106 yen.

As a result of the annexation, the redemption of the bonds for the monetary circulation fund (1,500,000 yen) and the loans contracted for administrative purposes (13,282,623 yen), all advanced by the Tokyo Government, became unnecessary, and the debt incurred by the currency adjustment was transferred, by a law issued in March, 1911, to the Special Account of the Currency Adjustment Fund of the Imperial Government. At the same time the Government-

General borrowed 2,094,677 yen from the Bank of Chosen for the construction of roads, subsidies for local engineering works, and enlargement of Heijo Coal Mine Station. The total debt to be borne by the Government-General at the end of the fiscal year 1910 was thus reduced to 21,175,422 yen only.

After 1911 the annual revenue of Chosen was not sufficient to meet the expenditure on continuous undertakings found necessary for the development of the Peninsula. It was decided, therefore, to resort to public loans for the raising of funds required for harbor-works, construction and repair of roads and railways, etc.

The maximum amount of national bonds to be issued by the Government-General was fixed in 1911 at 56,000,000 yen by the Industrial Bond Special Account Law. But the enlargement of Heijo Coal Mine Station and the progress of other Government undertakings made it necessary to raise the maximum issue to 96,000,000 yen. The amount, however, being still considered insufficient, it was again raised to 168,000,000 yen in March, 1918, and to 178,000,000 yen in March, 1919.

In the past few years the pressing need of providing for cultural plans has necessitated increase in the amount practically each year; thus in August, 1920, it was raised to 206,500,000 yen to admit of the enlargement of Government hos-

pitals, police offices, prisons, and salt fields; in March, 1921, to 230,600,000 yen to allow for the flotation of a public loan to pay the compensation called for by the establishment of the tobacco monopoly; and in March, 1922-23, to 393,700,000 yen.

Later statistics than those given in the *Annual Report for 1922-23* show that the total amount of loans contracted since the annexation of 1910 down to March 31, 1925, was, in round figures, 443 million yen, of which 108 million was for conversion transactions. During the same period 189 million was repaid, leaving the outstanding amount of debt on March 31, 1925, at 254 million yen. This is equal to approximately 14.5 yen (\$7.25) per head of the population. The rate of interest on the various loans has varied with the condition of the money market from year to year. The average has been between 5 and 5% per cent. Most of the borrowing has been done for short terms, of three to five years.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

The principles in conformity with which the present educational system of Korea is operated are derived from certain general precepts set forth in an Imperial Rescript promulgated on October 30, 1890, by the late Emperor Meiji of Japan. The Rescript was originally issued for the guidance of the Japanese people; but in 1911, the year following the annexation of Korea, an Imperial Message extended its application to the new dependency. The essential educational principles are laid down in the following paragraph:

Be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to ail; pursue learning and cultivate the arts, and thus develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your morality; furthermore, be solicitous of the common-weal and of the public interest; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State.

An educational system having as its aim the

creation of a citizenry after the ideal model erected in the Rescript is charged with a task far transcending in scope that undertaken, in practice, by the public schools of the United States. The Rescript, in fact, contains only six words which we can identify with the main purpose, or at any rate with the main actual function of the American public school—scholastic instruction.

In a Notification issued by the Government-General to the teachers of Korea on January 4, 1916, the three controlling motives of educational policy are declared:

(1) The fostering of loyalty and of filial piety are to be made the radical principles of education, and special attention is to be given to the cultivation of moral sentiments.

(2) Practical utility shall always be held in view when imparting instruction.

(3) Robust physical development is to be striven for.

In enlarging upon these principles, the Notification explains that by adhering to the first principle men will be made good subjects of their Emperor, and good sons to their parents, and will acquire those habits of diligence and thrift which lead to social and business success, and to the enhancement of the prosperity of the nation.

Referring to the necessity of making education the handmaiden of practical, as well as of patri-

otic and of moral, purposes, the Notification says:

The object of education is to raise up practical men able to meet the requirements of the State. How can it be expected that a man will establish himself and succeed in life, thus advancing the national interest, if he devotes himself to vain argument, and thus becomes of little use to the world, or if he is averse to industry and labor, and neglects the practice thereof?

It is therefore required of persons engaged in educational work that they pay earnest attention to the principle of the utilization of knowledge, to the promotion of the national welfare, and to the imparting of useful instruction, so that practical persons, able to meet the national requirements, will be found to be the rule and not the exception in the Empire.

The Notification proceeds to lay down nine rules for the guidance of teachers. These are reprinted in the Appendices. Their gist is that the individuality of each pupil must be carefully studied, and the tuition adjusted to the individual character and circumstances; that education must also adjust itself to the needs of the times and to the general condition of the people; that adherence to conventional forms is harmful, and that teachers should, therefore, devise varied methods of imparting physical, moral, and intellectual instruction; that every occasion must be availed of so to guide pupils that they will be-

come by habit lenient towards others but strict towards themselves, industrious, thrifty, honest, and trustworthy; that the various studies must be co-ordinated, so that each will supplement and not conflict with others; that the general aim must be to give a mastery of a narrower, rather than a superficial acquaintance with a broader field of knowledge; that everything must be done to engage the interest of the pupils and to establish sound methods of study, so that the pupils may desire to supplement their school training by self-training; that physical robustness must be contributed to by gymnastics and games; that the attitude of the teacher should combine affection with dignity, and example with precept; teachers must realize that far-reaching as well as immediate results are to be held in view; that the beneficent results of education cannot be expected to flow from scholastic instruction alone, and that teachers must, therefore, aim to advance the objects of education by taking frequent counsel among themselves, and by keeping on friendly terms with the elders of the local communities.

Historical Development of the System—

The educational system of Korea as it exists today represents the results of a slow process of evolution whose beginnings date back to the year A. D. 1398, in which year the Korean King Tai-cho, founder of the Yi Dynasty, established a

university in Seoul, the capital city of Korea, and caused schools to be organized in the provincial districts.

During the reign of Tai-chong, the third ruler of the Yi Dynasty, four schools, preparatory for the university, were founded in Seoul. These institutions were all under Government control, and their up-keep was provided for by granting them endowments of farms and of the services of the slaves necessary to work them.

The education supplied in the university and in the schools was based on the Chinese model, that is to say the principal subject of study was the works of Confucius, and the principal reward held out to the students was the prospect of passing the final literary examination which would give them official rank and make them permanently eligible for official appointments.

Apart from the Government schools, there existed throughout the provinces a great number of private establishments, called *sohtang*, in which the sole subject of instruction was the reading and writing of the Chinese characters.

The system above described existed, without substantial change, for about five hundred years. If it did not produce any type of scholar other than the Confucian philosopher, it served well enough the needs of a predominantly agricultural population from which all avenues of change were cut off by an intense national conservatism,

and by an almost complete isolation from the modern progress of the Western world.

At the time of the China-Japan war of 1894, the King of Korea renounced the historic suzerainty of China; and Japan became the natural heir to the influence which its great neighbor had for so many centuries exerted in the affairs of the Peninsula. In the Korean educational system there followed a period of ten years during which the Japanese, as part of their efforts to introduce a general reform of the native administration, turned their attention to the schools of Korea.

Acting on the advice of the Japanese Minister at Seoul, the King of Korea promised a thorough reorganization of the educational system. The undertaking met with little success, partly because the new regulations were framed almost exactly along the lines of those in force in Japan, without reference to the many differences presented by the general social conditions of the two countries; partly because there was practically no supply of Korean teachers capable of making the regulations effective.

Matters assumed a new aspect with the establishment of the Japanese protectorate in 1905. In conformity with the terms of the agreements by which this arrangement was effected, a Japanese educational adviser, vested with administrative functions, was appointed by the Govern-

ment. In order to assist the carrying out of the changes which were now to be effected, a sum of 500,000 yen was placed at the disposal of the educational authorities by Prince Ito, the Japanese Resident-General, out of a total sum of five million, borrowed from the Industrial Bank of Japan in 1906, for the purpose of facilitating various public undertakings.

Omitting the numerous changes effected in school management, and in school curricula, the broad features of the educational reforms carried out at this time may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Education of Girls. Hitherto the Government of Korea had made little provision for female education; and Korean girls had been chiefly dependent in this respect upon the schools founded by the various Christian missionary bodies. In 1908, however, a girls' high school was established at Seoul by the Korean Government.

(2) Commercial Education. A Commercial, Agricultural, and Technical School had been founded in 1904, and a private Commercial School in 1906. The latter owed its existence to the generosity of Baron Okura, who expended 200,000 yen on the project.

In conformity with the new policy three separate Government schools were built, for Commerce, Agriculture, and Technology, respectively. From this small beginning there devel-

oped, in the course of about six years, ten public schools devoted to agriculture or forestry, and two devoted to commerce.

(3) Supervision of Private Schools. During the first few years of the Protectorate there arose a strong popular demand for increased educational facilities. The demand ran far ahead of anything that the Government, with reference to financial considerations, could do to satisfy it. The result was that hundreds of private schools sprang up all over the country, province vying with province to take the lead in this direction.

This rapid development was accompanied by certain abuses to which the Government could not remain indifferent. In the effort to finance these schools questionable methods were resorted to by many of the interested parties; in not a few cases the schools were schools in name rather than in fact, and became centers of amusement rather than of study; in others the text-books supplied to the children were found to be quite unsuitable to the purposes of a sound education.

It was, therefore, decided to bring all private schools under the direct supervision of the Government. This was accomplished in 1908 by the promulgation of the Private School Regulations. According to official statistics compiled in 1910 the number of private schools recognized by the Department of Education was 2,220, of which mission schools numbered 823.

Owing to events which are described in another chapter, Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire in August, 1910. With the concurrent lapse of all Korean official authority the educational system passed under the full control of the newly created Government-General.

In the first Annual Report issued by the new administration, considerable space is devoted to education. The official point of view is expressed, as to general educational policy, in the following quotation:

The educational administration in the Peninsula had hitherto been carried out by two different offices. Education for native Koreans was conducted by the Educational Department of the late Korean Government, under the guidance of the Resident-General, while education for Japanese children in Korea was supervised by the Local Affairs Department of the Residency-General. When the Government-General came into existence after annexation, all educational administration, both for Japanese and Koreans alike, was brought under the uniform supervision of the Educational Bureau created in the Home Department of the Government-General.

It was decided, however, that the dual system of education—Korean schools for Korean children and Japanese schools for Japanese children—which had hitherto existed in the Peninsula, should be continued hereafter, since different standards of living did not allow amalgamation. The education for Japanese children being practically on the same system as that

prevailing in Japan proper, did not need modification in the near future; whereas the educational system for native Koreans, though certain improvements had been made during the Protectorate regime, required further reforms so as to meet existing conditions. At the same time, readjustment of the educational system required much careful consideration, since any hasty reforms at the period of annexation were not likely to secure good results.

A year later the new educational system for Koreans was put into effect by an Imperial Ordinance, issued in August, 1911, and in October of the same year the Governor-General promulgated an Ordinance, setting forth the complete rules and regulations applicable to schools in which Koreans were to be taught.

The progress made in providing educational facilities for Koreans between the first fiscal year before annexation and the first complete fiscal year after annexation may be judged by the following figures. In 1909 there were 139 public schools for Koreans, in 1911 there were 280; in 1909 there were 16,506 Korean students in the schools, in 1911 there were 30,201; in 1909 there were 731 teachers in these schools, in 1911 there were 1,295.

The Present State of the Educational System—

The present state of the Educational System of Korea reflects the combined influences of sev-

eral factors. Of these the more important have been the constantly increasing expenditure on education, the carrying out during the past five years of the progressive cultural policy inaugurated by the present Governor-General, Viscount Saito, the work of the Extraordinary Educational Investigation Committee of 1920, the promulgation of the new Chosen Educational Ordinance of 1922, and the marked improvement which has occurred in the general social conditions of the Koreans, due to the rapid economic development of the country since annexation.

The gradual rise in the standard of living of the Koreans, especially of those who live in or near the larger towns, and the growing enthusiasm amongst them for educational opportunities, have led on the one hand to a large increase in the number of schools for Koreans, and on the other to the modification of the principle of separate schools for Koreans and for Japanese.

The co-education of the two races is spreading to such an extent that the authorities realize that it is no longer possible to retain the classification of the schools into those for Japanese and those for Koreans. In Colleges, Normal Schools, and Industrial and Commercial Schools, racial co-education only is the rule. So far as primary and secondary education are concerned the schools are now classified as being for "those habitually using the Korean language," and for

"those habitually using the Japanese language." Thus, Koreans may attend the schools primarily for Japanese, and vice versa.

In respect of their management the schools in Korea are divided into three classes. A Government School is one conducted directly by the Government-General; a Public School is one maintained either by a provincial body, or by a Korean District Educational body, or by a Japanese School Association; a Private School is one, either secular or religious, maintained by a private body or by an individual.

Private Schools are divided officially into two main groups. Of these, one comprises schools which comply in full with the requirements of the Government school system; and these are granted the same privileges as a Government School. In Government documents they are described simply as Regular Schools; whereas in unofficial literature they are usually referred to as Recognized Schools. The other group of Private Schools comprises what are known officially as Various, or Non-Standardized Schools, and unofficially as Non-recognized Schools. They fall into two classes—Designated Schools, and Non-designated Schools—the former being those which though not fully conforming to the requirements of the regular school system are possessed of equipment and efficiency approved by the Government as equal to that of Govern-

ment Schools of the same grade. They are granted the same privileges as Government Schools in regard to the admission of their graduates to the higher educational institutions in Korea. A Non-designated School is one which has failed to secure the approval referred to above.

Before presenting some figures relating to the schools in Korea it is necessary to refer to the serious discrepancies which exist between the statistics given in the official publications of the Government-General and those printed in the annual volume *The Christian Movement in Japan, Korea, and Formosa*, published by the Federation of Christian Missions, Japan. The explanation is that in the official statistics *soh-tang*, private establishments somewhat similar to the ancient dame-schools, are not included, since they are not considered worthy to be classed as schools. The missionary statistics, on the other hand, include establishments of this rudimentary character. This is quite natural, for the missionary reports offer to their readers an account of the total activities undertaken. Furthermore, with reference to such expressions as "Common School," and "Higher Common School," the official statistics count under them only such schools as have a definite, recognized official standing based on the Government Regulations, whereas the missionary publications include

under those heads schools which do approximately the same grade of work as the Government schools so designated. The matter has been taken up between the Government-General and the Federal Council of Missions; and an agreed terminology for educational data is under consideration.

All the statistics given in this Chapter are taken from official sources.

In respect of the entry "Common Schools" maintained by District Educational Bodies in 1914 it is to be remarked that such bodies were not in existence at that time, and that the expense of maintaining them was provided for from the Imperial Donation Fund, fees, contributions, State and Provincial subsidies, and an assessment levied upon Koreans (these schools being at that time exclusively for the use of Korean children) on a basis similar to that now followed by the District Educational Bodies, which were founded in 1920.

The management of Government Middle Schools, Higher Common Schools, and Girls' Higher Common Schools was transferred to Provincial Bodies in 1925. In addition to the free concession of all the premises and other properties belonging to those schools, the Government-General grants the various Provincial Bodies subsidies equal to 80 per cent of the annual expenditure incurred by the Government in

THE NEW KOREA

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND OF TEACHERS IN KOREA

Schools maintained by	Schools		Teachers			
	1914		1924			
	K.†	J.*	K.†	J.*	F.‡	F.‡
The Government-General:						
Elementary.....						20
Common.....						18
Middle.....						217
Higher Common.....						261
Girls Higher Common.....						35
Agricultural.....						14
Industrial.....						27
Senmon Gakko (Colleges).....						169
Normal.....						37
University Prep.....						16
Provincial Bodies:						
Agricultural.....						128'
Commercial.....						111
Industrial.....						18
Fishery.....						19
Elementary Agriculture.....						13
Elementary Commercial.....						39
Elementary Industrial.....						33
Normal.....						113
District Educational Bodies						
Common.....	381	1,087)	487	1,280	1,904	
Non-Standardized.....	0	159!	0!	0	124	
School Associations:						
Elementary.....	264	442	722		1,757	
Middle.....	0	1	0		8	
Girls High.....	6	21	63		9	
Commercial.....	4	21			32	
Non-standardized.....	1	0			0	
Private Bodies or Individual:						
Elementary.....	0	1	0			
Common.....	20	51	28			
Higher Common.....	2	8	7			
Girls' Higher Common.....	2	5	15			
Commercial.....	1	3	12			
Senmon Gakko (Colleges).j	1	3	14			
Non-Standardized:						
Secular.....	776	374	147	2,571	230)	
Religious.....	473	271	321	2,052	61	
	* Japanese.		f Korean.		t Foreign.	

recent years in their management, viz., in round figures, 530 thousand yen to Provincial Bodies for the nine Middle Schools, 656 thousand yen for the fourteen Higher Common Schools, and 108 thousand yen for the two Girls' Higher Common Schools.

The number of students in the schools enumerated in the foregoing table has increased between 1911 and 1924 from 110,789 to 542,679, the greatest increase being in the number attending the Common Schools, which rose from 20,121 to 361,710 (almost entirely Korean children), and the Elementary Schools, which rose from 15,509 to 56,049 (almost entirely Japanese children).

The above figures do not include the pupils in two classes of institutions—Kindergartens, and *Sohtang*. The number of children in the former increased from 606 in 1911 to 4,510 in 1924; in the latter from 141,604 to 256,851. The *Sohtang* are elementary private schools conducted by Koreans, in which little is taught except the Chinese classics and brush writing.

At the time this volume goes to press no details are available as to the courses of instruction established in the newly-founded University, or of the number of students who have entered it.

The School Curriculum—

The curricula of the schools vary, of course, according to the kind of school—Common, Industrial, Commercial, Higher Common, and so on. I select for description the standard curriculum of a Common School having a six-year course.

Morals. 1 hour a week for the whole course, on the essential points of morals.

National Language. 10 hours a week for the first year, 12 for the second and third, and fourth, 9 for the fifth and sixth.

Korean Language. 4 hours a week for the first and second year, 3 for the rest of the course.

Arithmetic. A progressive course leading up to vulgar fractions, percentage, and the use of the abacus. 5 hours a week during the first two years, 6 in the third and fourth, 4 in the fifth and sixth.

Japanese History. 2 hours a week in the fifth and sixth years.

Geography. 2 hours a week in the last two years.

Natural Science. 2 hours a week in the last three years.

Drawing. 1 hour a week in the fourth year, and 2 hours for boys and 3 for girls in the fifth and sixth years.

Singing. 1 hour a week throughout the course.

Gymnastics, Drill, and Sports. Varies for boys and for girls, averages about 2 hours a week throughout the course.

Sewmg. 2 hours in the fourth year, **and** 3 hours in the fifth and sixth.

Manual Work. In the first, second, and third year manual work may be taught 1 hour per week, and in the fourth and fifth year % hours.

In the first, second, and third years drawing may be taught one hour per week. With regard to practical exercises, they may be given outside the stated number of hours for instruction.

Salaries of Teachers—

Presidents of colleges and universities receive salaries varying from 4,500 yen to 5,200 yen per annum, and if they are Japanese they receive in addition a Colonial allowance of 40 per cent of the salary, and, if official residence is not provided, a rent allowance of from 600 to 700 yen.

Professors in colleges and universities, and Principals of Normal, Industrial, and Secondary (High) schools fall into 12 salary grades, receiving from 1,200 to 4,500 yen per annum with, for Japanese, 40 per cent as Colonial allowance, and rent allowance of from 312 to 396 yen.

Other teachers, in all kinds of schools, are classified in one of eleven grades of *Sonin* rank, or are of *Hannin* rank. Those of *Sonin* rank receive an annual salary of from 1,100 to 3,800 yen, with, for Japanese, 40 per cent Colonial allowance, and a rent allowance of from 312 to 396 yen. Those of *Hannin* rank receive from

480 to 1,920 yen per annum, with 60 per cent Colonial allowance, and rent allowance of from 156 to 264 yen for Japanese.

Religion in the Schools—

The question of religious instruction in the schools of Korea has been the subject of a great deal of heated and ill-informed discussion. The facts are quite simple and are accessible to anyone who desires to get at the truth of the matter. The Chosen Educational Ordinance was put into effect in 1911. New Regulations were issued under this Ordinance in 1915, by which the teaching of the Bible and the holding of religious exercises were prohibited as a part of the regular curriculum in private schools that wished to be recognized by the Government-General as grading with the Government schools of equal curriculum, and to claim for their graduates privileges similar to those granted to graduates of the Government schools. As a matter of public policy such a rule was essential to the organization of a sound educational system, and for a plain reason. To all schools, whether public or private, which fall within the regular school system, a definite grade is assigned—Common, Higher Common, and so on—and for each grade a fixed curriculum is prescribed, assigning a definite number of hours per week to the study of the different subjects.

It is obvious, therefore, that if a private school were allowed to vary the prescribed curriculum, the description "Common School Graduate" would mean as many different things as there were different curricula. Any private school which teaches the prescribed curriculum for its grade and meets the requirements of the Government in respect of the quality of its teachers, the school equipment, and so on, is free to read the Bible, give religious instruction, and conduct religious exercises within the school premises, provided it carries on these activities outside the hours for the official curriculum; and it can receive Government recognition of its grade, with the right to the attendant privileges.

New Regulations issued in 1923 go further than this. On this point the Rev. Alfred W. Wasson, Treasurer of the Korea Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, writes explicitly in the *Korea Mission Field*, July, 1923, in an article on the "Significance of the New Educational Ruling of the Governor-General."

The new ruling [he says] provides a way for church schools to obtain a different kind of recognition which will leave them with unrestricted liberty of religious instruction and at the same time permits them to enjoy some of the privileges of schools having full government recognition. In order not to be misleading, it is necessary to add that, as a matter of fact, mission schools which have obtained full govern-

ment recognition do give regular and systematic religious instruction. This is not done clandestinely nor in violation of the law. It is done with the full knowledge and consent of the authorities, and it is not contrary to the law, provided it is given outside of the prescribed curriculum.

Under the former regime only special and temporary permission was granted to conforming schools to use the school buildings as the places for holding chapel services and giving this extra-curriculum religious instruction. Under Baron Saito this permission has been made general and permanent.

Educational Finance—

The personnel and office expenses for educational administration are incorporated in the expenditure of the central and local offices of the Government-General, and are met by the State Treasury. Apart from the items referred to above, the educational expenditure is met by the Government-General, and by three classes of Public Corporations, viz., provincial bodies, District Educational bodies, and School Associations.

The Government-General supports its own institutions—ranging from the Imperial University to elementary schools. In addition it grants educational subsidies to local bodies, meets the expense of compiling text-books, of sending students to Japan and to foreign countries, and

of giving short courses of instruction for various special objects.

Provincial bodies support Normal Schools, Industrial Schools, and Secondary Schools. They subsidize the educational work of other local bodies, and meet the cost of various kinds of social and educational encouragement. Their sources of revenue are local taxes, subsidies from the Government-General, receipts from the Imperial Donation Fund, and from properties, fees, contributions, provincial loans, and some minor sources.

District Educational bodies meet the expense of Common Schools, which are primarily for Koreans. Their sources of revenue are assessments on Koreans, subsidies from the Government-General and from provincial bodies, receipts from properties, fees, contributions, district loans, and some minor sources.

School Associations meet the expenses of Elementary, Secondary, and Industrial Schools established primarily for Japanese. Their revenue is derived from assessments on Japanese, and from other sources similar to those drawn on by the District Educational bodies.

The following table gives the total expenditure on education in Korea for the fiscal years 1919-20 to 1923-24 and for the year 1913-14, as a basis of comparison. The figures do not include the cost of the personnel and office management of the

educational administration in the Central and Local Governments, which is met by the State Treasury out of general revenue. The figures are to the nearest thousand yen. The open figures represent the direct expenditure on education by the indicated agencies; the figures in brackets represent grants-in-aid (subsidies) made by the indicated agency to agencies subsidiary to it. All the subsidies become, of course, direct expenditures as they go down the line. The total expenditure of the year is, therefore, that of the open figures in the columns.

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION
(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

Expenditure by	1913-14	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24*1
The Government-General:						
Direct	550	1,536	2,493	4,155	4,172	5,033
Subsidies	(686)	(1,755)	(2,968)	(3,596)	(4,052)	(2,861)
Provincial Bodies:						
Direct	428	789	725	1,271	2,049	3,091
	(269)	(1,737)	(3,458)	(3,873)	(3,953)	(2,489)
District Educational Bodies: Direct	1,157	3,214	8,157	10,245	13,306	13,903
School Associations:						
Direct	555	2,391	4,354	4,419	5,581	5,331
Total Expenditure...	2,691	7,920	15,729	£0,089	25,108	27,360

* Budget estimates.

Both Japanese and Koreans pay school-fees, without exception. The average fee in a Com-

mon School is about 25 cents a month, in Elementary Schools, from 25 to 50 cents, in Higher Common Schools and in Middle Schools \$1.25, in Girls' Higher Common Schools 75 cents, in Girls' High Schools from \$1.50 to \$2.25, in Industrial Schools \$1.00, in Vocational Colleges \$17.50 a year, and in the University Preparatory School \$25.00 a year.

The educational assessment levied by District Educational bodies, paid by Koreans, averaged about 20 cents for the year 1923, per capita of the Korean population; that levied by School Associations, paid by Japanese, averaged about \$3.30 per capita of the Japanese population comprised within all the School Associations in the country.

CHAPTER X

MEDICAL, SANITARY, AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Historical—

When, after the close of the Chino-Japanese War, Korea became virtually a Japanese Protectorate through the establishment of the Residency-General in 1906, one of the first matters to engage the attention of Japanese officials was the deplorable condition of everything connected with public health.

It is true that as early as 1897 the Home Department of the Korean Government had issued, on the advice of a Japanese expert, various regulations relating to vaccination, and for the prevention of cholera, typhoid, dysentery, and diphtheria, which from time to time had become epidemic in the Peninsula.

But these regulations, like so many others issued by the old Korean Government, were never effectively administered. Accordingly, one of the earliest acts of the Residency-General was to engage the services of about fifty Japanese physicians and to distribute them among the the police stations in the various provinces.

Their special duty was to supervise vaccination and sanitary measures in general.

Prior to 1906 the Korean Government maintained a hospital and a medical school; and a few other hospitals were supported by foreign missionary societies and by the municipal authorities of the various Japanese settlements in the country.

The equipment and the accommodation of these hospitals were unsatisfactory and insufficient; and, on the advice of the Resident-General the three Government hospitals and the medical school were amalgamated into a single institution, called the Tai-han Hospital, situated at the capital city of Seoul. The Japanese Surgeon-General, Baron Sato, was appointed adviser as to buildings, equipment, staff, and so on, of the new hospital, and he became later its first president.

Korea is subject to outbreaks of epidemic diseases, of which the more important are cholera, typhoid fever, dysentery, and small-pox. Prior to the year 1910 very little had been done to prevent or to control these outbreaks. But in July of that year the police administration of Korea was transferred to the Japanese Residency-General, and Japanese Sanitary Police methods were gradually introduced throughout the country. In August, 1910, Korea was annexed to Japan. With the establishment of the Govern-

ment-General a broad plan was formulated for giving the country a greatly improved system of medical and hygienic service.

Such matters cannot be carried forward very rapidly where the people are ignorant of or indifferent to the details of sanitary administration. The initial processes of improving the health of a people are costly, call for highly skilled technicians, and demand a degree of cooperation from the people themselves which can only be secured by the rigid enforcement of elaborate regulations.

In almost every instance in which a dominant power has undertaken to improve the health of people under its authority, discontent with the enterprise has been strong, and has not infrequently found its expression in violent resistance. The cost gives rise to the criticism that the people are being over-taxed; the strict enforcement of the regulations to the cry that the people are being dragooned by their rulers.

Fortunately the Koreans have, on the whole, shown an intelligent appreciation of the importance of the Japanese work in the field of medical service and sanitary regulation, so that although much remains to be done, further progress depends only upon the amount of money which can be made available.

Each year the *Report of Reforms and Progress in Chosen* (Korea), compiled by the Gov-

ernment-General, devotes a chapter to medical and sanitary matters; and it is from these chapters that the following account is taken.

Certain measures for hygienic administration were put in force during the Protectorate regime, but their success was limited by the absence of co-ordinate regulations. Accordingly, in 1911 the Japanese Law for Supervising Food, Drink, and other Articles was extended to Korea, and the necessary administrative regulations were promulgated. In order to secure uniformity of method in sanitary administration, the whole of this work was concentrated in the Police Affairs Department of the Government-General, except the work of the Central Government Hospital in Seoul and of the Charity Hospitals in the Provinces; and the Police Affairs Department was provided with a chemical laboratory, its principal duties being to analyze samples of food-stuffs and of drugs and medicines sold in the Peninsula.

With its long coast-line on two oceans—the Sea of Japan on the east, and the Yellow Sea on the west—and with two river frontiers on the north, separating the country from Manchuria and from Asiatic Russia, respectively, the problem of quarantine against the introduction of plague and other epidemic diseases is a very difficult one.

This is well illustrated by the measures taken

in the early days of the Government-General, 1911, to prevent the plague raging in Manchuria at that time from extending to Korea; and the illustration serves to show that from the very first the Government-General has realized its responsibilities in the matter of the public health.

When the prevalence of plagues was reported in October, 1910, from the Harbin district of Manchuria, instructions were issued to all Provincial Police Directors, and to the police Captains in the capital city of Keijo for adopting precautionary measures. Along the Yalu River and along the seacoast of Kokai Province, constantly visited by Chinese junks, a system of health-inspection was set up, and the people were encouraged to destroy rats. Chinese coming from the plague zone were subjected to ten days' quarantine, whilst quarantine stations were established for railway traffic at Shin-gishu on the Korean side of the mouth of the Yalu, and at Heijo, about 120 miles inside Korean territory.

By January, 1911, when the plague had advanced to within fifty miles of the Korean boundary still more stringent measures were called for. A Plague Prevention Committee was formed, consisting of high civil, and medical officials; a general quarantine was enforced against all vessels coming from infected regions; and a patrol of more than a thousand police and gendarmes was assigned to the south bank of the Yalu to

shut off completely the passage of Chinese coolies across the frozen river. This guard was supplemented by police boats and a depot steamer, acting in concert with the Chinese authorities at the mouth of the Yalu. Similar measures were taken on the northeast frontier, along the Tumen river.

Thanks to these rigorous precautions the plague was stopped at the boundaries, and not a single case occurred among the Koreans.

In respect of cholera, its occurrence in epidemic form has been much reduced during the past fifteen years, the only serious outbreaks having taken place in 1919 and in 1920. In the former year cholera caused 12,000 deaths, and in the latter 13,000; whilst in 1921 only one death from this cause was reported, in 1922 twenty-three deaths, and in 1924 none.

Epidemic Diseases—

The occurrence of epidemic diseases during the twelve years ending with 1923 is shown in the following table. In respect of cholera, the most serious of them, it is to be noted that only forty-one cases and twenty-four deaths from this cause were reported in the three years 1921-23.

The statistics are official figures; but the medical reports warn the reader that, owing to failure to report, or to concealment of epidemic diseases on the part of the Koreans, the statistics

EPIDEMIC DISEASES IN KOREA

Year	Cholera		Dysentery		Typhoid		Small-Pox		Scarlet Fever	
	' X	1 Q	8 6	†	8	U	Q	Jj	J3 i	
1912	122	78	1,945	400	1,593	252	1,142	164	40	7
1913	1	1	1,388	809	1,956	878	226	85	70	18
1914			1,396	343	2,402	425	140	12	836	121
1915	1	1	1,344	316	2,596	415	48	8	614	156
1916	2,066	1,253	1,189	306	2,365	437	48	6	223	48
1917			2,096	592	2,397	599	48	5	237	81
1918			1,126	267	8,750	703	830	111	125	12
1919	16,808	10,009	1,522	407	3,266	642	2,180	675	124	21
1920	24,229	18,568	974	125	2,140	422	11,532	3,614	871	106
1921	1	1	978	811	2,535	485	8,316	2,527	717	209
1922	40	28	1,932	529	8,801	768	3,678	1,160	585	139
1923	0	0	1,195	296	2,889	541	3,722	1,120	1,008	242

cannot be regarded as accurate. All that can be said of them is that they are the best available.

General Causes of Death—

During the five years ending with 1923 the average annual number of deaths in Korea was 369,000, which gives an annual average death-rate of approximately 21 per thousand of the population.

The causes of death, ranged in the order of their numerical importance, were in 1923 as follows: diseases of the nervous system 72,086, of the digestive tract 53,320, of the respiratory organs 46,691, infectious diseases 34,302, common colds 33,022, decrepitude 18,935, diseases of the circulatory system 14,899, constitutional dis-

eases 10,789, insanity 9,820, diseases of the genito-urinary tract 9,576, diseases of the skin 8,128, diseases of the nose and throat 7,717. The foregoing accounted for about 89 per cent of all the deaths, the remaining 11 per cent being scattered among causes none of which accounted for as large a number as 2 per cent of the total.

The following sections are condensed from the *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1922-23*, compiled by the Government-General.

Sanitary Equipment—

Formerly, sanitary conditions in Chosen were extremely bad, for there were very few native doctors possessed of modern knowledge and skill, whilst the sick were generally put into the hands of witches or exorcists, and refused to be medically treated. Public sanitary works were completely lacking, and even the drinking water was in many cases far from healthful. In consequence, various epidemics were constantly present, especially lung-distoma and dochmiasis. The only medical agencies worth mentioning were the few Japanese doctors and foreign medical missionaries practising in Keijo and a few other towns.

Early in the protectorate period, therefore, the first step toward putting an end to these insanitary conditions was taken by establishing in Keijo a large hospital called the Taikan Iin

(Korean General Hospital) and a few charity-hospitals in other centers. At the same time, part of the public industrial funds were appropriated for the construction of water-works in the chief towns. On the present regime being instituted, further steps were taken to effect expansion in existing medical organs, and not only was the Government Hospital (the former Taikan Iin) in Keijo enlarged, but a charity hospital was erected in each province, and with the aid of the Imperial bounty granted at the time of annexation other charity hospitals were set up in remote districts, physicians were engaged on circuit work in parts difficult of access, and a segregating station for lepers was established on Shoroku Island off South Zenra Province, a place noted for its salubrious climate. All these humane undertakings, coupled with a good distribution throughout the country of police and other public doctors, have done much toward providing needy sick people with proper medical care. Nor did the good work of the new regime along this line stop here, for care was taken that even those Koreans living in out-of-the-way frontier regions and lacking medical facilities should be visited by itinerant physicians, or else charity hospitals were established where possible or doctors were specially appointed to the large centers.

Recognizing the pressing need for the intro-

duction of many sanitary improvements, the Government first took in hand the matter of drinking water, and began by purchasing and enlarging the water-works in Keijo and constructing new ones at Jinsen, Heijo, and Chinampo, while Fusan, Mokpo, Kunsan, Gensan, and a number of other towns were assisted in setting up their own systems by the grant of a half or more of the actual cost. Financial aid, too, was given for the digging of public wells throughout the country. At the same time the Treasury yearly defrayed a considerable sum of money to permit of timely action being taken for the prevention of epidemics and cattle-plague, with the result that even small-pox, formerly most virulent in Chosen, is now far less the scourge it was, thanks to the greater enforcement of vaccination among the people. In addition, the authorities were not lax in arranging for the disposal of impurities and other insanitary matters, and their reward is seen in the much improved condition of the public health.

Under the old Korean Government nothing was done to further the public health, but since the establishment of the present regime various sanitary regulations have been drawn up and made effective as popular conditions called for them. Among the important regulations thus enacted were those relating to physicians, dentists, private hospitals, foods and drinks, drugs,

slaughter-houses, house cleaning, scavenging, burial-grounds, crematories, plague prevention, disinfection, and quarantine.

Expansion of Medical Organs—

As already alluded to, charity hospitals were founded in important towns and public doctors stationed in various places. At the end of 1919 the number of hospitals was twenty and public doctors 216. These proving inadequate to serve the public efficiency, extension and increase was carried out as provided for in the supplementary budget of the fiscal year 1920, and the close of this year saw twenty-four charity hospitals in full working order.

Although popular confidence in the Government Hospital and Provincial Charity Hospitals steadily grew stronger, there still remained much to be done to make them more worthy of that confidence, and a scheme was elaborated for building more hospitals and making increase in the medical force, at the same time bettering its treatment, between the fiscal years 1919 and 1923 at the cost of 2,500,000 yen. Further consideration making it plain that the scheme was still too narrow a one, it was decided in 1920 to enlarge it at an additional cost of 4,590,000 yen, and to extend the period of its completion to 1926. A plan was also drawn up to establish thirteen more local charity hospitals.

As only a few sanitary experts were at first stationed in the country, the investigation and prevention of plague could not be conducted satisfactorily, so, in the fiscal year 1920, thirteen experts and twenty-six assistants were additionally appointed in the provinces, and thirty more public doctors sent to the remoter places.

The Central Health Society—

Along with the increase in factories, schools, and waterworks, undertakings connected with the public health have also increased, and the need for a sanitary advisory organ for the Government was not long in manifesting itself. Accordingly, on July 14, 1920, regulations were issued for a Central Health Society to be formed with the Administrative Superintendent as president, the members of it to be selected from officials and private individuals, and its first general meeting took place in October of 1921. At the same time a special committee was organized in much the same manner as the Society to deal with plague investigation and prevention.

Hygienic Inspection—

Hygienic inspection is most indispensable in connection with the official control of foods, drinks, containers, and drugs, so from 1913 onward the provincial governments were gradually

equipped with hygienic laboratories, and no province is now lacking such institution.

Important articles subjected to official inspection during this fiscal year totaled 65,005, of which 55,302 were found satisfactory, while 9,254 were declared injurious or unwholesome. Among the principal articles condemned were 2,294 samples of patent medicines, 156 of liquors, 4,046 of beverages, and 274 of containers.

Bacteriological Service—

Formerly, the country was troubled by the visitation of infectious diseases almost the whole year round, while no research work was ever carried on to ascertain the cause of them, but by 1920 each of the provinces had within it a bacteriological laboratory conducting tests, etc., with a view to cholera prevention. The manufacture of the various preventive vaccines and serums, however, is conducted by the one in Keijo only, and from this laboratory a large number of phials of the several vaccines and serums has yearly been dispatched to the provinces at a small charge or else free of cost, and the demand for them is ever growing.

Opium Control—

From of old opium-smoking has been somewhat prevalent in Chosen, especially in the frontier regions, and many were the victims of it

throughout the country. So in the year 1905 the old Korean Government prohibited the importation, manufacture, and sale of opium and pipes, and inserted a special provision for it in the penal code then published, but found it impossible to enforce it effectively. After the annexation the Government-General took every measure to make the control of opium as strict as possible, and the new criminal law for Chosen issued in March, 1912, also contained a particular provision for it. Toward confirmed users of opium a rather moderate policy was taken at first, so that their cure might be effected by degrees, and their number gradually grew less. In September, 1914, the Government gave instructions to the police and other officials concerned to enforce in future the absolute prohibition of opium-smoking, and, taught by past experience, treated habitues in a semi-compulsory manner. This proved very effective, but it was still impossible to free the land of the evil as much opium was smuggled in from China, and in the frontier districts people secretly grew the poppy for making opium.

As a consequence of the stricter enforcement of the law against opium-smoking, the use of morphine and of cocaine increased, and it became necessary to issue new regulations to insure a stricter control of druggists and of the illicit sale of drugs. In 1920 the whole question of opium

alkaloids and of other narcotics was reconsidered in view of Japan's adherence to the International Opium Treaty. Regulations were issued covering the import and export of all narcotic drugs, making them subject to Government sanction.

The production of opium reached about 17,000 pounds in 1919, fell in 1920 to 342 pounds, rose in 1921 to 5,900 pounds, fell in 1922 to 3,600 pounds, and in 1923 to 3,060 pounds.

Belief Work for Lepers—

There is a good deal of leprosy in Korea, a condition to which the first relief was contributed by medical missionaries, the matter never having engaged the serious attention of the old Korean Government.

After the establishment of the Government-General the prevalence of leprosy was the subject of a special inquiry which resulted, in 1916, in the selection of the island of Shoroku as a leper settlement where, in the course of time, all lepers in Korea were to be isolated for treatment.

In 1924 the Shorokuto Charity Hospital had a staff of three doctors, thirteen nurses, and sixteen other employees. The patients are treated with chaulmugra oil and its ethyl ester. The average number of patients treated per day has increased from 76 in 1918 to 192 in 1921.

Hospitals—

There was in Korea in 1923 a total of 101 hospitals. Of these, twenty-five were Government hospitals, of which twenty-three were Provincial Charity Hospitals; nine were maintained by public bodies; forty-one private hospitals were maintained as private institutions by Japanese, seven by Koreans, and nineteen by foreigners, the last named being conducted by the various missionary societies.

The largest hospitals are the Chosen Government Hospital and the Severance Union Hospital, both situated in Keijo.

The Government-General decided in 1920 to make a considerable addition to the hospital equipment of the country, allotting to that purpose about three million dollars. This work will be completed in 1927, thus adding thirteen Provincial Charity Hospitals, and two Branch Hospitals to those mentioned above, and fifty-two physicians to the medical personnel.

In 1923 there were treated at the Chosen Government Hospital a total of 101,749 in-patient cases. The figures do not refer to the number of individuals treated, but to the case-day; that is to say, a patient is counted as a separate case on each day he is in the hospital. Of the total number of cases 95,168 were paying cases (68,245 Japanese, and 26,923 Koreans); and 6,581 were free cases (2,336 Japanese, and 4,245 Koreans).

The number of out-patients visiting the hospital in 1923 was 247,091, by case-day count. Of these 160,136 were paying cases (127,606 Japanese, and 32,530 Koreans); and 86,955 were free cases (2,866 Japanese, and 84,069 Koreans).

The Provincial Charity Hospitals treated 235,444 cases of in-patients in 1923, of which number 133,014 were paying cases, and 102,430 free. The case-day figures for out-patients in these hospitals was 1,755,093, of which 901,561 were paying cases, and 853,093 free. These figures refer to the number of dispensary treatments given, each treatment being counted as a case.

The Severance Union Medical College—

The following account is taken from the *Severance Union Medical College Catalogue, 1925-6*.

The College is the direct successor of the work established by Dr. H. N. Allen, the first Protestant missionary in Korea. He arrived in the country in 1884; and in gratitude for his having saved the life of Prince Min, the King established the Royal Korean Hospital, appointing Dr. Allen in charge. The work was successively carried on by Drs. Allen, J. W. Heron, C. C. Vinton, and O. R. Avison. In 1894 the work of the hospital was taken over from the Korean Government by the Northern Presbyterian Mission, and since then has been distinctly a missionary institution.

The first regular medical class was enrolled in 1900, and graduated in 1908. The continued exist-

tence of the College is due to the generosity of Mr. L. H. Severance, and of his son and daughter, Mr. John L. Severance, and Mrs. F. F. Prentiss, whose benefactions have exceeded \$150,000.

Severance Union Medical College is incorporated under the laws of the Government-General of Korea, the Board of Managers consisting of representatives of the Missions and of the Churches and of the Alumni. The school was recognized by the Educational Department as a "Senmon Gakko" (which term corresponds to College) in May, 1917. And again in 1922 when the educational regulations were revised, the school was given recognition under the new ordinance, but graduates were still required to pass the government examination for license to practice medicine. However, in February, 1923, Governor-General Saito designated Severance Union Medical College as a school whose graduates from the regular course might be licensed without further examination, the government, through its Educational Department taking cognizance of all the examinations of the school. This gives the school full recognition under the government, and removes all handicaps.

At present six missions are actively co-operating in the work of the College and Hospital: Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.; Methodist Episcopal Church; Presbyterian Church in the U. S.; Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Presbyterian Church in Canada; Presbyterian Church of Australia. ^v

During the ten years ending with 1924 the number of out-patients treated during the year

in the college dispensary has increased from twenty-seven thousand to seventy-one thousand, and the number of in-patients from 1,387 to 1,968. In the year 1924 the number of free cases in the hospital was 27.3 per cent of the total, or, counting days in hospital instead of number of patients, 43 per cent of the total case-day units. In the out-patient department 38.6 per cent of the treatments were free.

The College and Hospital are hampered in the highly useful work they perform by the lack of funds to extend equipment and increase the staff. Certainly no one who has visited these institutions can retain any other impression than that they deserve the most generous support from those who have the means to afford it.

Health Practitioners—

All persons in Korea who are in any way connected with the practice of medicine are under strict police supervision; and the regulations in regard to physicians and surgeons who follow the Western methods are practically the same as those which are in force in Japan proper, with the exception that in remote districts where there are very few thoroughly qualified medical men, a license to practice is issued to persons who have not the full legal qualifications.

The number of fully qualified doctors in Korea in 1923 was 1,202, of doctors with local licenses

86, of doctors of the old Chinese school 5,183, of vaccinators 1,581, of veterinary-surgeons 373, and of patent-medicine vendors 27,923. The last figure is of special interest because it shows an advance of 4,600 over the figure for 1918.

Vital Statistics—

The following table gives the official figures for five years on the matters named:

BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES, DIVORCES PER THOUSAND OF THE POPULATION

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
live Births... 1 Japanese	23.37	23.25	24.25	24.72	22.89
Koreans	27.78	27.71	29.85	34.02	40.69
D ~ « * fcr	21.93	26.06	19.57	22.36	18.88
! Marriages... =	22.91	23.35	19.80	21.44	20.60
Divorces....! =	1.91	1.85	2.03	2.26	2.30
	8.53	8.34	9.12	11.27	14.80
	0.60	0.20	0.19	0.27	0.23
	0 58	0.47	0.42	0 42	0.50

Social Service—

At the time of the annexation of Korea, his late Majesty the Emperor Meiji of Japan authorized the setting aside of 30 million yen from the Imperial treasury for the benefit of his new Korean subjects. Of this sum, 17,398,000 yen was invested as a permanent fund and distributed among various provinces. The interest, amounting to nearly 900,000 yen annually, is devoted to various forms of social service throughout the Peninsula.

The work supported by the interest on the Imperial Donation Funds is divided into three classes—affording a means of livelihood to the poor, education, and the relief of sufferers from flood and drought.

The first branch undertakes work of a fairly-wide scope, including the employment of itinerant teachers who give instruction in sericulture, in the making of textiles, paper, and charcoal, and in fishery. Some portion of the revenue is used to supply implements needed in agriculture, sericulture, forest industries, stock-farming, and fishing, and to carry out other social services.

The second branch pays subsidies in the country districts for the encouragement of common-school education.

The third branch affords assistance to calamity-stricken people by supplying them with food-stuffs, seeds, agricultural implements, building materials, and so on. When this kind of relief is not required, the amount allotted to it in the local budgets is allowed to accumulate for future use.

A further Imperial donation was made in 1912 on the demise of the Emperor Meiji, to the amount of 200,000 yen; a third, of 115,000 yen in the following year, on the occasion of the death of the Dowager Empress Shoken; and a fourth, of 200,000 yen at the time of the Imperial Coronation in 1915. These funds are in charge of the Government-General, and the annual interest is

distributed from time to time for relief work in such districts as require it.

In addition to the foregoing, each public body engages in social relief work, drawing the necessary funds from its own treasury. The principal expenditure is incurred in respect of free medical treatment for the poor, the establishment of public markets under the management of prefectural or village authorities, the erection of lodging houses for laborers and for the unemployed, the maintenance of free public baths, advisory offices, and official pawnshops.

These arrangements are designed to meet the demands of what may be called ordinary public benevolences. Occasionally, however, the country is visited by some wide-spread calamity, when it becomes necessary for the Government to take special measures of relief.

A notable instance of this was the disastrous drought, of almost unprecedented severity, which occurred in 1919. On this occasion the prompt action of the Government prevented the loss of a single life from starvation. The relief measures involved a total expenditure by the Government of ten million yen, which was disbursed as follows: for the purchase and distribution of food, four million yen; for loans to sufferers, 3,600,000 yen; for public engineering works to absorb unemployed labor 2,400,000 yen.

The principal social service institutions under

the direct management of the Government-General are:

(1) A Charity Asylum in Seoul (Keijo) to which is attached land to the extent of about 325 acres. The Asylum is divided into two sections, one being concerned with the care and nurture of orphans, the other with the training of the blind and of deaf-mutes.

The orphans who complete the common-school course in the Asylum, and are of suitable physical condition, are as a rule trained as farmers at the Asylum farm. In order to encourage them to work and to provide them with a small fund to start life on when they leave the institution, the children are given an allowance based on the kind of work they have been doing, the time spent at it, the value of the product, and the record of general conduct. In 1921 the average per capita allowance was 37.63 yen.

The blind are usually trained as masseurs, and the deaf-mutes are taught needle-work.

(2) A Government Reformatory at Eiko,] near Gensan on the east coast. This was opened in October 1923, with an annual budget of about 35,000 yen. It is called the Eiko School, in order to avoid the unfavorable impression produced by the word "reformatory/* The school had sixty-* five juvenile delinquents in 1925. Nothing is left undone for their moral, intellectual, and physical development, efforts being made to train them in

some manual work, so that they may be capable of earning a livelihood when discharged.

(3) The hospital for lepers, at Shorokuto. This is referred to on page 226 of this volume.

The expenditure incurred in 1925 in respect of these institutions was: for the Charity Asylum 88,899 yen, for the Reformatory 35,571 yen, for the Leper Hospital 54,489 yen. In addition to this direct outlay the Government-General granted subsidies from the State treasury, as follows : for general social service thirty-four thousand yen, for the protection of ex-convicts ten thousand yen; for private leper hospitals 36,400 yen.

A great deal of social service is being done (and has for many years been done) by various religious and philanthropic persons and institutions. Of these private undertakings, most of which receive grants-in-aid from the Government-General there were at the beginning of 1922 a total number of ninety-six. These institutions or associations were of the following classes: hospitals giving medical treatment free of charge 18, hospitals giving medical treatment at cost price 2, school for the blind and for deaf-mutes 1, for the relief of the families of dead soldiers 1, laborers' lodging house 1, association for social investigations 1, for the relief of orphans and indigent children 14, for the relief of calamity-stricken people 1, for the relief of way-

faring sick and dying 11, for encouraging social service 1, advisory office 1, general relief of the poor 17, for the care and treatment of lepers 3, for the protection and assistance of ex-convicts 23, mutual aid society 1.

Of the foregoing the majority are maintained by Christians of various nationalities—Japanese, American, Australian, English, French, and Canadian. It is estimated that the amount of money contributed yearly by the supporters of these various undertakings exceeds 250,000 U. S. dollars. This, however, is in addition to an immense amount of unpaid service rendered by missionaries and others.

CHAPTER XI

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF KOREA

I. AGRICULTURE

Historical—

When, in 1910, the Japanese Government decided to annex Korea, it had no military problem to face. The Koreans had indeed an honorable military tradition; but it referred back to a period in the remote past, and under the Yi Dynasty Korea had followed the example of China and become profoundly pacifist.

Japan's immediate necessity at the time of annexation was to formulate a Korean policy of which the effect would be to insure a peaceful acceptance of their rule and to accustom the Korean people to the idea that a more happy and prosperous Korea was to be expected from a modernized Japanese administration than could have been hoped for from the continuance of the native system of self-government, which so far as the mass of the people was concerned was purely chimerical, and had in fact degenerated into a cruel and unscrupulous exploitation of the masses by the classes.

The period of the Japanese Residency-General, 1905-1910—the period of the Protectorate, as it is sometimes called—was an intermediate stage between purely native rule and purely Japanese rule. It was characterized by administrative confusion and by all the half-way measures which are inseparable from an attempt to govern by the method of condominium.

The natural tendency of the more powerful and advanced partner in such arrangements is to force the pace of reform; the equally natural tendency of the weaker and, administratively, backward partner is to retard it. The inevitable consequence is to frustrate the efforts of the reformers and to develop a spirit of mutual opposition injurious to every interest in the country.

The broad features of the policy adopted by Japan when, at the time of annexation, she assumed full control and responsibility in the Peninsula, were simple and, in my opinion, well conceived. What the country had suffered most from, what had reduced an intelligent and amiable people to a very low economic status and had made them apathetic toward their own plight, were administrative inefficiency and corruption, a debased currency, the insecurity of property rights, defective civil law, and a venal magistracy. Japan determined to change these conditions. Her efforts in the domains of law, order, and civil administration are described elsewhere

in this volume. My present concern is with her economic policy.

Japanese statesmen were far too well informed to expect that their economic policy in Korea, whatever form it might take, would be immune from criticism either by Koreans or by foreign observers. If the Japanese settled in the Peninsula, invested capital there, stimulated commerce, industry, and agriculture, built schools, roads, hospitals, docks, and railroads, established law courts, banks and other credit agencies, agricultural, industrial, and other research institutions—thus adding enormously to the tangible assets of the country and contributing to the health, comfort, and prosperity of its inhabitants—criticism would address itself to charging the Japanese with exploiting the country for their own advantage.

If, on the other hand, the Japanese adopted another policy; if they refrained from an investment in its development, left things much as they were under native rule, and contented themselves with turning the Peninsula into an effective strategic frontier, the charge would be made that the Japanese interest in Korea went no further than carrying out the military plans of the General Staff, and that Japanese statesmen were utterly indifferent to the welfare of the Koreans.

Even a superficial knowledge of the history of British, American, French, and Dutch colonial

dependencies would suffice to supply instances of the types of criticism to which I have alluded above.

Since the annexation of Korea was, from the standpoint of Japanese national policy, absolutely irrevocable, Japan determined to center its Korean policy around the development of the economic resources of the country. From the improvement in the general living conditions of the Koreans which such a course must inevitably produce it was to be expected, not indeed that opposition to the Japanese occupation would disappear, but certainly that the passage of time would provide convincing evidence of material advantages, of increased educational opportunities, of a broadening social horizon, which the Koreans would recognize as something to be set in the scales of judgment to weigh against the single fact of the loss of their political independence.

Of the total population of Korea about 82 per cent—in round numbers, 14,500,000—are dependent directly upon agriculture for their livelihood. The latest available figures, those for January, 1924, show the following classification of the agricultural population: Koreans, 14,329,401; Japanese, 38,850; Chinese, 5,378; other foreigners, 17. The number of families engaged in agriculture was 2,702,838. Of these families 1,123,275 were tenant-farmers, 951,667 owned land and occupied other land as tenants; and

627,896 cultivated their own land without renting other land.

The average area of cultivated land per family increased from 2.59 acres in 1910 to 3.92 acres in 1923, whilst the total area under cultivation increased during the same period from 6,039,014 acres to 10,586,117.

The following table shows the area harvested in 1912 and in 1923. When two crops were raised in the same year on the same land the area of each crop is included. The figures are, therefore, considerably higher than those for the area under cultivation, since some areas produced two or more crops.

AREA HARVESTED TO VARIOUS CROPS
(In cho. 1 cho = 2.45 acres)

	1912	1923
Rice	1,417,174	1,550,399
Barley	622,392	813,145
Wheat	267,422	356,269
Naked Barley	45,359	55,178
Beans	841,349	1,525,860
Italian Millet and Maize	634,954	874,517
Oats	53,817	117,312
Buckwheat	70,933*	102,640
True, and Great Millet	92,531	114,912
Deccan Grass	114,114	114,692
Cotton	64,565	158,879
Hemp	21,406	30,743
Sesame	12,726	22,943
Vegetables	87,238	199,035
Manure crops	1,682*	31,316
Paper Mulberry		4,992
Korean Rush		3,227
Total	4,349,571	6,076,099

* Figures for 1913.

The foregoing table omits reference to the area under the silk mulberry, which is dealt with in the section on sericulture, and to the areas under tobacco and ginseng, which are government monopolies and are dealt with under that head in the chapter on financial administration.

The table showing the area under cultivation calls for little comment. The large increase in the area under cotton indicates the success of the experiments conducted by the Government-General in the cultivation of that staple from American cotton seed. The twenty-fold increase in the cultivation of green manure crops reflects the educational work of the Government's agricultural experts.

Yield of Principal Crops—

Rice, barley, naked barley, beans, Italian millet, maize, and wheat, taken together, account for about 83 per cent of the total area cultivated each year. The yield of these staples during twelve years is given in the following table. The exact equivalent of the *koku* is 4.9629 bushels. As the table omits quantities less than a thousand bushels, the rate of five bushels to the *koku* gives a close approximation to the actual quantities.

Owing to the introduction of improved species of grain and to the adoption, under the guidance of Japanese experts, of improved methods of

YIELD OF PRINCIPAL CROPS

(In thousands of koku. 1 koku=5 bushels)

Year	Rice	Barley	Beans	Italian Millet-Maize	Wheat	Naked Barley
1912	10,865	5,856	4,733	4,254	1,565	312
1913	12,109	6,717	4,824	5,056	1,809	348
1914	14,130	6,170	4,891	4,517	1,629	299
1915	12,846	6,793	5,224	4,878	1,690	344
1916	13,933	6,537	5,536	5,396	1,770	302
1917	13,687	6,931	5,690	5,766	1,788	889
1918	15,294	7,728	6,521	6,277	1,993	417
1919	12,708	7,270	3,891	4,207	1,670	361
1920	14,882	7,366	6,256	6,662	2,145	348
1921	14,324	7,615	5,979	6,488	2,170	894
1922	15,014	6,820	5,636	5,700	2,057	357
1923	15,175	6,031	5,855	5,841	1,680	846

cultivation a steady increase is to be observed in the yield per acre of most of the crops.

Value of Agricultural Products—

As in other countries so in Korea the value of agricultural products varies greatly from year to year in sympathy with the world-market. Thus, in the absence of any important change in the quantity of production, the total value of Korean agricultural crops increased by 100 per cent between 1917 and 1920, and decreased by 18 per cent between 1920 and 1923. The estimated total value of Korean agricultural products during the fourteen years following annexation is given in the following table:

ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
(In thousands of yen. 1 yen= 50 cents U. S.)

1910	MISSISSIPPI	1917	702,913	
1911		1918	1,103,971	
1912		1919	1,389,219	
1913		1920	1,433,714	
1914		1921	1,097,364	
1915		1922	1,184,934	
1916		1923	1,168,703	

In 1923 the total value of agricultural products was distributed as follows, by percentage: rice 34.3; cattle and other stock 16.2; straw products 10.0; Italian millet, and maize 8.0; beans 7.1; wheat, barley, and naked barley 6.3; vegetables 5.9; all other products 12.2.

Sericulture—

The conditions of soil, climate, and labor combine to make Korea a favorable field for sericulture. This industry has existed for many years in the country; but prior to the establishment of the Government-General little attention had been paid to the quality of the silk-worm eggs or to the proper cultivation of the mulberry plantations. In recent years the Government experts have done much to advance the interests of this industry, by introducing superior species of eggs, by distributing mulberry seedlings, by giving instruction in the care of silk-worms, the killing of pupae, the drying of cocoons, and so on.

The most recent steps taken in this direction were the establishment of sericultural control

stations and of silk-worm egg-sheet preparation stations in each province, and the promulgation of regulations relating to the prevention of diseases, the inspection of egg-sheets, the attainment of uniformity of product, and other matters vital to the success of the silk industry.

In 1910 the number of families engaged in sericulture was about 76,000, producing approximately 70,000 bushels of cocoons; in 1921, 312,000 families were so engaged, and their product amounted to nearly 700,000 bushels of cocoons.

The area under silk mulberry trees has increased from 8,190 acres in 1910 to 78,226 acres in 1923. During this period the yield of cocoons increased from 69,650 bushels to 1,038,560 bushels, whilst the number of families engaged in the industry rose from 76,000 in 1910 to 312,000 in 1921, and to 401,563 in 1923.

The value of sericultural products has varied greatly from year to year with the ups and downs of the silk market, as disclosed in the following table:

VALUE OF SERICULTURAL PRODUCTS
(In thousands of yen. 1 yen=50 cents U. S.)

1910	467	1917	8,717
1911	1,205	1918	13,052
1912	1,877	1919	15,605
1913	2,600	1920	11,274
1914	2,954	1921	10,653
1915	3,188	1922	17,008
1916	4,831	1923	24,633

Land Tenure—

In the official statistics the term "landlord" means a person who owns land and works it by the labor of others; the term "peasant-proprietor" a person who owns land and works it wholly or in part by his own labor; a "peasant-proprietor and tenant," a person who in addition to working the land he owns, works other land for which he pays rent to a landowner; and the term "tenant," a person who, having no land of his own, cultivates rented land only. But in this volume classes one and two are grouped together as "landowners," the third is called "landowner and tenant," the fourth "tenant-farmer."

At the beginning of 1924 there were in Korea 627,896 landowners, 951,667 landowners and tenants, and 1,123,275 tenant-farmers. The definitions refer to households, not to individuals. The figures show that of a total of 2,702,838 farming households, 1,579,563 owned the whole or part of the land they cultivated, and 1,123,275 owned no land. That is to say, more than 58 per cent of the families engaged in agriculture owned land, and most of these also rented land and cultivated it.

One of the early acts of the Government-General was to issue an order designed to prevent the formation of large landed estates by the amalgamation of small estates and the gradual squeezing out of the peasant proprietor.

This order worked on the principle of restraining the acquisitiveness of those above. It was supplemented later by two measures designed to assist those in humbler circumstances. One of these was to rent uncultivated State land on easy terms, and when their reclamation had been effected, to transfer them gratis to the cultivators. The other was to assist tenants occupying cultivated State lands to acquire ownership of them by allowing the purchase price to be paid in ten annual instalments.

The Government-General has, however, found it difficult to cultivate a sense of ownership among the tenants. They are inclined to regard the sum charged in addition to the rent of the State lands as a "squeeze," and cannot envisage it as an instalment method of paying for land which will ultimately become their own property, thus eventually extinguishing the annual rent charge.

The prevailing system of tenant-farming rests upon leases for limited periods, perpetual leases being of very rare occurrence. The leases fall into three classes: (1) those in which a fixed rent is agreed upon, regardless of the harvest obtained; (2) those in which the rent is fixed according to the estimate of the standing crop made by the landlord, or by his agent, in the presence of the tenant (this system favors the landlord, since his own estimate of the expected crop be-

comes the basis of the rental, and its adoption is increasing); (3) those in which the landlord and the tenant each take half of the crop.

The tenancy contracts are made each year between the completion of the harvest and the spring following. Landlords are free to change their tenants at any time other than that which lies between the planting of the crop and its harvesting. The usual practice is to allow the leases to run on unless slovenly farming or accumulated arrears of rent afford reasonable grounds for a change.

Korean landlords prefer for the most part to live in the towns, and as a rule they are represented on their rural properties by agents called *Sah-om*. As in other countries the difference between a contented and prosperous tenant and his opposite often depends on the character of the agent; and in Korea as elsewhere these rural agents often yield to those temptations which are presented by their position of authority and by the comparative helplessness of the tenants.

Farm rents are as a rule paid in kind. In cases where the landlord demands cash payments or where the tenant prefers that method, as he may well do if the delivery in kind involves too long a journey, the custom is for the produce to be valued at current market prices, and the amount thus determined represents the cash rental.

Rents vary greatly according to the kind of

contract entered into and with reference to the quality of the land. Fixed rents vary between 35 and 50 per cent of the value of the average harvest, but they are lower than this in upland (dry) areas. Rent according to yield ranges between 30 and 70 per cent of the estimated value of the crop. Where the contract is on the basis of halving the crop, an actual division of the produce usually occurs; but this method is modified in practice by agreement between the landlord and the tenant as to who pays the land tax, who pays the cost of seed, and other matters.

Local Korean custom provides for a reduction in the contract rent—in cases where the rent is based on the yield of the harvest—when the harvest falls to 50 per cent or lower of the average yield. It is the common practice to reduce the rent *pari passu* with the reduction of the crop below the average; but if the crop goes below 30 per cent of the average the rent is entirely remitted.

Financing the Farmer—

Twenty years ago almost every phase of the agricultural industry was unsatisfactory. Cultivation was of the crudest, the application to the soil of manure or of chemical fertilizers was as to the former insufficient, as to the latter almost unknown. Farming implements were of a primi-

tive kind, and were in many instances borrowed from the landlord.

In such circumstances the principal need felt by the farmer for credit was for ready money with which to purchase cattle and other stock. For such sums as the farmers were compelled to borrow a very high rate of interest was usually demanded.

During the period of the Japanese Protectorate, 1906-1910, the Korean Government was urged by its Japanese advisers to encourage agriculture by establishing People's Banking Associations, and by taking other steps to supply money at reasonable rates to agriculturalists. A beginning was made, but it was not until after the annexation that any considerable extension of agricultural credit occurred.

The extent to which agricultural credit has been developed since the annexation is disclosed by the figures showing the volume of outstanding agricultural loans at the end of 1912 and at the end of 1923. In the former year the sum was under five million yen, in the latter it exceeded 134? million.

It is to be noted that this immense increase in agricultural loans does not represent merely a financing of the crops. A very large proportion of the money borrowed is spent on the construction of irrigation works, on the reclamation of waste lands, on the improvement of arable land,

and so on. In fact the greater proportion of the loans has been devoted to such purposes, representing a revenue-producing investment.

Official Encouragement of Agriculture—

Since the whole economic structure of Korea rests upon the foundation of agriculture, the improvement of agricultural conditions became, naturally, a matter of earnest solicitude for the Government-General.

The Japanese administration in Korea, being well acquainted with the highly intensive agriculture of Japan, found very broad opportunities for betterment in the comparatively poor agricultural methods of the Koreans.

I am indebted to Mr. T. Hoshino's excellent *Economic History of Chosen* for the following summary of the steps taken by the Government-General to further the agricultural interests of the country.

The principal physical conditions of Korea are much the same as those of Japan, being both prominently mountainous, and having other characteristics in common. Korea has a large population, though not half as dense as that of Japan; but it is rapidly increasing with the increasing security of life and property.

A striking feature of Korean agriculture was the extreme extent to which the system of local self-supply was carried. Thus the farmers in

the north of the country used to produce sufficient cotton for their needs, although the south was much better suited to that crop. The difficulties of transportation may have furnished a good reason for this in the past; but the extension of roads and railways during recent years has removed every justification for this uneconomic cropping.

The first and most important step taken by the Japanese to improve the husbandry of the Koreans was the establishment of model farms. Of these the largest is that situated near Suwon, about twenty-five miles from Keijo, the capital city. It has branches in different parts of the country; and is officered by a competent staff of Japanese and Korean experts, who occupy themselves with agricultural experiments, with the study of plant biology, and with educational work in all matters relating to agriculture.

The Suwon Model Farm was established in 1906, under the Japanese Residency-General. At the time, an ineffective Korean school of agriculture, commerce, and industry existed in Keijo (Seoul). This was abolished, and an Agricultural and Forestry School was attached to the newly created Suwon Model Farm.

In order to help forward the work of the model farms, seedling stations were established in various parts of the country. The principal function of these stations is to make a local study of the

soil, and to distribute seeds and seedlings. In addition to this, members of the staffs instruct the farmers in the use of improved agricultural implements, in the introduction of new species of crops, in the utilization of waste lands, and in home industries such as the making of matting and other simple commodities for which local resources furnish the raw materials.

The work of the institutions mentioned above is supplemented by the employment of agricultural experts to travel about the country and deliver lectures.

The Government-General has done much to encourage the formation of agricultural associations throughout the country. There are at the present time nearly six hundred of such associations, with a total membership of about three million. In Keijo, the capital city, is the central one, called the Chosen Agricultural Association, which has a membership, including its suburban branches, of more than three thousand persons. Its principal functions are to publish books on agriculture, to answer questions submitted to it, to arrange public lectures and competitive exhibitions, and to grow and distribute seeds. It receives an annual subsidy from the Government-General.

Another important measure undertaken by the authorities was the investigation and regulation of the water supply for irrigation. In former

times the Koreans had made considerable use of irrigation by drawing water from ponds and erecting dams across the streams and innumerable ponds and dams were made throughout the Peninsula. But under the blighting influence of the Yi Dynasty most of these works had been neglected to the point where they were almost useless.

An investigation made in 1908, at the instance of the Japanese Resident-General, showed that such ponds and dams numbered 6,300 and 20,700, respectively. It was found, however, that only 410 dams and 1,527 ponds were worth restoration. The Government, therefore, drew up a plan to encourage the people to repair these. It gave aid, in the form of subsidies; and by the end of 1918 all had been satisfactorily restored.

Irrigation—

For the purpose of establishing irrigation works on a large scale the authorities encourage the people to organize Water-Utilization Associations. In the *Annual Report on Reforms and Progress in Chosen* for the fiscal year 1921-22 the matter of irrigation is thus dealt with:

The regulations relating to water-utilization associations were promulgated during the protectorate regime, but their stipulations were too simple, and they were soon found to be quite unsuited to the progress of the times, so in July, 1917, new regula-

tions were promulgated. It was found, however, that the farmers in general hesitated to shoulder the responsibility of engaging experts to make investigation, so regulations relating to subsidies to be granted to water-utilization associations were promulgated in 1919, whereby it was possible for any area of over 200 *cho* (about 500 acres) to be investigated by the Government-General on application being made by provincial governors, promoters of water-utilization associations, or by the associations themselves, and to grant a subsidy, not exceeding 15 per cent of the cost, to works covering (a minimum of) 200 *chobu* * and exceeding 40,000 yen in cost.

Later on, following on the framing of the scheme for effecting increase in the rice crop in December, 1920, regulations relating to subsidies for land improvement works were promulgated, by virtue of which even private undertakings were favored with subsidies varying from 25 to 30 per cent of the cost according to the kind of work to be done, and at the end of this fiscal year the number of associations actually in working order was 29, operating over an area of 40,600 *chobu*, while 21 other associations were actively engaged in preparatory or construction works designed to serve an area of over 26,100 *chobu*, the total expenditure on all these enterprises already amounting to over 31,000,000 yen. There still remain 80 tracts of land awaiting improvement, covering an area of 130,000 *chobu*.

In, 1920 the Government-General drew up a programme to be executed in fifteen years from that

* A *Chobu* (sometimes written *cho*) is 2.45 acres.

year, and work on it is well under way. This aims at the improvement of at least one-half of the total area of uncultivated lands amounting to 800,000 *chobw*. Among other things the most important is the basic investigation relating to those lands to be improved or reclaimed, whereby the locality and area of the lands, method to be followed, and the estimated cost can be properly determined. In pursuance of this, special experts have been sent to the provinces since 1920, and the area actually explored by them up to the end of this fiscal year is over 3,534,000 *chobw*.

Irrigation appeals to the common interest of agriculturists and visibly illustrates the facilities afforded by water-utilization associations, so the Government is encouraging their formation while recognizing private undertakings. Since these works affect people in various ways, however, it is provided that official permission for such must be obtained, and the number so far granted is 117, covering an area of over 9,600 *chobu*.

Agricultural Labor—

Agriculture in Korea is carried on chiefly by hand labor with the assistance of cattle, mechanical appliances being, as yet, little employed. Farm labor is usually self-supplied, that is to say it is provided by the farmer and his family. Unlike Japan, where women furnish much of the field work, the Korean custom has always been that the women do nothing but indoor work; although in recent years the women in some parts

of the country are beginning to help their men in the fields.

Daily-wage labor is little employed, except by Japanese farmers. The number of these is, however, small, amounting to about 140,000 families in the whole country. Apart from the labor of the farmer and his family, three sources of labor-supply are available:

(1) Farm hands are engaged for fixed periods, ranging usually between one and three years, though extending occasionally to five years. During the period agreed upon the farm hands are treated as members of the family, and are provided with food, lodging and clothing, and an annual money allowance of from 50 to 100 yen, according to circumstances.

(2) Another system is that of *Kofi*, or contract-labor. This is in the nature of a labor-tenancy. The tenants contract to supply the necessary farm labor for a certain fixed area. They live rent-free, and are paid, in advance, at rates varying between 10 and 15 yen per tan (about a quarter of an acre) for the area they have contracted to cultivate, though, both in respect of the amount and of the method of payment, the custom varies.

(3) In the southern part of Korea there are farmers' unions—called *Nosha* or *Tuh-re*, whose purpose is to render mutual joint aid in times of

emergency, such as flood, when a **large number** of laborers is suddenly called for.

The usual terms on which the unions furnish labor in such circumstances are that the farmer benefiting by it shall supply the men with food, *sake*, and tobacco during the time they are working, and pay from ten to fifteen cents per man on each occasion on which the unions furnish such labor.

Broadly speaking the six months from June to November make up the hardest season for agricultural labor, the other six months being occupied with work of a lighter character. The distribution of work throughout the year is as follows:

January, gathering domestic fuel, manuring the autumn-sown wheat fields, straw-work; February, more or less a holiday month associated with the celebration of the Chinese New Year; March, gathering domestic fuel, transporting manure, sowing spring wheat; April, weeding wheat fields, transporting manure, preparing rice beds, sowing vegetable seeds; May, sowing rice beds, tilling the paddy (young rice) fields, gathering grass and other green manure crops; June, transplanting rice shoots, harvesting the autumn-sown wheat, sowing beans and peas; July, transplanting rice shoots, weeding, gathering domestic fuel; August, weeding and other

cultivation, gathering domestic fuel, sowing vegetable seeds for the autumn crop; September, gathering domestic fuel, and thinning out vegetables; October, sowing autumn wheat, harvesting rice; November, harvesting rice, gathering and pickling vegetables, delivery of rent in kind; December, manuring wheat fields, thatching, gathering domestic fuel.

The large amount of time devoted to gathering domestic fuel is explained by the circumstance that Korea, like China, has, through the total neglect in former times of every measure for forest conservation, been denuded of nearly the whole of its timber. This subject is dealt with, under the head Forestry, in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

II. FORESTRY, FISHING AND MINING

Forestry

Historical—

Most of the following data are taken from the *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1922-23*.

For many years the forests in the country were left untended and unprotected, consequently checking the progress of various kinds of industry, so the Government-General took the matter in hand by making investigation from 1911 onward of the State forests offering legal difficulties, by charging local offices with the investigation of forests possessed by private persons, by appointing forestry experts and stationing them in various places to give the people practical guidance in forestry, by leasing State forest lands denuded of trees to those making application under condition of afforesting them (which done, permanent possession is often granted gratis), by giving seedlings to those localities too poor to buy them, by putting a limit on the age,

height, and spread of trees to be felled in order to protect immature forests, and by subsidizing the extermination of noxious insects. These measures have not only resulted in the condition of forests undergoing an entire transformation compared with that at the time of annexation, but have also induced in the people in general a love of arboriculture, thus contributing greatly to the rise of afforestation undertakings among them. For the purpose of providing models for afforestation and of cultivating the local resources, the Government-General has caused provinces and *my en* to lay out forests, granting them the necessary land, and also made provision for school forests by giving or leasing land gratis for the purpose. Officials and private persons are also encouraged to plant commemoration trees on the third of April, anniversary of Emperor Jimmu, every year, and every other opportunity is seized to encourage the people to effect improvement in forestry.

A close and exact examination being necessary for the drawing up of plans for the future, the forestry-investigating work was expanded, and more specialists were engaged in 1921 to conduct scientific investigation as to the planting, protection, and utilization of forests. In a suburb of Seoul an experimental forestry station was established this year to take charge of the work.

Before annexation there were no written laws

worthy of the name relating to forestry administration, save that the felling of trees was prohibited, and even this was more honored in the breach than in the observance toward the latter years of the Yi dynasty, bringing in its train indiscriminate and secret felling, so that destruction of forests went to the extreme. Guided by the Resident-General, the Korean Government promulgated a Forestry Law and regulations, and these were adopted as they stood by the Government-General, but revision being necessary on account of the lamentable condition of the forests and the progress of the times, new regulations were promulgated in June, 1911, and in 1912 regulations concerning State and private forests were drawn up, and experts attached to central and local offices.

State forest lands leased to the people covered an area of about 1,837,000 acres in the year 1921 and about 2,033,000 acres at the end of the fiscal year, 1922-23.

Condition of the Forests—

The total area of forest lands in Chosen amounts to about 39 million acres, or 71 per cent of the total area of the Peninsula, but, as they have long been neglected, the area of standing forests is estimated at about 13,500,000 acres only, and those are mostly found in the remote north and in the eastern highlands. Of the re-

maining area, about 18 million acres are covered with young trees and about 7,500,000 acres are entirely bare. Even the lands covered with trees show no signs of developing into good forests owing to lack of care and management, yet not only is the demand for material for building and fuel growing greater year by year, but the demand for railway sleepers, telegraph poles, bridge beams, piles used in mining, and wood-pulp is increasing, so the Government is doing its utmost to prevent too great and too indiscriminate a felling of trees, while at the same time pursuing measures to secure their protection and the planting of seedlings to replace the trees felled.

As the north and south of the Peninsula differ widely in climate, many varieties of trees are present. In the basins of the Oryoku and Tumen in the north, and on the higher mountains, the fir, larch, Korean pine, birch, etc., are found, and in the central and upper southern part the Japanese red and black pine, deciduous and evergreen oak, alder, etc., and in the lower southern part the oak, bamboo, etc. The fact that there are as many as 700 varieties of useful trees in Chosen shows how peculiarly it is suited for afforestation on the very widest scale.

Afforestation—

To carry on the afforestation undertakings conducted at national expense, the slopes of Hakuundo in Keijo and of Botandai in Heijo were utilized in 1907, and later on the cities of Suigen, Taikyu, and Kaijo offered lands for the same purpose. In recent years afforestation of hillsides and waste lands has been taken up to prevent sand-drifts and to afford a future supply of timber, this work for the most part falling to the Lumber Undertaking Station and the branch offices of the Forestry Section, and the area so covered between 1907 and 1922 totaled 13,230 acres, and the number of seedlings planted 16,160,000.

The first afforestation undertaking maintained at local expense was started in Kogen in 1911, and the example being followed, all the other provinces are now engaging in their own afforestation works, the total area of 6,453 acres afforested up to the end of 1921 increasing to 7,698 acres during the fiscal year 1922-3; and the number of seedlings planted from 11,320,000 to 14,229,000.

Plantations maintained by public bodies have made great progress in recent years, and, in addition to undertakings on a small scale by individual capitalists, the Oriental Development Company, and others are also engaging in the work

on a large scale and undertaking the development of lands self-planted, and from 1911 to 1922 the area planted by private undertakings measured over 619,000 acres; and the trees planted numbered over 1,024,450,000, showing how energetically the work is being pursued.

Since 1911 the 3rd of April has been regarded as Arbor Day, and on that day trees are planted in commemoration of the Emperor Jimmu. The eleventh Arbor Day in 1921 saw over 16,790,000 trees planted, and the twelfth Arbor Day over 13,850,000, the grand total planted since its institution being over 188,285,000.

In 1907 three seedling plantations were established at national expense, and, following them, local nurseries were established to the number of 310 in all up to the end of 1912, when adjustment of them was effected. The seedlings raised are the Japanese red and black pine, acacia, alder, oak, larch, etc. In the fiscal year 1922-23 the plantations maintained at national expense raised 7,380,000 seedlings, and disposed of 1,730,000 young trees, while those maintained locally raised 26,450,000 seedlings, and disposed of 15,620,000 young trees. Private undertakings accounted for 168,810,000 seedlings and 104,000,000 young trees, those raising over 200,000 seedlings each for sale numbering 68. Of late years afforestation associations have started their own nurseries on a large scale.

Apart from the routine work of research, experimentation, regulation, and inspection, the Afforestation Section of the Industrial Bureau of the Government-General is occupied in carrying out a number of projects in different parts of the country having to do with the planting of forests as a measure of protection against extensive sand-drifting, and for the purpose of conserving the rainfall. As a matter of policy it was decided that work of this character, beneficial as it is to all classes of the people, should be undertaken by Government instead of being left in the hands of private interests engaged in forest industries.

Accordingly an investigation was started in 1919 of the basins of all the larger Korean rivers, and the areas needing conservation works were definitely determined. Working plans have been prepared, calling for operations over a period of years. The financing of these projects is effected by means of subsidies granted by the Government-General to the Provincial bodies concerned, and to private enterprises engaged in the undertaking.

Fishery

The following account of the Korean fisheries is taken from the *Annual Report on Administration of Chosen, 1922-23*.

Chosen has a coast-line over 10,700 miles long*

including islands, and her waters are full of life, and the Government-General, since its establishment, has done as much as possible for the development of the fishing industry, so that the value of marine products amounted to 73,960,000 yen in this year, or eight times that at the time of the annexation.

In 1909 laws and regulations relating to fishery were promulgated by the former Korean Government and were later adopted by the Government-General, but as they did not conform to existing conditions and the future prospects of the industry, new regulations were drawn up and put into practice in April, 1912, providing for the granting of permission for exclusive fishing rights over a certain area of water, the circumscription or prohibition of certain acts likely to obstruct fishing in adjoining areas, the granting of permission to applicants according to ancient custom as far as possible, and the prevention of the exercise of a monopoly in any fishing place by a private individual, and their enforcement has checked the tendency for speculation while encouraging applications from such persons as are willing to pursue the work in a steady and progressive way.

For the protection and control of the fishing industry, regulations were promulgated at the same time as those relating to fishery, and placed some restrictions on the methods employed, the

tackle used, and the season and place for fishing. Trawling is entirely prohibited in the seas surrounding Chosen, the number of whaling boats is limited, and the number of diving apparatus also. In the days of the former Korean Government Chinese ships frequented the western coasts of Chosen for the purpose of fishing, and occasionally do so now, even in the face of strict prohibition, but the vigilance of the local police and fishing associations has proved a check of late to the visits of these poachers.

In order to encourage development in fishing, as the industry was not carried on to any great extent by the local people, part of the interest derived from the Extraordinary Imperial Donation Funds, together with grants from the local revenues, was spent in giving special training to local fishermen and in providing educational organs for fishery by establishing a fishing school at Kunsan in 1915 and at Reisui in 1917.

As the quantity of aquatic products exported tended to increase year by year, and there was no uniformity in quality of the various products, while dishonest practices were rather common, regulations relating to the examination of aquatic products were promulgated and put into practice in July, 1938, and the standard for each grade was made the same as that in Japan proper, so that export to Japan might be carried on more smoothly.

The regulations relating to markets promulgated in September, 1914, contained special provisions for fish markets as they were considered somewhat different from ordinary markets, while a government subsidy has annually been granted since the fiscal year 1912 to fishing ports and harbors, numbering about 300 in all, to effect various improvements in them. Of these ports, work on nine of the most important was finished by the end of the fiscal year 1920, and work on others is being taken up on a large scale.

Experiments in Aquatic Products—

In order to promote the development of the fishing industry, the Government-General has been engaging in aquatic experiments since 1912 under three heads: (1) study of the fish frequenting Korean waters with regard to varieties, distribution, coming and going, suitability of methods employed in catching them, and economic conditions; (2) experimental preparation since 1917 of salted and dried fish intended for China and America, and (3) artificial incubation of salmon at Kogen in South Kankyo since 1912 and naturalization of oysters at Koshin in South Zenra since 1918, together with experiments in raising fresh-water fish.

These experiments are still being carried on, and though some of them have already been productive of good results, further practical and

scientific investigation and study is necessary for the future development of the fishing industry, so the establishment of an Experimental Fishing Station, as a central organ, was started at Fusan in 1920 and completed this year.

Development of the Fishing Industry—

As Chosen is a peninsula it has great advantages in the pursuit of fishing, but in the days of the former Korean Government nothing was done to develop it, so progress in it was altogether wanting. This supineness on the part of the Government disappeared on the establishment of the present regime, and much has since been done to bring the industry into a more flourishing condition, so much so that the value of fishing products, which was only 8,100,000 yen at the time of the annexation, increased to 51,000,000 yen in the fiscal year 1923-24, while the value of prepared aquatic products increased from 2,650,000 yen in 1911 to 29,614,000 yen in the fiscal year 1922-23.

As for the fishing methods employed, they were of a most ancient and elementary character, and the Koreans engaged in fishing never ventured far from the coast, but seeing that the Japanese fishermen coming over made use of more profitable methods, they followed their example and gradually began to go farther and farther afield, with the result that steam and

motor-boats for the transportation of fish came into use, and fishing was started on a large scale, especially for mackerel, the catch of which was worth over 5,800,000 yen in 1921.

In preparing aquatic products salting and drying were done in a very crude manner, as only the home market was served, but with the coming of Japanese fishermen new methods were introduced, while their more general use was quickened by the institution of the system of examination of fish for export in 1918.

The reason why the various aquatic products showed tendency to disappear from Korean waters in the days of the former Korean Government was that no control was exercised over the fishing industry, and it was carried on more or less regardless of time and seasons, in addition to which large sums must be locked up for many years in its pursuit before adequate returns begin to come in. The strenuous efforts of the Government-General, however, have resulted in many undertakings being started, among which the most flourishing is the cultivation of the laver in South Keisho and South Zenra.

As groups of Japanese fishermen were in the habit of coming over to fish in Korean waters, the Chosen Fishery Association League was established at Fusan in 1900 in order to offer convenience to these men, and this effected gradual enlargement in their fishing grounds, and in-

duced more groups to come over. Japanese fishermen making permanent settlement here were found at first only on the coast of South Zenra and South Keisho, but they soon yearly increased in number through goverment help and! gradually found a home in every maritime provn ince. They now number more than 14,200 in all, and have founded forty fishing hamlets containing five or more families, and in conjunction with Korean fishermen are doing much to help on the development of the fishing industry.

Economic Progress of the Fishing Industry—>

No phase of the economic development of Korea has shown a more remarkable rate of growth than the fishing industry. In 1912 the value of the catch was, in round figures, eight million yen, in 1923 it was fifty-two million. During the same period the value of fresh fish exported (about 90 per cent going to Japan) rose from 138,000 yen to nine million, the value of manufactured marine products from four million yen to twenty-nine million, and the Value of manufactured marine products exported, chiefly to Japan, from 1,500,000 to 14,000,000.

In the order of their market value, as realized in 1923, the principal fish caught in Korean waters were mackerel, sardines and anchovies, pollock, several species of sciaena (known in the United States as redfish, red-horse, red-bass, and

channel bass), herring, sea-bream, tunnyfish, cod, and plaice.

Mining

Historical—

The following account of the development of mining in Korea is condensed from pages 85 to 90 of *The Economic History of Chosen* compiled by Mr. T. Hoshino, Manager of the Research Department of the Bank of Chosen.

Precious metals and economically useful metals and minerals are well represented in Korea. The list includes gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, molybdenum, iron, graphite, coal, kaolinite, and siliceous sand.

Until comparatively recent times the mining industry in Korea was conducted on a very small scale. The first mining concession granted to a foreigner was one given to an American, Mr. James It. Morse, in 1896. Other concessions followed, almost all of them being for gold mining. The only other mining activities in the early days were connected with coal and iron. These were conducted by a French company, a Korean-American Company, and a small group of Japanese, acting as agents for the Imperial Household.

The mining administration of Korea was extremely ill-managed, deeply corrupted by brib-

ery, favoritism, and the overlapping of **the** functions of the Korean Court and of the Korean Government. In some cases a concession granted at one time was revoked at another without good reason or compensation, and wantonly bestowed upon a new concessionaire. The mining tax was not only collected by different departments of the government but also by the Korean Imperial Household itself, and often twice over, while the local authorities also imposed an arbitrary tariff. In such circumstances no healthy progress of the mining industry could be hoped for.

On the establishment of the Japanese protectorate in 1905, steps were taken to reform the abuses, and new laws were enacted and put in force in 1906. Enacted to meet urgent needs, these laws left much to be desired; and the mining regulations were amended from time to time until, in 1915, the last mining law was promulgated.

At the end of the protectorate regime (1910) the list of mining concessions showed the holders to be: American, 4 corporations and 4 individuals; English, 2 corporations and 1 individual; Italian, 1 individual. In addition there were several held by Japanese and Americans jointly, and by Koreans and Americans jointly.

Japanese activity in the Korean mining field—apart from a Government coal mine, and two

Government iron mines—was unimportant prior to the annexation of 1910. In 1911, however, several important Japanese firms entered the field, and in subsequent years they were followed by others. Their activities have been chiefly concerned with coal and iron.

Present State of the Mining Industry—

In order to obtain material for keeping the mining administration in touch with the times and to afford convenience to those operating mines, investigation of mineral deposits was begun as a continuing work for six years in the fiscal year 1911, and was all but completed in the time stated, the only part left undone being in the south, and there investigation was continued for another year and completed in the fiscal year 1917. Reports were published as the various provinces were investigated, much to the benefit of the mining industry in Chosen.

The investigation of mineral products being completed, the men charged with it were transferred in a body to the newly formed Geological Investigation Office in the fiscal year 1918. This office engages in the investigation of the nature of the soil, useful minerals and rocks, water utilization, civil engineering, and the making of maps. As it was estimated that it would take the office thirty years to complete this new work, the staff was increased in the fiscal year 1920 so that

the work might be done in half the time, that is in fifteen years.

The post-war business depression seriously affected the mining industry in Korea. The Government-General has undertaken several measures designed to improve conditions. Among these are the encouragement of improved mining methods and of metallurgical technique, and the reduction of taxation on newly established mining rights.

For the past few years, mining products have been yearly on the increase, the total value reaching nineteen million yen in 1925. Owing to lower prices of commodities and labor on the one hand and to the rise in the market price of gold on the other, gold mining has been especially active of late. Coal mines are also in favorable condition. As a result of recent investigation of coal fields the state and volume of their deposits have been ascertained, and various experiments in the use of Korean coal have led to a wider use of it by the people, so it is expected that coal mining in Korea will make great strides in the future.

A new baryte mine recently discovered in Kogen Province is considered to be one of the greatest of its kind in the world.

The total value of the output of metals and minerals in Korea in 1910 was 6,000,000 yen. In 1918 the value rose to its highest point, of

about 31,000,000 yen, reflecting the urgent demand and the high prices of the last year of the European War. In 1921 the value fell to 15,500,000 yen, which represents the normal growth of the industry since 1910.

Classified according to values the output in 1912, 1921, and 1923 was as follows:

VALUE OF THE METAL AND MINERAL OUTPUT IN KOREA

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

	1912	1921	1923
Gold	4,580	2,992	3,914
Alluvial gold	670	359	336
	546	3,192	2,750
	156	1,716	1,806
		4,829	5,684
	275	1,489	1,626
Gold and Silver Ore	3	587	590
Graphite	182	209	258
	228	214	362
Total	6,640	15,587	17,326

CHAPTER XIII

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF KOREA

III. COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND BANKING

Currency—

Under the native Korean Government the development of commerce and manufactures had been held back by a combination of adverse conditions. Of these the most important were the deplorable state of the Korean currency and the insecurity of life and property.

The old Korean currency was, in theory, based upon the silver standard; but in practice the Korean mint issued so few silver coins that practically all money transactions were carried out by the use either of copper cash, called *yupchun*, or of nickel coins named *tang-pak* and *tang-oh*, the former nominally worth one hundred cash, the latter worth five cash.

The copper cash were open to two serious objections, one that their actual exchange value against goods depended upon the intrinsic value

of their copper content, and varied therefore with the market value of copper, the other that their value was so small that in large transactions the bulk and weight of the payment presented serious difficulties of transportation. Thus when the Japanese army bought timber in the interior of Korea, during the Chino-Japanese War, it had to charter a steamer and fill her completely with copper cash in order to finance the transaction.

The nickel coinage, on the other hand, was a token coinage, stamped with a nominal value. Originally minted by the Korean Government to serve as a currency auxiliary to the copper *yupchun* it circulated for a short time at its face value. But the difference between the intrinsic and the face value of these coins made their issue a very profitable business, so that finally the Royal Korean Mint issued them indiscriminately, with the result that their face value ceased to have any significance. The final abandonment of the old Korean nickels was hastened by the rapid growth of counterfeiting. A curious feature of this activity was that it was countenanced by the Korean officials, in consideration of bribes paid by the coiners, and that the official dies of the Royal Mint were sometimes rented to counterfeiters.

The following account of the Japanese reform

of the Korean currency is condensed from the Government-General's *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year 1910-11*.

When a Japanese financial adviser was engaged by the Korean Government in 1904, during the war with Russia, he caused the Korean Government to adopt the following measures of currency reform:

(1) The monetary standard of Korea was to be made identical with that of Japan. In order to effect this, the Currency Regulations, modeled on the Japanese Gold Standard Regulations and issued by the Korean Government in 1901, were to be put in operation.

(2) The old nickel coins were to be withdrawn from circulation, while the old copper cash were to remain in use for the time being.

(3) As soon as a sound subsidiary coinage was put in circulation the old copper cash were also to be withdrawn.

(4) The Dai-ichi Ginko (the First Rank, of Japan) which already enjoyed extensive credit in Korea, was to be allowed to discharge the functions of a central bank, and its notes were to be recognized as legal tender in all transactions, public or private. The currency of the Imperial Japanese Government, whether coined money, or bank-notes, being identical in quality with that provided for in the Currency Regulations of the

Korean Government, was to be legal tender throughout the Peninsula.

(5) The currency readjustment was to be carried out by the Dai-ichi Ginko, under the supervision of the Minister of Finance of the Korean Government.

As a first step toward currency reform, the Royal Korean Mint was closed in November, 1904, and the work of issuing a new coinage for Korea was entrusted to the Imperial Japanese Mint in Osaka.

The withdrawal of nickels and of copper cash began in July, 1905, and by February, 1911, nearly four hundred million nickels had been withdrawn, and copper cash to the value of about six million yen. The total net cost of getting rid of the chaotic monetary system of the old Korean Government and of replacing it with one identical with the gold-standard system of Japan was less than eight million yen—an extremely small price to pay for the manifold advantages of a stable currency.

At the beginning of 1918 it was estimated that the value of coinage in circulation in Korea was 69,600,000 yen, of which less than three million yen were represented by the old Korean coinage. On April 1, 1918, the Coinage Law of Japan was enacted in Korea, and the circulation of Korean coins was prohibited as from the first day

of 1921, the Government engaging to exchange them for Japanese coins during the five succeeding years.

Bank-notes were first issued in Korea in 1902 by the Dai-Ichi Ginko. Three years later these notes were made legal tender in the Peninsula. On the establishment of the Bank of Chosen in 1909 the note-issue privilege was transferred to it. In 1912 the value of Bank of Chosen Notes in circulation was approximately 25 million yen, and of metal currency four million yen. At the beginning of 1922 these values had risen, respectively, to 101 million yen and nine million yen.

With the settlement of the currency question and the rapid progress made after the annexation of 1910 in the suppression of banditry throughout the country, conditions speedily became such as to encourage the investment of Japanese capital in the Peninsula, and the planning of a general development of the country's resources.

Economic Development—

The broad features of this development, so far as they relate to commerce and manufactures are disclosed in the following table, in which banking statistics are included as an index to the volume of financing:

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GROWTH OF COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, AND BANKING IN KOREA,
1912-1923

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents II. S.)

	1912	1923
Commerce:		
Value of exports...	20,985	261,665
Value of imports..	67,115	265,790
Total foreign trade	88,100	527,555
Manufactures:		
Factory products..	29,362	242,788
Home products....	10,431	179,207
Banking:		
Paid-up capital... ..	14,851	84,150
Reserve funds	699	16,771
Deposits	27,837	275,879
Loans	58,070	409,302

Commerce

The Foreign Trade of Korea—

The geographical position of Korea as the close neighbor of the most advanced commercial nation in the Far East has led naturally to the predominance of Japan in the foreign trade of the country. It is interesting to note that the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 has not been followed by any striking increase in the proportion of Korea's foreign trade enjoyed by the sovereign power. In 1907 Japan's share of the foreign trade of Korea was 70.7 per cent; in 1921 it was 78.5 per cent. During that fourteen-year period the value of Korean exports to Japan increased from a proportion of 76.3 per cent of the total to 90.4 per cent, and the propor-

THE NEW KOREA

THE FOREIGN COMMERCE OF KOREA

Value of exports to and of imports from various countries

(Values in thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents V. S.)

	1907	1912	1921
Japan:			
Exports	12,948	15,369	197,392
	28,293	40,756	156,482
Total	41,241	56,125	353,874
China:			
Exports	3,220	4,058	19,223
Imports	5,577	7,027	50,188
Total	8,797	11,085	69,411
United States:			
Exports	2	95	302
	2,919	6,460	14,374
Total	2,921	6,555	14,676
Great Britain:			
Exports	11	198	4
	4,210	9,801	7,808
Total	4,221	9,999	7,812
All others:			
	792	1,265	1,356
	386	3,070	3,529
Total	1,178	4,335	4,885
Grand total:			
Exports	16,973	20,985	218,277
Imports	41,387	67,115	232,381
Total	58,360	88,100	450,658

tion of Korean imports from Japan decreased from 68.4 per cent to 67.3 per cent of the total.

These contrary movements are to be explained as to exports by the heavy investment of Japanese capital in Korea and by the large demand in Japan for Korean products, whether for domestic consumption or for export. So far as Korean imports are concerned, the increase in non-Japanese imports reflects the increased demand in the Peninsula for commodities which Japan is not able to supply, particularly for Italian millet, wild cocoons, fertilizer, coal, petroleum and hemp cloth, most of which come from China.

Distribution of Foreign Trade—

The distribution of this commerce on the basis of the percentage of it carried out by the various countries trading with Korea is shown in the table on page 286.

Gold and Silver Bullion—

The following tables do not include the value of gold and of silver bullion. The export of the latter is insignificant, not having reached a value of 40,000 yen in any year since 1919.

The export of gold bullion reached a value every year from 1910 to 1916 second only to that of rice, rising from about nine million yen in the former year to over fifteen million in the latter.

THE NEW KOREA

PROPORTION OF KOREA'S FOREIGN COMMERCE CONDUCTED WITH VARIOUS COUNTRIES

(The figures refer to the percentage of the value of exports, of imports, and of the total foreign commerce)

	1907	1912	1921
Japan:			
Exports	76.3	73.2	90.4
Imports	68.4	60.8	67.3
Total	70.7	63.8	78.5
China:			
Exports	19.0	19.4	8.8
Imports	13.5	10.5	21.5
Total	15.1	12.6	15.4
United States:			
Exports	00.0	00.5	00.1
Imports	7.1	9.6	6.1
Total	5.0	7.4	3.2
Great Britain:			
Exports	00.1	1.0	00.0
Imports	10.2	14.7	3.3
Total	7.2	11.4	1.7
Other countries:			
Exports	4.6	5.9	00.7
Imports	00.8	4.4	1.8
Total	2.0	4.8	1.2

Gold production was, however, seriously affected by the Great War, and the value of its export fell to six million yen in 1918.

During the years noted the value of the export of gold bullion has been as follows: 1919, 4,415,-249 yen; 1920, 23,822,078 yen; 1921, 7,282,742 yen; 1922, 3,961,154 yen; 1923, 5,586,985 yen.

It may be noted that Korea furnishes nearly half of the total gold production of the Japanese Empire. The two largest gold mines in Korea are owned by American companies. They produce about 61 per cent of the total output.

General Character of the Export Trade—

Considerably more than half of the value of Korean exports is represented by agricultural products, of which rice is more important than all the other items added together. The development of the various branches of the export trade is shown in the following table:

Products	VALUE OF KOREAN EXPORTS (In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)		
	1912	1917	1923
	14,758	50,048	160,378
Industrial	1,054	5,780	33,944
Fishery	1,163	5,142	29,080
Mineral	1,086	18,514	11,380
	155	392	7,209
Miscellaneous	2,767	8,879	19,674
1 Total	20,985	83,755	261,665

The foregoing table covers a period of eleven years. It discloses an almost unparalleled record of economic development. I am by no means convinced that economic development is any criterion of the general advance of the society which has enjoyed, or suffered, from it. But, in respect of Korea, it may be said that, if we are to believe the boosters and rotarians, who form so large a proportion of the people who are giving its present tone to Western civilization, the Japanese administration in Korea has done more to advance the interests of Korea than any other government has done to advance the interests of any country in the world within the period with which the above table deals.

That Korean agricultural exports should have increased in little more than a decade by more than a thousand per cent; industrial exports by more than three thousand per cent, fishery exports by nearly three thousand per cent, forestry exports by more than four thousand per cent, and mineral exports by more than a thousand per cent, would, if Korea were a self-governing country instead of a Japanese colonial dependency, be hailed throughout the Western world as an astounding example of national progress.

General Character of the Import Trade—

The total value of imports into Korea in 1923 was 265,790,000 yen. The following table shows the values of the imported articles which, individually, represented as large a proportion as 2 per cent of the total value of imports in any of the years covered by the table:

VALUE OF PRINCIPAL ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO KOREA

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

	1912	1917	1923
Cotton shirting, sheeting, and drill	9,744	14,459	23,616
Yarns and threads	2,537	5,751	14,373
Italian millet	273	1,324	13,313
Clothing and accessories	1,652	2,233	12,030
Coal	1,525	3,598	9,599
Lumber, various	2,263	1,803	7,905
Machinery	*	4,603	6,877
Chinese cloth	1,485	2,210	5,181
Silk tissue	1,383	841	7,742
Sugar	1,506	2,303	4,995
Medicines	336	1,048	4,198
Kerosene	1,770	2,651	4,171
Cement	659	1,685	4,147
Manure (bean-cake)	*	140	7,300

* Value too small to have separate item in import returns of 1912.

The contrasts between the figures for 1912 and those for 1923 disclose several interesting features of the general progress of the country. Especially noteworthy, as reflecting the improvement of agricultural methods, is the fifty-fold increase between 1917 and 1923 of the importation of bean-cake manure. The general economic ad-

vance of the Korean people is shown by the following increases in certain imports between 1912 and 1923: cotton shirting, etc., 260 per cent; yarns and threads, 470 per cent; clothing and accessories, 628 per cent; sugar, 233 per cent; kerosene, 135 per cent; medicines, 1,149 per cent. Of course these increases do not represent a net increase in Korean home consumption, as much of the material is used in manufactures of which the product is exported; and further, the general advance in prices means that the increases in volume are less than the increases in values. But, with such deductions made, the figures do unquestionably indicate a considerable general advance in the Korean standard of living.

Manufactures

As the relations between Japan and Korea became closer after the Chino-Japanese War, the question arose as to whether it was advisable to encourage the development of manufacturing industries in the Peninsula. Opinion was sharply divided on the matter. On the one hand were those who advocated every possible increase in the raw products, and especially of the agricultural products of Korea, and the continued dependence of the country upon the importation of manufactured products from Japan.

On the other hand there were many Japanese,

of whom Count Terauchi, the first Governor-General of Korea, was the most prominent, who held the view that it was to the best interest of Korea that she should develop manufacturing industries of her own. The principal argument advanced on this side was that in the absence of manufacturing industries Korea would face a constant and increasing adverse trade balance.

This view prevailed. That it was amply justified is proved by the event. As the Korean manufacturing industries have grown, so the value of the excess imports has decreased, proportionately, in relation to the value of the total foreign trade. In 1912 the excess import-value over export-value was 46 million yen on a total foreign trade value of 88 million yen; in 1923 it was only 4 million yen on a total foreign-trade value of 527 million yen. In other words, the ratio of excess-import value to total foreign-trade value, fell during the ten-year period from 52 to 100 to less than 1 to 100. To the encouragement of manufacturing industry and of commerce in general the Government-General has devoted considerable sums of money. The expenditure falls under two heads—one including the salaries, traveling and other expenses of the personnel engaged in administrative business connected with manufacturing and commercial activities, and in the research work of the Government Central Laboratory; the other grants-

in-aid, of various kinds. The expenditure on this account is shown in the following table:

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE TO FOSTER COMMERCE
AND MANUFACTURES

(Figures in yen. 1 yen=50 cents U. S.)

Year	Salaries and Expenses	Grants-in-Aid	Total	
1912	358,606	311,732	ispol	
1913	414,458	216,451		
1914	627,925	218,396		
1915	746,345	323,396		
1916	385,365	323,396		
1917	367,060	30,146		
1918	518,138	30,396		
1919	650,069	101,500		
1920	752,835	110,518		
1921	1,024,328	219,000		
Total	5,845,129	1,884,931		7,730,060

In 1912 there were in Korea 328 private manufacturing plants, equipped with mechanical power and employing more than five hands as a daily average. The capital invested in these factories was 13,000,000 yen, the number of operatives 17,000, the total horse-power of the equipment was 8,000, and the value of the year's production was 29,000,000 yen. The European War gave a great impetus to the local manufacturing industries. In 1921 the number of factories had risen to 2,384, the invested capital to 179,000,000 yen, the number of operatives to 49,000, the horsepower to 86,000.

In order to get an accurate picture of the

progress of manufactures in Korea it is necessary to divide the industrial products into three classes—home products, factory products, and factory-treated products. The first includes products made in the people's homes; the second, products in which the factory treatment to which they are subjected represents, as against the cost of the raw material, the principal item in determining the selling price, products such as fats and oils, straw and bamboo goods, liquors, and so on; the third, products where the cost of the factory process is small as against the cost of the raw material treated, processes such as rice-cleaning and polishing, the production of gas and electricity, the refining of various raw materials.

The value of home products rose from 10 million yen in 1912, reached a high point of 212 million in 1919, and fell to 179 million in 1923. The value of factory products rose from about 7 million yen in 1910 to 82 million in 1923. The value of factory-treated products rose from 29 million yen in 1910 to 242 million in 1923.

Taking these three classes of products and combining their values, the total value of manufactured products rose from about 40 million yen in 1912 to 421 million in 1923—an increase of 952 per cent. It is interesting to note that home products which in 1912 accounted for only about 25 per cent of the total value of manufactures, accounted for more than 40 per cent in 1923.

This reflects, no doubt, the influence of the industrial training schools and of the Government-General's encouragement of home industries.

In the order of their importance, as measured by the values in 1923, the principal home products were: liquors, 38 million yen; textiles, 23 million; straw articles, 20 million; tissue manufactures, 20 million; metal-ware, 8 million; flour, 8 million; fertilizers, 7 million; yeast, 5 million; wooden-ware, 5 million; ceramics, 4 million; cakes, 4 million; silk cocoons, 3 million.

In the two categories of factory-products and factory-treated products the principal items were, in 1923, as follows: cleaned rice, 108 million; tobacco, 22 million; ginned cotton, 8 million; iron, 9 million; gas and electricity, 8 million; lumber, 7 million; sugar, 0 million; printed matter, 6 million; raw silk, 5 million; refined metals, 5 million; cotton-yarn, 5 million; machinery and implements, 5 million; drugs, 3 million; pottery, tiles, bricks, etc., 3 million.

Banking

Historical—

The first bank to be established in Korea was the Fusan branch of the Dai-Ichi Ginko (First Bank of Japan). This was opened in 1878 at the time when the ports of Gensan and Chemulpo were opened to foreign trade. Some years

later two other Japanese banks, the Eighteenth Bank, and the Fifty-eighth Bank (now the One Hundred and Thirtieth Bank) opened branches in Korea.

It was not until 1899 that the first Korean bank was established, the Chyon-il, and a second, the Hansung Bank, opened its doors in 1901.

Prior to the opening of the banks referred to above there had been no banks in Korea, as we understand the term. What money-lending was done, apart from purely personal transactions, was in the hands of pawnbrokers, small loan associations called "Mutual Money Accommodation Societies," and inn-keepers. These agencies received money on deposit at interest, made loans, and discounted promissory notes.

Bank notes were first issued in Korea in 1902 by the First Bank. At that time the general economic condition of the country was very unsatisfactory. This led to the appointment, in 1904, of a Japanese financial expert as adviser to the Korean Government. In the following year the First Bank was entrusted with the duty of adjusting the chaotic monetary system and of conducting the business of the national Korean treasury. This bank was also granted the privilege of issuing paper money, and it thus became the first central bank of Korea.

In the following years various steps were taken to improve credit and banking facilities.

Among these the more important were the establishment of agricultural and industrial banks in the provinces, the issuance of regulations for the formation of People's Banking Associations, and the creation of the Oriental Development Company.

This Company was formed as a joint-stock enterprise of which the shares could be held only by Japanese and Koreans. In its general character it was concerned chiefly with the agricultural development of the country and with securing suitable agricultural immigrants from Japan. It was specifically authorized by the Government of Korea to undertake the following forms of financial business: the loan of funds to Japanese and Korean agriculturists, on the instalment plan of repayment; making fixed-time loans on the security of immovable property; and loans to settlers and farmers in Korea on the security of their produce and their movable property.

The following account of banking in Korea from 1908 onwards is condensed from a Government Report.

By 1908 the general economic and financial development of Korea had advanced to such an extent that it was found inconvenient to conduct the treasury business of the Korean Government, and the issue of paper money through an ordinary bank, even though it was *de facto* a central bank.

Accordingly in 1909 the Korean Government promulgated regulations under which late in the year the Bank of Korea (now called the Bank of Chosen) was established, as a *de jure* central bank, and assumed the duties and responsibilities which had formerly rested with the Dai-Ichi Ginko.

In 1910 Korea was annexed to Japan. This step affected the banking situation to the extent that whereas formerly the banking activities of Koreans had to be conducted under the local Korean laws and those of Japanese in the Peninsula under the Imperial Japanese laws, it now became possible, as it became also highly desirable, to make a single body of banking law for Korea.

Various laws and regulations were put in force from 1912 onward and they are now contained in four instruments—the Bank of Chosen Law, the Industrial Bank Ordinance, the Bank Ordinance, and the People's Banking Association Ordinance.

Encouraged by the financial expansion promoted by the industrial development, and especially influenced by the World War, many banks have been established in the provinces, but the existing agricultural and industrial banks were found much too weak to cope with the increasing demand for funds, their capital all told being only 2,600,000 yen, so to remedy this weakness

the Chosen Industrial Bank Regulations were promulgated in **1918**, and all the agricultural and industrial banks in the Peninsula were merged into the Industrial Bank of Chosen with a capital of 10,000,000 yen, and to this the Government is giving special protection and supervision with the object of facilitating the supply of funds for industrial undertakings.

The regulations concerning People's Banking Associations were revised in 1918 for the benefit of smaller banking organs established to meet the needs of the peasantry, and the wider establishment of such associations in villages was encouraged. In the towns, too, the establishment of associations of similar character for the benefit of small traders was encouraged.

These associations have formed federations according to their geographical distribution, so that any excess or deficiency of funds may be the more easily adjusted. Each federation supervises the business of the associations in the same province, and the Government has extended aid to them by lending each one a sum of 200,000 yen. They are required to maintain connection and co-operate with the Industrial Bank of Chosen in facilitating monetary circulation in the provinces.

Banking Statistics—

The banks included in the general banking statistics are the Bank of Chosen, the Chosen Industrial Bank, and Ordinary Banks (20 in number in 1923, with 64 branch offices in Korea) which operate under the terms of the Bank Ordinance. This law is, in respect of banking rules and Government supervision, based in the main on the banking regulations in force in Japan.

The following table shows the general condition of banking in Korea during the ten years ending with 1924. The figures do not include the data in relation to the banking operations of the Oriental Development Company, or of the People's Banking Associations, to which reference will be found in later sections of this chapter.

BANKING STATISTICS OF KOREA
(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

Year	Paid-up Capital	Reserve Funds	Deposits *	Loans	Net Profits
1910	7,080	362	18,355	40,912	540 1
1915	18,484	1,426	35,626	60,554	1,542
1916	17,545	1,621	43,716	69,364	1,858
1917	23,225	3,043	53,912	96,188	2,462
1918	38,066	3,796	84,649	140,338	5,193
1919	60,003	6,508	125,265	270,647	5,626
1920	83,050	10,083	139,357	230,696	10,253 1
1921	83,423	12,531	171,891	307,260	10,901
1922	84,650	14,145	168,171	301,393	9,542
1923	84,000	15,478	216,522	395,288	7,478
1924	84,150	16,771	275,879	409,302	7,666

* In Korea.

It will be noted that the ten-year period ending with 1924 showed an increase of approximately 370 per cent in paid-up banking capital, of 1,000 per cent in reserve funds, of 666 per cent in deposits, of 580 per cent in loans.

The Bank of Chosen—

This bank occupies a special position in Korea. It is the fiscal agent of the Government-General of Chosen, and enjoys the exclusive right of issuing bank notes. It was founded in 1909 under the name of The Korean Bank. After the annexation of 1910 it was renamed the Bank of Chosen. The Governor and the Vice Governor of the Bank are appointed by the Imperial Japanese Government. Until September, 1924, the supervision of the Bank was in the hands of the Government-General of Chosen, and the directors were appointed by the Governor-General from among candidates elected at a general meeting of the shareholders, such candidates to be twice the number of directors to be appointed. On that date, however, the supervision was transferred to the Imperial Japanese Government, and the appointment of directors placed in the hands of the Japanese Finance Minister.

The main features of the bank's condition during the four years ending with 1923 are shown in the following table:

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BUSINESS OF THE BANK OF CHOSEN
(In thousands of yen. 1 yen=50 cents U. S.)

	1920	1921	1922	1923
Paid-up capital	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000 1
Bank-notes issued. . . .	114,034	137,611	101,658	110,750
Deposits:				
	46,920	39,028	42,036	95,580
	69,930	69,681	76,021	25,866
In Manchuria	28,129	34,005	32,518	31,487
	15,642	19,777	9,835	9,891
Total	160,621	162,941	160,410	162,830
Loans:				
In Korea	77,232	90,183	66,581	134,895
In Japan	137,597	54,605	136,416	122,699
In Manchuria	72,573	118,357	107,547	115,110
Elsewhere	6,863	10,599	8,413	10,352
Total	294,265	373,744	321,357	383,056

Comparing the above figures with those given on page 299, it is seen that the Bank of Chosen had, in 1923, about one-third of the bank deposits in Korea, and put out about one-third of the banking loans in Korea.

During the past few years the Bank of Chosen has been embarrassed owing to bad loans made outside of Korea. The matter came to a head in 1925; and at a general meeting of the shareholders held in August of that year, a resolution was passed to reduce the capital of the bank by one-half, and the number of its shares in the same proportion.

The Chosen Industrial Bank—

This bank has a paid-up capital of 15 million yen. During the past few years it has experienced a great expansion in its business. Between 1918 and 1923 its issue of debentures increased from 3,000,000 to 100,000,000 in the year, its reserve fund from 600,000 to 2,000,000, its deposits from 15,000,000 to 48,000,000, and its loans from 30,000,000 to 172,000,000. Its net profits increased from 400,000 yen in 1919 to nearly 2,000,000 in 1923.

Ordinary Banks—

These banks had in 1923 an aggregate capital of 19 million yen, with reserve funds of about 2,500,000. Their deposits amounted to 73 million, their loans to 88 million, and their net profits to something over two million. Their business has shown a steady development year by year.

People's Banking Associations—

These were first organized in 1907, and are modeled on the best features of the Reifeisen and Schulze systems. They resemble the People's Credit Associations of Japan, but are better managed than the latter. The system is considered one of the most useful measures ever adopted in Korea, and it is fully appreciated by the people, as is proved by the rapid expansion

of their business. In the ten years ending with 1924 the number of these Associations increased from 240 to 509, the number of members from 66 thousand to 375 thousand, the capital subscribed by members from 786 thousand yen to nearly eight million, the reserve funds from 529 thousand to nearly five million, the deposits from 197 thousand yen to nearly 38 million, loans from about two million to more than 58 million, and the net profits from 64 thousand to nearly two million.

These banks are grouped in thirteen Federations of People's Banking Associations, which co-operate with the Provincial Governors and with the Governor-General of Chosen in supervising the operations of the various Associations in their respective districts.

The Oriental Development Company—

This Company, which was organized in 1908 engages in agricultural and industrial undertakings and participates with the Government-General in the development of the natural resources of the Peninsula. One of its main functions is to furnish the funds necessary for agricultural and other activities of the population.

Up to the year 1917 the O.D.C. limited its undertakings to Korea, but in the following year extended its sphere of operations to Manchuria, North China, and the South Sea Islands. The

Company's authorized capital is 50 million yen. The increase in its activities may be measured by the fact that it issued debentures to the value of 36 million yen in 1917, and to the value of 182 million in 1924, while the total amount of its loans grew during the same period from 12 million yen to 148 million. These loans were distributed as follows in the year 1924: in Korea 55 million yen, in Manchuria 72 million, in Northern China 10 million, and in the South Sea Islands 12 million, the figures being those of the nearest million.

Mutual Credit Associations (Mujin-Ko)—

Apart from the regular finance organs in Korea there exists a system of mutual credit transactions on a small scale, known as *Mujin*. Persons associated together for the purpose of forming and operating a credit unit of this character are known collectively as *Mujin-ko*. The system originated in Japan about the year 1387, and it is one of the earliest known instances of mutual credit societies.

Within the past few years the operations of *Mujin-ko* have extended rapidly in Korea; and in order to insure proper supervision of these activities the Chosen Mutual Credit Business Ordinance (*Mujin rex*) was promulgated in 1922. The following table shows the principal features of the condition and transactions of the *Mujin-ko*

during the years indicated. The statistics are based upon an annual return which divides the year into two six-month terms. The figures are to the nearest thousand.

CONDITION AND BUSINESS OF THE MUTUAL CREDIT ASSOCIATIONS

(In thousands of yen. 1 yen = 50 cents U. S.)

Year and Term	Paid-up Capital	Re-serve	Loans	Number of Repayment Contracts		
				Com-pleted	Incom-plete	Total
1922.. 2nd Term,	280	6	171	Hill	7,007	9,044
loo* /1st Term..	430	10	395		8,630	11,946
!ia * J" \ 2nd Term..	531	16	554		8,410	12,673
1924 1st Terra..	759	31	702		12,070	18,230
iy**" \2nd Terra.	840	51	931		12,542	20,583
1925.. 1st Term..	857	87	1,088		13,452	23,021

I am indebted to Professor Kiyoshi Ogata for the following brief account of the *Mujin* system, which is taken *verbatim* from pages 14 and 15 of his elaborate volume, *The Co-operative Movement in Japan*,

In the course of its growth, the *Mujin* system blossomed forth in many directions. Before I give a detailed explanation of how the *Mujm* is carried on in practice at present, it is necessary to make a few preliminary remarks on its various aspects:

(1) *Mujins* are usually formed for raising capital sums required for business or for private expenditure. By the term private expenditure, we are to understand household expenses (which include taxes, mar-

riage expenses, social gatherings, school expenses, etc.), repayment of old debts, pilgrimages to temples, and holiday trips, etc.

However, some *Mujins* are started to raise funds for particular public purposes, such as the repair of school or temple buildings, bridges or roads, or for some charitable institution. Others are formed for furthering thrift, and others again for purchasing houses or land. We shall see that most of these objects are the same as those pursued by the modern credit societies.

(2) Most of the *Mujins* aim at providing their members with cash advances, but some aim at providing their members with goods, such as clothing. In the latter case the *Mujin* is a form of purchase by easy instalments.

(3) In *Mujins* there is sometimes a first beneficiary, for whose special benefit the society is formed, and who receives the subscription at the first meeting, as an advance without interest, or even as a free gift, in return for which he must undertake the collection and administration of subscriptions while the *Mujm* continues in existence. This means, in effect, that the subscriptions of one meeting are given to him to alleviate his distress. On the other hand many *Mujms* are purely mutual finance organizations, without any special beneficiary.

(4) The *Mujm* is also limited in duration. The length of one series of *Mujin* varies from ten months to fifty years, according to the membership and the frequency of the meetings, three to six years being the most usual, but each series may be repeated when the first one is ended.

(5) Subscriptions are usually paid in cash, but sometimes in kind, or even in labor.

(6) One of two forms of security is required in cases where the *Mujm* makes advances; either personal guarantors or the mortgage of real property.

(7) One share in a *Mujm* may be in the names of two or more persons, or one member may hold more than one share.

(8) The total amount to be drawn usually ranges from 100 yen to 300 yen, but it may be sometimes as little as 5 yen, and sometimes as much as 10,000 yen.

(9¹) The amount of one share usually ranges from 5 yen to 30 yen, but sometimes subscriptions are as low as 10 *sen* and sometimes as high as 100 yen. When the subscriptions in *Mwjins* are rather high, payment may be arranged by instalments, in which case a special collector is employed to go round and collect such instalments.

The *Mujin-Ko* is usually formed by from thirty to fifty persons (sometimes by less than ten, sometimes by more than five hundred), living in the same street, or following the same trade, or worshipping at the same temple or shrine. The meetings are usually held at a beneficiary's or founder's house, or at the temple, or at a restaurant, such meetings taking place as frequently as twice a month or as rarely as twice a year.

APPENDICES

- A. Treaty of Annexation, Signed on August 22, **1910**, and Promulgated on August 29th.
- B. The Imperial Rescript on Annexation, Promulgated on August 29, 1910.
- C. The Korean Emperor's Rescript on Cession of Sovereignty, Promulgated on August 29, **1910**.
- D. The Imperial Rescript Concerning the Reorganization of the Government-General of Chosen, Promulgated on August 19, **1919**.
- E. The Governor-General's Instructions to High Officials Concerning Administrative Reforms. Issued on September 3, 1919.
- F. The Governor-General's proclamation to the People of Chosen. Issued on September 10, 1919.
- G. The Governor-General's Address to Provincial Governors. Delivered on October 3, 1919.
- H. The Administrative Superintendent's Instructions to Provincial Governors. Delivered on October 3, 1919.
- I. Rules for Teachers. Notification No. 11, issued January 4, **1916**.

APPENDIX

A

Treaty of Annexation, Signed on August 26, 1910 and
Promulgated on the 29 of August

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, having in view the special and close relations between Their respective countries, desiring to promote the common weal of the two nations and to assure permanent peace in the Extreme East, and being convinced that these objects can be best attained by the annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan, have resolved to conclude a Treaty of such annexation, and have for that purpose appointed as Their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Viscount *Masakata Terauchi* His Resident-General;

And His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, *Yi Wan Yong*, His Minister President of State;

Who, upon mutual conference and deliberation, have agreed to the following Articles.

Article I. His Majesty the Emperor of Korea makes complete and permanent cession to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan of all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea.

Article II. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan ac-

cepts the cession mentioned in the preceding Article, and consents to the complete annexation of Korea to the Empire of Japan.

Article III. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will accord to Their Majesties the Emperor and ex-Emperor and His Imperial Highness the Crown Prince of Korea and Their Consorts and Heirs such titles, dignity, and honor as are appropriate to Their respective ranks, and sufficient annual grants will be made for the maintenance of such titles, dignity, and honor.

Article IV. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will also accord appropriate honor and treatment to the members of the Imperial House of Korea and their heirs other than those mentioned in the preceding Article, and the funds necessary for the maintenance of such honor and treatment will be granted.

Article V. His Majesty the Emperor of Japan will confer peerages and monetary grants upon those Koreans who, on account of meritorious services, are regarded as deserving such special recognition.

Article VI. In consequence of the aforesaid annexation, the Government of Japan assumes the entire government and administration of Korea and undertakes to afford full protection, for the persons and property of Koreans obeying the laws there in force, and to promote the welfare of all such Koreans.

Article VII. The Government of Japan will, so far as circumstances permit, employ in the public service of Japan in Korea those Koreans who accept the new regime loyally and in good faith and who are duly qualified for such service.

Article VIII. This Treaty, having been approved by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan and His

Majesty the Emperor of Korea, shall take effect from the date of its promulgation.

In faith whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty, and have affixed thereto their seals.

[Signatures omitted.]

APPENDIX

B

Imperial Rescript on Annexation

We, attaching the highest importance to the maintenance of permanent peace in the Orient and the consolidation of lasting security to Our Empire and finding in Korea constant and fruitful sources of complication, caused Our Government to conclude in 1905 an Agreement with the Korean Government by which Korea was placed under the protection of Japan in the hope that all disturbing elements might thereby be removed and peace assured for ever.

For the four years and over which have since elapsed, Our Government have exerted themselves with unwearied attention to promote reforms in the administration of Korea, and their efforts have, in a degree, been attended with success. But, at the same time, the existing regime of government in that country has shown itself hardly effective to preserve peace and stability, and, in addition, a spirit of suspicion and misgiving dominates the whole Peninsula. In order to maintain public order and security and to advance the happiness and well-being of the people, it has become manifest that fundamental changes in the present system of government are inevitable.

We, in concert with His Majesty the Emperor of Korea, having in view this condition of affairs and being equally persuaded of the necessity of annexing the whole of Korea to the Empire of Japan in response to the actual requirements of the situation, have now arrived at an arrangement for such permanent annexation.

His Majesty the Emperor of Korea and the members of His Imperial House will, notwithstanding the annexation, be accorded due and appropriate treatment. All Koreans, being under Our direct sway, will enjoy growing prosperity and welfare, and with assured repose and security will come a marked expansion in industry and trade. We confidently believe that the new order of things now inaugurated will serve as a fresh guarantee of enduring peace in the Orient.

We order the establishment of the office of Governor-General of Korea. The Governor-General will, under our direction, exercise the command of the army and navy, and a general control over all administrative functions in Korea. We call upon all of Our officials and authorities to fulfil their respective duties in appreciation of Our will, and to conduct the various branches of administration in consonance with the requirements of the occasion, to the end that Our subjects may long enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquillity.

[His IMPERIAL MAJESTY'S SIGN-MANUAL]

[PRIVY SEAL.]

*The 29th day of the 8th month of
the 43rd year of Meiji (1910).*

APPENDIX

C

•The Late Korean Emperor's Rescript on Cession of Sovereignty

(Promulgated on August 29, 1910)

Notwithstanding Our unworthiness We succeeded to a great and arduous task, and from Our accession to the Throne down to the present time We have used Our utmost efforts to follow the modern principles of administration. In view, however, of the long-standing weakness and deep rooted evils, We are convinced that it would be beyond Our power to effect reforms within a measurable length of time. Day and night We have been deeply concerned about it, and have been at a loss to find the means how to rectify the lamentable state of things. Should it be left as it goes on, allowing the situation to assume more serious phase, We fear that We will finally find it impossible to adjust it in any way. Under these circumstances We feel constrained to believe it wise to entrust Our great task to abler hands than Ours, sathat efficient measures may be carried out and satisfactory results obtained therefrom. Having taken the matter into Our serious consideration and firmly believing that this is an opportune time for immediate decision, We have ceded all the rights of sov-

leregnty over Korea to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan in whom we have placed implicit confidence and with whom we have shared joy and sorrow from long time since, in order to consolidate the peace of the Extreme East and ensure the welfare of our people.

You, all the people, are expected not to give yourselves up to commotion, appreciating the present national situation as well as the trend of the times, but to enjoy the happiness and blessings by pursuing your occupations in peace and obeying the enlightened new administration of the Empire of Japan. [We have decided to take this step by no means disregarding your interest but in our eagerness to relieve you of this deplorable situation. We command you, therefore, to take due cognizance of our wishes.

APPENDIX

D

Imperial Rescript Concerning the Reorganization of the Government-General of Chosen

(Promulgated on August 19, 1919)

We have ever made it Our aim to promote the security and welfare of Our territory of Korea, and to extend to the native population of that territory as Our beloved subjects a fair and impartial treatment in all respects, to the end that they may without distinction of persons lead their lives in peace and contentment. We are persuaded that the state of development at which the general situation has now arrived calls for certain reforms in the administrative organization of the Government-General of Korea, and We issue Our Imperial command that such reforms be put into operation. The measures thus taken are solely designed to facilitate the working of administration and to secure good and enlightened government in pursuance of Our settled policy, and in fulfilment of the altered requirements of the country. Specially in view of the termination of the war in Europe and of the rapid changes in the conditions of the world do We consider it highly desirable that every effort should be made for the ad-

vancement of the national resources and the well-being of the people. We call upon all public functionaries concerned to exercise their best endeavors in obedience to Our wishes in order that a benign rule may be assured to Korea, and that the people, diligent and happy in attending to their respective vocations, may enjoy the blessing of peace and contribute to the growing prosperity of the country.

APPENDIX

E

Governor-General's Instruction to High Officials Concerning Administrative Reforms

(Issued on Sept. 3, 1919)

The main policy of the administration of Chosen is clearly embodied in the Imperial rescript issued on the occasion of the annexation of Chosen in 1910. The progress made by Chosen since she was brought under Japanese rule, in education, industry, communications, sanitation, and other directions, has been remarkable, thanks to the efforts of those who have been responsible for the administration of the country. It cannot be denied, however, that during the ten years that have elapsed since the annexation of Chosen the general affairs in the Peninsula have undergone such change that the Government has thought it advisable to frame and promulgate a new organization of the Government-General of Chosen.

The purport of the revised official organization is to enlarge the application of the principle of universal brotherhood, which is the keynote of the Imperial rescript recently issued. The official organization has been altered in such a way that either a civil or military man may be appointed at the head of the administra-

tion in Chosen. The gendarmerie system has been abolished and replaced by the ordinary police system. Further, an improvement has been introduced in the matter of the eligibility for appointment of Koreans as officials. The whole aim and object of the revised organization is, in short, to give more happiness and satisfaction than is the case at present by bringing their treatment socially and politically on the same footing as the Japanese.

I am not well conversant with all the phases of affairs in Chosen and will have to depend on your guidance and suggestions in carrying out the object of the Imperial rescript. At the same time, I would like to call your attention to the following points in regard to the administration of Chosen.

All officials of the Government-General should do their best to discharge their duties in a conscientious and impartial manner, so that the public may be induced to rely on them. All official routine should be simplified and made easier, avoiding red-tape as far as possible. The rights of the people should be respected, and the freedom of press and speech should not be interfered with unless it is distinctly calculated to be inimical to the preservation of peace. Special attention should be paid to the improvement in education, industry, communications, police, sanitation, and social works, as well as in general administrative and judicial matters, so that the welfare of the Koreans may be advanced with the ultimate object of the establishment of local autonomous government.

What is required of the officials who are charged with the administration of Chosen is that they should acquaint themselves with the general trend of ideas among

the Koreans and adopt a method of administration which will be in keeping with the requirements of the times. In other words, efforts should be made so that the political foundations may be placed on a firm, secure basis. The Koreans and Japanese must be treated alike as members of the same family. If the officials in Chosen try to live up to the ideals set forth in the Imperial rescript, there is no doubt that the Koreans will be induced to recognize the benefit of Japanese rule.

APPENDIX

F

Governor-General's Proclamation to the People of Chosen

(Issued on September 10, 1919)

On my assumption of duty as Governor-General, the organization of the Government-General was revised. Accordingly, I desire to address a few words to the people at large.

That the administrative policy of Chosen should be based on the great principle of placing the Japanese and Korean peoples on an equal footing and should aim at promoting their interests and happiness, as well as at securing the permanent peace of the Far East, was determined upon at the very beginning. Those successively charged with the administration of this Peninsula duly appreciated its meaning and strove to improve and develop its people and resources. The people, too, diligently engaged in their business. It is now recognized at home and abroad that the present development of Chosen came as the result of their joint efforts. It goes without saying, however, that all administrative institutions must be planned and executed in conformity with the standard of popular living and the progress of the times, so that appropriate measures may be carried

out and popular desires prevented from taking a wrong course. The times have progressed so much and civilization too that it is difficult to draw a comparison between this and former days. Since the great European War was brought to an end, moreover, the condition of the world and human psychology have undergone a marked change. In deference to this hard fact, His Majesty's Government, through a revision in the Organic Regulations, enlarged the sphere of appointment for the Governor-General, reformed the police system, and made such provision for simplification and prompt transaction of state business and the diffusion of enlightened administration as to bring them in perfect accord with the forward movement of this age. On assuming my present duty by Imperial order I determined in my own mind to pursue faithfully the State policy and vindicate the spirit of annexation. I am determined to superintend officials under my control and encourage them to put forth greater efforts to act in a fairer and juster way, and promote the facilities of the people and the unhindered attainment of the people's desires by dispensing with all formality. Full consideration will be given to the appointment and treatment of Koreans so as to secure the right men for the right places, and what in Korean institutions and old customs is worthy of adoption will be adopted as a means of government. I also hope to introduce reform in the different branches of administrative activity, and to enforce local self-government at the proper opportunity, and thereby ensure stability for the people and enhance their general well-being. It is most desirable that the government and governed throw open their hearts and minds to each other and combine their

efforts to advance civilization in Chosen, solidify its foundation of enlightened government, and thus answer His Majesty's benevolent solicitude. If anybody is found guilty of unwarrantably refractory language or action, of misleading the popular mind, and of impeding the maintenance of public peace, he will be met with relentless justice. May it be that the people at large will place reliance on all this.

September 10, 1919.

BARON MAKOTO SAITO,
Governor-General of Chosen.

APPENDIX

G

Governor-General's Address to Provincial Governors

(Delivered on October 8, 1919)

Gentlemen:—I am very glad to have opportunity at this meeting of Provincial Governors to speak to you of my policy and to listen to your opinions concerning the administration of Chosen.

When I assumed my duty last month, I made up my mind to establish in this country a civilized administration by conforming my policy to the idea of His Majesty that both Koreans and Japanese should be treated as equals. As you are already well aware, I issued some time ago an instruction to all the officials serving in the Government-General and its affiliated offices. Since that time the Government-General itself has been, and is, endeavoring to carry out various important measures. Gentlemen, I do not doubt that you also have carried out or are intending to carry out these reforms, and are leading your subordinates in the same spirit as myself. I earnestly desire you to realize the administrative reforms by entering into the spirit of my instruction more thoroughly than ever. As to concrete plans and measures to be followed for effecting the reforms, the Administrative Superintend-

ent will separately give you instructions. By observing these instructions you are expected to introduce a new spirit and new life into the government of this country and attain good results.

The most important task to be accomplished today is the adjustment and completion of the police organs and the maintenance of public peace and order. However, at this transition time, when the replacement of gendarmes with ordinary police is being effected, it is very difficult to expand the police force. Besides, arrangements for various police organs have not as yet been completed. I can well sympathize with you in your anxiety and trouble, standing, as you do, in this difficult situation, but I ask you to ensure the peace of the localities under your jurisdiction and make the people under your administration repose full confidence in the authorities, by maintaining satisfactory and smooth relations with all the public offices interested in this task, and by checkmating the activities of agitators through taking the best possible measures.

This year's drought in places north of the central part of this Peninsula was so severe as to be unprecedented in recent years. In consequence, in these places only very poor crops have been obtained and many people are suffering from scarcity of food. To study measures for relieving them, a committee has been specially organized and general plans for doing so have been decided on. Gentlemen, you are asked to follow these plans in the main and leave no room for criticism in assuring the sufferers in affected localities of safe living by taking such measures as are appropriate to local conditions.

The world's thoughts and ideas are in an unsettled

state due to the great European War, In these days it is of the utmost importance to restrain our people from resorting to thoughtless and harmful acts, to induce them calmly to pursue their respective occupations, and to allow them freedom to make orderly progress, for all this is the way by which the State can attain a healthy development. Especially is it important in Chosen, where disturbances have broken out One after another since March last, where wild rumors still continue to be in the air, and where the popular mind is still disturbed, to free the people from anxiety and lead them in a right direction.

I hope and desire that, together with your subordinates, you will put forth greater efforts than hitherto to open up a new and happy era in the administration of this Peninsula by adapting your course to the progress of the times.

APPENDIX

H

Administrative Superintendent's Instructions to Provincial Governors
(Delivered on October 3, 1919)

Gentlemen:—With regard to the reform of the administration of Chosen, the Governor-General, on the assumption of his duty, showed in his instruction to the officials of the Government-General and its affiliated offices the fundamental points in his policy. So I trust that you are already endeavoring steadily to put them into practice. I now desire to call your attention to the essential measures, which the Government-General has already carried out since its reorganization or is about to carry out.

In order to realize the Imperial idea of placing Japanese and Koreans on the footing of equality and reap the fruit of fair and enlightened administration by the co-operation of the Government and people, the Government-General has considered it urgently necessary to abolish the discrimination hitherto existing between Japanese and Korean officials in their treatment, and to open the way for the appointment to official posts of men of talent and ability by giving them very good treatment. The Government-General has accordingly decided to make the salaries of Korean officials equal to **those of Japanese officials.** Regulations concerning

this measure will shortly be published. Also, the power of Korean judges and public procurators has been extended to the same degree as that of their Japanese colleagues, while the posts of principals of common schools hitherto exclusively given to Japanese will hereafter be given to Koreans too. For officials in general, in view of the present state of society, the Government is prepared to give them better treatment as far as **its** finances will allow. The Government is also prepared to abolish complicated restrictions concerning appointments, and regulations concerning promotions, so that the right men may be found in the right posts and all officials may serve the State with increased efficiency and in a spirit of fresh vigor.

One way of promoting the welfare of the governed is to eradicate the evil of formality and simplify the transaction of official business. In this respect it is regrettable that there was something needing improvement in the administration of Chosen. In addition, due to the progress of the times and the economic development of the Peninsula, the business of government offices has been rapidly augmenting, strengthening the desire for its prompt handling and settlement. In view of this, the Government has recognized the necessity of speedily introducing improvement in the transaction of official business. To do so, the Government has set aside the principle hitherto pursued of centralizing power in the Government-General in favor of that of distributing it among local offices. In conformity with this idea the Government-General will shortly adjust itself and extend as far as possible the power entrusted to local officials. For instance, the transaction of affairs relating to the appointment of retirement of lower class

officials in local offices and the distribution of bonuses among them, as well as of affairs relating to traveling by subordinates on official business, has already been entrusted to Provincial Governors. Rules relating to the enforcement of the *Myen* (village) system have been revised and nearly all business concerning it has also been transferred to their hands. Further, Provincial Governors have been given the power of appointing Councillors. Besides, it is the intention of the Government-General to empower Prefects and District Magistrates to deal with matters relating to the exemption or reduction of ground-rent for State lands after they have obtained the approval of the Provincial Governor of their localities. The authorities also intend to give District Magistrates certain power to deal with offences relating to the payment of indirect taxes without taking the trouble of obtaining the approval of their superiors to do so. All these measures already taken or about to be taken are aimed at the elimination of red-tapeism, the adjustment of complicated laws and regulations, and the simplification of business transaction, so as to lessen as far as possible the inconvenience felt by the people at large. You are asked, therefore, gentlemen, to appreciate this idea, and, in dealing with affairs coming under your domain, give to them due deliberation and transact them in a spirit of responsibility.

It is essential for a government to establish a thorough understanding between the government and the people governed, and to carry out such administration as is suitable to local conditions. Gentlemen, you should endeavor, by directing your subordinates in a proper way, to make the people under you thoroughly under-

stand the ideas of the Government and appreciate the motives of the law and administrative measures adopted. At the same time you should not neglect to know what the people desire or complain of and inform the Government of what they think. This is a matter, the importance of which is self-evident. Nevertheless, it is an evil common to all ages that this is not well done in practice. Now let us consider how it was in Chosen. As a matter of fact, there was something lacking in this respect. People did not fully understand and appreciate the aims and motives of the laws and regulations enacted, or the spirit of the proclamations and instructions issued. For this reason, in not a few instances the enforcement of administrative measures was much hampered and excited the ill-feeling of the people in general. Gentlemen, it was in order to avoid the repetition of such blunders that the Government-General convened to a meeting here some days ago leading Koreans in the provinces recommended by yourselves, and explained to them the motives and aims of the administrative reforms undertaken. The distribution throughout the country of the Governor-General's proclamation and instruction, the dispatch of a number of high officials to the provinces on a mission of inspection of popular conditions, and the invitation of opinion by the Government from the Central Council, which hitherto existed as a nominal advisory body only—all these were done by the Government with the purpose of realizing the idea mentioned. Gentlemen, I ask you to convey this idea to your subordinates, to guide and help the people under your administration, and to make them thoroughly understand the policy of the Government. I also ask you to learn clearly and fullr

their mental condition and endeavor to take fitting measures to give them satisfaction.

In order to advance the capabilities of the people in the provinces, improve their habits, and enable them to take part in the Government, the Government recognizes the necessity of carrying out a system of local self-government. The Director of the Internal Affairs Bureau is investigating and studying the subject, so that some time in the future the Government will announce a concrete plan thereanent. You are requested to submit to me your views, if you have any, without the least reservation.

The police system has been reformed with the reorganization of the Government-General, the police and gendarmes being now separated, each having its own proper duties. The police power is now in your hands. Accordingly you must remember that you have now greater responsibility than hitherto in maintaining peace and order in the localities under your jurisdiction. I desire that, by encouraging your subordinates, you will achieve great improvement in the administration of police affairs. The police being in direct contact with the people, and having as their duty their protection and control, their acts and behavior not only concern the interests of the people to a large extent, but often become the cause of criticism against the Government-General regime. I desire you, gentlemen, to be careful in the direction of the police officers under you, so that they may commit no blunders but uphold their prestige.

The popular mind is still disturbed in Chosen and it is not impossible that the situation may take on a serious aspect. Taking advantage of this state of things,

wicked men are secretly at work endeavoring to incite the masses and disturb the order of society by spreading wild and seditious rumors. In consequence, law-abiding people are menaced in regard to life and property, suffering therefrom much loss. Gentlemen, you should exercise strict control over those wicked men, and endeavor to free peaceful people from the fear of groundless rumors, give them assurance of the security of life and property, and set the popular mind at ease.

With regard to the control of disturbances and similar occurrences, you should try to use the police organs to the best advantage, and, by paying the most circumspect attention, should try to prevent such from taking place. You should, however, be fully prepared promptly to suppress any untoward occurrence that may take place.

It is necessary to extend medical and sanitary organs and to complete their equipments in order to prevent the outbreak of epidemics and to give people suffering from diseases prompt and efficient medical attention. It is a measure calculated to give assurance to the popular mind. In this branch of the Government work, thanks to the splendid efforts put forth by our predecessors, some excellent arrangements have already been made in this country, there being in existence nineteen charity hospitals and more than one hundred public doctors. Nevertheless, in consideration of the progress of the times, the Government has recognized the necessity of introducing improvement in the work as far as its finances allow. The authorities are now deliberating plans to establish more charity hospitals, appoint more public doctors, and increase the force of sanitary experts attached to provincial governments. You are

asked to enter into this idea of the Government and leave no room for criticism in promoting the hygienic welfare of the general public and spreading the benefit of medical relief.

The method of punishment by flogging has long been practised in Chosen and was considered a measure suitable to the standard of the people as a preventive of minor offences. So the Government has continued it against Koreans only. It is, however, a method of punishment at variance with the modern idea aiming at the reformation of erring people. For this reason, the Government will shortly abolish it, substituting for it imprisonment with labor or fines, so as to conform to the progress of the times.

The Government-General since its establishment has earnestly encouraged industry in this country with the result that a fine development has been attained. The development of industry is to be achieved on the basis of experience as well as of manners and customs. Its pace should not be forcibly accelerated by the launching of novel ventures or by the introduction of sudden changes. So, in improving industrial undertakings and institutions already under way, you should be very careful in selecting what is good and rejecting what is bad, so as to assure their healthy progress.

Education is the means by which the human intellect is developed and a virtuous character built up. In view of the present condition of this country, the Government recognizes the urgent necessity of spreading education among the people by advancing the standard of educational organs and enriching their equipment. Accordingly, the Government is now deliberating plans for the extension of the school course for Korean chil-

dren, improvement of school curriculums, increase in schools, and the establishment of new organs for higher education, as well as the improvement of those already existing. But no good result in education can be achieved through the completion of its system and arrangement, unless it is reformed and improved in spirit and conduct. I desire you, gentlemen, to be very careful in the selection and superintendence of teachers, and to endeavor to improve the method of teaching.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the knowledge of the Korean language is very important to officials in discharging their duties. Accordingly, in order to encourage the study of the language by them, the Government-General intends to find a way for granting special liberal allowances to those mastering it. Especially great is the importance of the mastery of the language by police officers and officials serving in provincial governments, as they daily come in contact with the Korean people. I ask you to communicate this idea of the Government to your subordinates and induce them to take up the study of Korean in earnest.

With regard to the maintenance of official discipline, the preceding heads of the Government-General frequently issued instructions, so that I do not doubt that you are always paying due attention to the subject. I see, however, that the morality of society is very loose of late, and there is a tendency for its bad effects to appear among Government officials in general. I regret that I frequently hear of various unpleasant affairs taking place among them. I ask you to drive home in the minds of officials under you that they are expected to be examples for the people at large and to maintain the dignity and prestige due to their positions.

Since my arrival here, I have been working hard, together with gentlemen under me, with a view to obtaining some good results from the new regime. It is, however, less than two months since it was inaugurated. The new policy of the Governor-General is not as yet thoroughly realized, and those measures already taken for its realization have not as yet borne fruit. All this I regret very much, but I shall continue to put forth my best efforts in the discharge of my duty with the purpose of bringing into the administration of this country a new and happy feature. Gentlemen, I beseech you to remember the great responsibility reposed in you, to appreciate the motives and ideas of the new regime, and to discharge your duty with courage and without flinching. The administrative reform we have taken up, however, must be preceded by circumspect deliberation and study, as well as by the amendment of existing institutions. In addition, funds must be provided. Unless we are given time, it is impossible for us to achieve our desired end. Together with you I wish to go on our work slowly but steadily, thinking deeply of the present and the future. Above all, I am determined not to be swayed by the superficial criticism of the public, and not to be too hasty in endeavoring to reap the fruit of our labor, so that we may not commit blunders by acting thoughtlessly. Gentlemen, many of you have lived long in Chosen and are well versed in affairs and in the conditions in your localities. I desire you to take the present opportunity to submit to me your views without the least reservation, and thereby contribute to the reform of the administration of this country.

APPENDIX

I

Rules for Teachers-

(Notification No. 11, January 4, 1916)

I. The fostering of loyalty and filial piety shall be made the radical principle of education, and the cultivation of moral sentiments shall be given special attention. Loyalty and filial piety form the basis of moral principle and are the natural sentiments of subjects and sons. Acting on this basic principle and natural sentiment, the actions of all will be restrained within the bounds of propriety. It is only what may be expected of a loyal and dutiful man, who knows what is demanded of a subject and a son that he should be faithful to his duties, and manage his household with thrift and diligence, thus enabling him to establish himself in society, succeed in business, and contribute to the enhancement of the prosperity of the country. It is, therefore, required of persons in education that they train the moral sentiments of their pupils on the basis of loyalty and filial piety, so that they may grow up imbued with the desire and power to meet the requirements of their country.

II. Practical use shall be made the aim in imparting knowledge and art. The object of education is to raise up practical men able to meet the requirements of the

State. How can it be expected that a man will establish himself and succeed in business, thus advancing the national interests, and do that which the State requires of him, if he gives himself to vain argument and becomes thereby of little use to the world, or if he is averse to industry and labor and neglects the practice thereof? It is therefore, required of persons engaged in education that they pay their primary attention to the principle of utilization of knowledge, the promotion of the national welfare, and to the imparting of useful knowledge, so that practical persons to meet the national requirements will be found to be the rule, not the exception, in the Empire.

III. Robust physical development shall be striven for. Robust physical development is necessary in order to carry through undertakings, while the development of the national strength also depends much upon the exertions of the people constituting the country. How can it be expected of a person of weak physique and unfit for work, to get along in the world, carry on business, and thereby contribute to the development of the country? It is, therefore, required of persons engaged in education always to bear this in mind, so that their pupils may be brought up strong and healthy.

The above-mentioned three items are the essential principles of education. The fate of a country depends upon the quality of the people constituting it; and the quality of the people depends upon the morality, ability, and physique possessed by them. Whether the education being given is elementary or higher, common or special, persons engaging in it shall always bear these principles in mind, and give their whole energy to the realization of them, so that the object of education may

be attained. With regard to the ways and means by which these principles are to be realized: special attention shall be paid to the following nine rules:

(1) Education shall be adapted to the characteristics of the pupils and to the circumstances in which they are placed. It is necessary for teachers to make themselves acquainted with the characteristics of their pupils and with the circumstances in which they are placed, so that they may give suitable education adapted thereto. Education desultorily given without first studying such characteristics and circumstances, will not only fall short of attaining its object, but sometimes may even prove harmful. It is, therefore, required of teachers that they make themselves well acquainted with the age, physique, disposition and habits of the pupils under them, thereby deriving suggestions as to the method of imparting education to them. Besides the disposition and circumstances of the pupils, teachers shall also make themselves acquainted with their individual personality, so that they may give to each the education exactly needed by them, just as a physician gives his patients those medicines required for curing their disease. Education limited to classrooms, where it is given in common, neglecting the special direction and assistance required by pupils, whether in common or individually, leaves much to be desired.

(2) Education shall aim at adapting itself to the needs of the times and to the conditions of the people. The object of education is not to be attained by being restrained within conventional forms, or given in a careless manner. Teachers are, therefore, required first to lay down established plans and arrangements with regard to the training of their pupils, whether moral,

intellectual, or physical, so that nothing is left undone in devising methods of education.

(3) Instruction shall be given so that the national characteristics are fostered. In imparting education, the developing of the national characteristics shall be made the object, and the cultivation of virtue be striven for, by paying special attention to instruction given. Not to mention hours for lessons, or for practical training, every opportunity that may present itself shall be seized by teachers to give their pupils suitable instruction, so that pupils may be brought up to behave themselves leniently towards others, but strictly towards themselves, to value order and to observe discipline, to be thrifty and industrious, and honest and trustworthy. In this way, these qualities may become their second nature, so that when grown up they may discharge in full their duties as people of the Empire.

(4) Education given shall be uniform in system, and practice shall be repeated, so that pupils may grasp what they have learned. In order to make secure the efforts of teaching, the object of each lesson shall be made clear, a system followed, and proper order observed. At the same time, care must be taken to establish connection and unity between the lessons, so that each shall be dependent on, and not counteract the other. In case different teachers give different branches of a lesson, attention shall be especially given to this point, and conference between them held, so that connection is established between them, and the pupils enabled to receive thoroughly connected teaching. It shall not be the aim to impart a great deal of knowledge or art, as it is essential that the pupils be made fully to understand and make their own that which they are

taught. It is, therefore, required that they be given as ample opportunity as possible for repetition of, and exercise in, what they are taught. In this way, it is hoped the knowledge imparted to them may be firmly implanted in their minds, a perfect system established, and free use of that knowledge made by the pupils with promptitude.

(5) Education shall be given so as to arouse the interest of pupils in their studies and thus induce in them the habit of voluntarily pursuing them. On the occasion of giving a lesson, it is necessary to use suitable methods, so that pupils may be interested, and brought thoroughly to understand what they are taught, and thus be led to enjoy their studies. In teaching, pupils shall not only have knowledge and art imparted to them, but they shall also be taught the method of study. Besides, in teaching the practical side of subjects, endeavor shall be made to induce pupils to feel an interest in it and to pursue it with pleasure, so that they may acquire the habit of industry and the taste for labor. In this way, it is hoped from the oversight of teachers, they will not lapse into idleness, but keep up the habit of self-training and push onward in their calling.

(6) Attention shall be paid to physical development, and along with gymnastics suitable athletic sports shall be encouraged. It is necessary for a person to have a strong physique in order to get on in the world and succeed in business. Gymnastics well adapted to the stages of physical development shall, therefore, be practised, and exercises or pastimes for the seasons and locality encouraged, so that the body of the pupils may be hardened, their mental strength invigorated and they

may be the possessors of physique able to stand the changes of the seasons, and rise superior to the hardships they may experience. It shall also be an object to induce pupils to volunteer for physical training, not only during their school life, but also after that is over, so that their physique may continually develop.

(7) Teachers shall exhibit to their pupils love and dignity, and make themselves models for them. Dignity is necessary for a teacher in facing his pupils, because with it he is able to give life to his teaching and training, and thereby attain the objects of education. At the same time there must be warm love and deep affection to enable teachers to maintain friendly relations with their pupils, and thus exercise sufficient influence over them and bring them up satisfactorily. What they desire of their pupils, teachers shall show by their own example and by acting up to their words will make themselves fit models for imitation.

(8) Teachers shall have a firm purpose, and always strive after mental cultivation. Education does not look for immediate results, as its aim is far-reaching. Teachers shall, therefore, regard education as an honorable profession, and become firmly attached to it, so that they may strive always for its final aim and be ready to die, if needed, martyrs for that profession. Teachers shall also endeavor to comprehend the seriousness of their duties, so that they may experience a sense of failure if they find the culture possessed by them falling short of their high calling, and they will be urged thereby to faithful prosecution of their studies and to the proper application of experience, and to strive for the expansion of their acquirements, and so to attain the desired improvement and progress in

themselves and the faithful execution of the duties expected of them.

(9) Teachers shall be ready to keep on friendly terms with one another, and, further, to extend their friendship to elders of the local community, so that they may exert a good influence over them. Education is closely related to social matters, so that it is difficult to attain its objects by school education alone. It, therefore, follows that teachers must keep on friendly terms with one another, and advise each other with will, so that all may be kept from swerving from the path of duty, a good *esprit de corps* established among the schools, and pupils surrounded with the best possible influence. They shall also keep on good terms with elders of the local community, and acting, in concert with them, endeavor to accomplish the object of education. At the same time, they shall keep in view the fact that they are leaders of the community, and so endeavor to influence and reform it.

In short, teachers shall thoroughly master the fundamental principles of the education of the Empire, and endeavor to bring that education into realization, putting forth their strength in all sincerity, and by gaining the fruitful result of education contribute to the desired development of the Empire. All conduct in life is to be based on sincerity and endeavor. It is only by acting with sincerity and endeavor that pupils can be trained to be loyal, and the Imperial behest be obeyed. With regard to education in Chosen, I, the Governor-General, depend greatly upon those in responsible positions, and so lay down herewith the daily rules for teachers, so that what is desired of them shall be quite clearly set out before them.

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GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE NAMES

Japanese Korean Japanese Korean

Provinces

<i>ChUsei-do</i>	<i>Chyung-chyong-dd</i>
<i>Heian-do</i>	<i>Pyong-an</i> "
<i>Keiki-do</i>	<i>Kyong-geui</i> "
<i>Keisho-do</i>	<i>Kyongsang</i> "
<i>Kogen-do</i>	<i>Kang-uon</i> "
<i>Kdkai-do</i>	<i>Hoang-hai</i> "
<i>Kanky-d-do</i>	<i>Ham-gyong</i> "
<i>Zenra do</i>	<i>Chyol-la</i> "

<i>Basan</i>	<i>Masan</i>
<i>Moppo</i>	<i>Mokpo</i>
<i>Seishin</i>	<i>Chyong-jin</i>
<i>Shin-gishU</i>	<i>Shin-wijyu</i>
<i>Toei</i>	<i>Tongyeng</i>

Principal Mountains

<i>Chdhakusan</i>	<i>Chyang-paiksansan</i>
<i>Shohaku-san</i>	<i>Syo-paiksansan</i>
<i>Taihaku-san</i>	<i>Tai-paik-san</i>

Provincial Capitals

<i>Gishu</i>	<i>Wi-jyu</i> ..
<i>Heijd</i>	<i>Pyong-yang</i>
<i>KaishU</i>	<i>Hai-jyu</i>
<i>Kankd</i>	<i>Ham-heung</i>
<i>Keijo</i>	<i>Kyong-song</i> (<i>Seoul</i>)
<i>Kwoshti</i>	<i>Kwang-jyu</i>
<i>Koshu</i>	<i>Kong-jyu</i>
<i>Ranan</i>	<i>La-nam</i>
<i>SeishU</i>	<i>Chyong-jyu</i>
<i>Shinshu</i>	<i>Chin-jyu</i>
<i>Shunaen</i>	<i>Chyung-chyon</i>
<i>Taikyu</i>	<i>Tai-ku</i>
<i>Zenshu</i>	<i>Chyon-jyu</i>

Principal Rivers

<i>Daido-ko</i>	<i>Tai-dong-gang</i>
<i>Kan-ko</i>	<i>Han-gang</i>
<i>Kin-ko</i>	<i>Keum-gang</i>
<i>Oryokvrko</i>	<i>Am-nok-kang</i> (<i>Yalu</i>)
<i>Rakuto-ko</i>	<i>Nak-tong-gang</i>
<i>Toman-ko</i>	<i>Tuman-gang</i> (<i>Tumen</i>)

Principal Islands

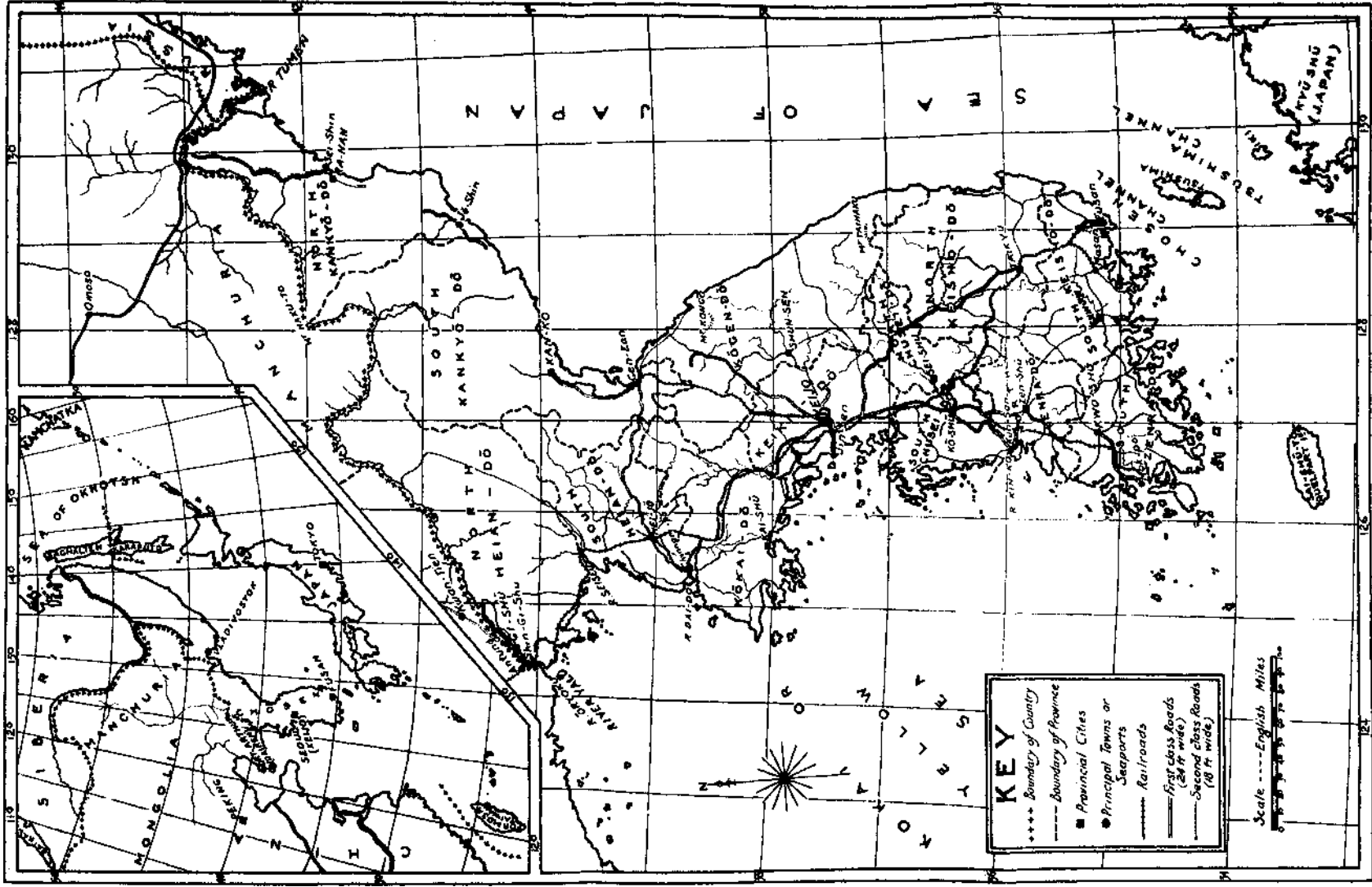
<i>Kyosai</i>	<i>Ko-jyei</i>
<i>SaishiZ</i>	<i>Chyei-jyu</i> (<i>Quelpart</i>)
<i>Utsuryd</i>	<i>Ulrleung</i>

Principal Seaports

<i>Chinnampo</i>	<i>Chinnampo</i>
<i>Fusan</i>	<i>Pusan</i>
<i>Gensan</i>	<i>Won-san</i>
<i>Jinsen</i>	<i>In-chyong</i> (<i>Chemulpo</i>)
<i>Joshin</i>	<i>Song-jin</i>
<i>Kunsan</i>	<i>Kunsan</i>

Principal Bays

<i>Chinkai</i>	<i>Chin-hai</i>
<i>Koryo</i>	<i>Kwang-nyang</i>
<i>Yeiko</i>	<i>Yong-heung</i>



KEY

- ++++ Boundary of County
- Boundary of Province
- Provincial Cities
- Principal Towns or Seaports
- Railroads
- ==== First class Roads (24 ft wide)
- Second class Roads (18 ft wide)

Scale ----- English Miles
 0 10 20 30 40 50

MAP OF KOREA (CHOSEN)

