

On the Hosokawa Farm and the History of Daejangchon, a Japanese-Style Village in Colonial Korea: *Dilemmas in Rural Development*

MATSUMOTO Takenori and CHUNG Seung-jin

Abstract

Daejangchon, a village community of Japanese immigrants in colonial Korea, was unique in that it was built in rural area, unlike other Japanese communities in Korea which were typically built near cities. The large-scale development projects of the Japanese colonizers, such as Hosokawa Farm in Daejangchon, transformed a small village into a modern "town." The radical changes brought to Daejangchon by development resulted in alienation from surrounding villages. The failure of Daejangchon to promote substantial growth for Korean peasants made clear the failure of naisen ittai (Japan and Korea as one body), the professed assimilation policy of Japan. The rapid decline of Daejangchon after liberation proved that the colonial development did not encourage substantial progress in conditions for local Koreans and was unwelcomed by the locals.

Keywords: Daejangchon, Hosokawa Farm, immigrant community, dilemma of development

MATSUMOTO Takenori is a professor in the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at the University of Tokyo. He received his Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics from the University of Tokyo in 1988. E-mail: amat@mail.ecc.u-tokyo.ac.jp.

CHUNG Seung-Jin (corresponding author) is a HK professor in the Institute of Rice, Life & Civilization at Chonbuk National University. He received his Ph.D. in Economics from Sungkyun-kwan University in 2002. E-mail: seungjinch@hotmail.com.

Introduction

Despite its colonial experiences and divided status in the twentieth century, Korea's economic development has been impressive compared to other third-world nations. Nonetheless, the image of backwardness in rural villages still lingers. The "big-push" of heavy and chemical industries in the 1960s and 1970s further widened the socioeconomic gap between industry and agriculture and between cities and villages (Kim 1993). Korean villages are not free from the image of stagnation, even though they underwent such modern transformations as the Green Revolution and the New Village Movement (Saemaoul Undong) in the 1970s (Sorensen 1988). This is a challenging question that demands deep economic and cultural studies about Korean village communities and their agrarian economy. This paper uses historical and interregional perspectives,¹ departing from the conventional perspectives that emphasize the role of the Japanese colonial regime either in exploiting or modernizing Korean villages and agriculture (Shin and Robinson 1999).

During Japanese colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century, a massive agricultural investment and village improvement project named "Plan for Increasing Rice Production" (1920-1934) was carried out by the colonial state. As colonial modernization theorists argue, this helped lay a foundation for further development of Korean villages after liberation from colonial rule in 1945 (Myers and Peattie 1984; Ahn 2001). However, many contemporary observations of Korean villages were hardly optimistic, and a majority of peasants

1. The concept of interregional relation derives from Eric Wolf's (1966) "part society" discourse, but it considers some unique aspects of Korean villages. Korean villages in general were not totally identical with the closed "corporate community" found in Meso America and Java because of their regional relations with neighboring core cities or towns. This "semi corporate community" of Korean villages requires interregional relations with neighboring towns. This was in contrast to the autonomous village (*mura*) communities of Japan (Matsumoto and Chung 2008; Chung 2008). For the regional relationship in economics, see Fujita and Krugman (1999, chap. II).

languished under heavy debts, in spite of the publicized achievements of the plan (Kang 1995; Choi 1975). Moreover, this dismal perception of Korean villages carried over into the postliberation era of sociopolitical reforms and economic development.

Unlike its Western counterparts, Japanese imperialism adopted policies of direct rule and assimilation, and encouraged Japanese immigration to Korea, even to rural areas. Under the slogan of *naisen ittai* (Japan and Korea as one body) or *naisen yuwa* (integration of Japan and Korea), the colonial government attempted to bring stability to society by incorporating Japanese settlers and Korean peasants (Miyata 1985; Lee 2007). The contradictory effects of these colonial projects of Japan will be described later in this paper.

In the Japanese-style village of Daejangchon, local development projects entailed ever-widening economic and cultural gaps between the Japanese settlements and Korean farming villages. This developmental dilemma was responsible not only for ethnic discrimination, but also for the socioeconomic gap between the two communities.² The socioeconomic gap, moreover, led to a duality in Korean communities, where class and cultural divisions became more and more prominent.³ Over time, the Daejangchon stood in isolation as a colonial model town from surrounding traditional Korean villages.

Landscape of Daejangchon in the Colonial Era

Daejangchon used to be an idyllic agricultural village, located near the Mangyeonggang river that flows through the Honam plain (Jeol-

2. In explaining duality in Korean villages, we use the term, “gap” in much more neutral sense than “discrimination.” The upper-class Koreans supporting colonial policies shared much in their behavioral pattern with Japanese colonizers than with lower-class Koreans. Modern Japanese villages also saw class division, but it did not entail a duality problem in ethnic identity. See Matsumoto and Chung (2008); Matsumoto (2005); Saito (1989).

3. For more on the dual nature of cities in colonial Korea, see “Colonial Modernity and the Making of Modern Korean Cities” in *Korea Journal* 48.3 (autumn 2008).

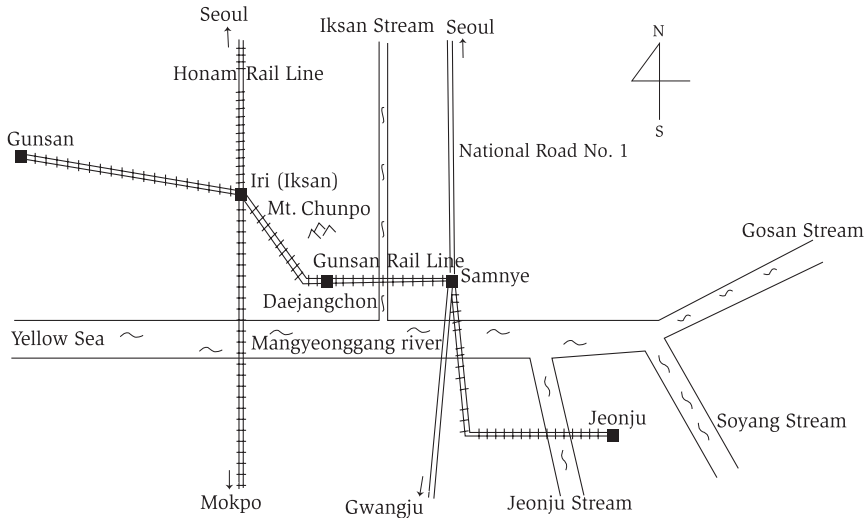
labuk-do province), one of the largest rice-cultivating areas in Korea.⁴ The Japanese invested a great deal in this rich paddy area, and built an extensive system of irrigation in the early colonial period. Due to these geographical and economic advantages, Daejangchon was chosen as the location for an enclave of Japanese amid Korean villages. Daejangchon was centered around the rice growing area, in which a population of Japanese landlords, who ran farms using Korean tenant labor. Moreover, nearby colonial cities like Gunsan and Iri thrived on rice exports and processing, an important point of attraction for the Japanese landlords who intended to invest in rice production in Korea.

The “*chon*” in Daejangchon means a Japanese-style village (*mura*), the lowest unit in local administration, typically consisting of three to four hamlets.⁵ “Daejang” means a large field or market. The growth of Daejangchon had a great deal to do with the settlement and creation of a large farm owned by a renowned Japanese landlord, Marquis Hosokawa.⁶ He was a descendant of a feudal lord in Kumamoto, Kyushu, before Meiji Restoration. This village community of Japanese immigrants was somewhat unique in that it was built in rural area, unlike other typical Japanese communities which were located at ports, provincial capitals, or administrative and economic centers in Korea (Son 1996; Park 2008).

As seen in Map 1, Daejangchon enjoyed access to a variety of nearby cities; residents had easy access to the port at Gunsan, the provincial capital of Jeonju, the newer development of Iri, and easy transportation through the Samnye region. Also, Daejangchon had

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4. For more on the development of colonial landlord system and commercial agriculture in southern Korea, see Shin (1996).
 5. Daejangchon in Japanese pronunciation is *oobamura* (おおぼむら) (Yamashita S. 1927, 139).
 6. For more on the Hosokawa Farm in Japan, see Senda (1987). Created in 1904, the Hosokawa Farm consisted of 1,008 *chō* (町) of land in Daejangchon, Gimje, and Mangyeong as of 1908. By 1919, these possessions had increased to 1,414 *chō*, including 1,237 *chō* of wetlands (KREI 1985, 217; Chung and Matsumoto 2005, 250).

Map 1. Location of Daejangchon in Honam Plain



several geographic advantages suited to rice farming, as Iksan stream, a tributary of the Mangyeonggang river passed through the vast plain, enriching the plain with alluvial soils. Initially, Daejangchon was not an important village in the area, while nearby Insu-ri was the subcounty seat and Ssangjeong-ri was much older and more established. Daejangchon was one of a number of new “reclamation villages” dotting the Mangyeonggang river (Nam-Goong 1990). Daejangchon emerged as a center of Japanese agricultural activities early in colonial rule, and by 1921 it became the new subcounty seat, replacing Insu-ri (Kihara 1928, 374).

The important agricultural developments of the colonial period included the founding of the Jeonik Irrigation Association in 1910, construction of railroads and roads in the early 1910s, and in particular, the development projects along the Mangyeonggang river in the mid-1920s. In the late 1930s, the completed rearrangement of paddy plots gave the landscape of Daejangchon a shape much the same as what it is today. The Hosokawa family was deeply involved with

these local development projects, as will be seen later. In tandem with the booming regional development, regular markets promoted commercial activities in both modern and commercial centers, like Iri and Samnye, the latter being a more frequent contact point between Japanese and Korean peasants in Daejangchon.⁷ With permanent shops in place from the 1920s, Daejangchon emerged as a Japanese-style town (*eup* in Korean; *machi* in Japanese).

As the development of Daejangchon accelerated, the socio-economic gap widened between Daejangchon and its peripheral Korean villages, and between the Japanese and Koreans within Daejangchon. Thus, the “horizontal” (i.e., lateral) relation did not take place at Daejangchon or its neighbor villages. Rather, the development of Daejangchon sped up its “vertical” (i.e., hierarchical) relationship with such cities as Iri and Gunsan in the movement of capital goods and labor (Chung 2008; Fujita and Krugman 1999, chap. II). As a Japanese enclave in colonial Korea, it bore resemblance to a Japanese *mura* (village) community and part of Japanese community improvement projected in Korea.⁸ Daejangchon could not present the openness of new cities like Iri and Gunsan to their neighboring villages, even though the Daejangchon project intended to foster “horizontal” relation. This is a great irony that the colonial development ushered into Daejangchon.

Development of the Transportation Systems and the Emergence of Daejangchon

In the first half of the twentieth century, Korea had the second highest proportion of colonialists to native population, second only to France’s colony of Algeria. By the end of colonial rule in 1945, the Japanese population had reached one million, comprised of some

7. Field interview with village residents conducted on August 18-20, 2002.

8. As for rural improvement movement in 1900s Japan, see Pyle (1973). For the movement in the 1930s in Korea, see Ji (1984); Yun (2004).

300,000 soldiers and 700,000 civilians, the majority residing in cities. In 1935, the percentage of Japanese in the overall population reached 30 percent (113,321) in Seoul, 30 percent (56,512) in Busan, and 25 percent in Daegu and Gunsan (GGK 1935, 22-30; Uchida 2008, 16). Uchida Jun's study shows that Korean cities with high concentrations of Japanese immigrants were reorganized into "multiethnic societies" consisting of Korean, Japanese, and other minorities.

The port city of Gunsan, whose hinterland formed the vast grain basket of Jeolla-do Province, had 2,370 Japanese households (27.5 percent) out of a total of 8,616 in 1934.⁹ On the other hand, Iksan county, including Daejangchon, had 1,344 Japanese and 25,026 Korean households, and 5,206 Japanese versus 128,108 Korean individuals in 1927, and thus a much lower proportion of Japanese natives compared to Gunsan. Of those Japanese households, a majority resided in the town of Iri, some in Daejangchon, and a few more in neighboring villages. Chunpo-myeon, which included Daejangchon and eleven other villages, had 41 Japanese households versus 1,844 Korean for a total of 176 Japanese and 9,819 Korean individuals. This shows there was a small population of Japanese in the area, but with a remarkable concentration at Daejangchon (see Table 1). In terms of Japanese ascendancy, Chunpo-myeon was a remarkable and unusual immigrant society within Korea. In 1927, out of the total land tax revenue of Chunpo-myeon (20,990 yen), more than half (11,691 yen) was paid by the Japanese.¹⁰

The development of Daejangchon had much to do with the growth of the port city of Gunsan and the newly developed town of Iri. Located at the railway link connecting the old city of Jeonju and the new cities of Gunsan and Iri, Daejangchon had deep interregional connections with neighboring cities. This was particularly important

9. Koreans comprised 6,141 households and other foreigners comprised 105 households (Gunsan City 1935, 19).

10. Iksan was famous for the rice basket where Japanese landlords accumulated the vast tract of the paddy field (Kihara 1928, 35-36). Out of Iksan's land tax revenue of 199,974 yen in 1927, 74,164 yen (37%) was paid by the Japanese landowners.

because of a developmental boom in Japanese immigrant communities when the branch railway (later called the Gunsan Line) and other roads were built.

In 1915, the town of Iri consisted of 551 Japanese, 278 Korean, and eight minority households, with Japanese accounting for 66.5 percent of the whole population. Within five years of annexation, Japanese immigrants doubled in number. One Japanese observer was much impressed by “an unprecedented creation of Japanese-style cityscape within such a short span of time” (Yamashita H. 1915, 7-8). Most Japanese immigrants came from Kumamoto and Yamaguchi prefectures in the western part of Japan and were engaged in railway works, services, farming, and trade at the new settlements in Korea.

Zensho Eitsuke introduced Daejangchon and the town of Iri as one pattern of Japanese settlements that thrived along the railway line (Zensho 1933, 307-309). According to his investigation, Daejangchon as an administrative village in the early 1930s consisted of four hamlets: Daejangchon as a hamlet with 58 households composed of 233 individuals, Sinwol-ri with 26 households of 104 individuals, Gudam-ri with 24 households of 100 individuals, and Supyeong-ri with 25 households of 115 individuals. Chunpo-myeon in 1927 had

Table 1. Household Proportions in Daejangchon

Region (Year)	Japanese	Korean	Total
Gunsan City (1934)	2,370 (27.5%)	6,246 (72.5%)	8,616 (100.0%)
Iksan-gun (1927)	1,344 (5.1%)	25,026 (94.9%)	26,370 (100.0%)
Chunpo-myeon (1927)	41 (2.2%)	1,844 (97.8%)	1,885 (100.0%)
Iri-eup (1915)	551 (66.5%)	278 (33.2%)	837 (100.0%)
Daejangchon - A (1930)	41 (70.7%)	17 (29.3%)	58 (100.0%)
Daejangchon - B (1930)	41 (30.6%)	93 (69.4%)	134 (100.0%)

Resources: Yamashita H. (1915); Yamashita S. (1927); Zensho (1933); Gunsan City (1935).

Remark: Daejangchon-A is for a hamlet, while Daejangchon-B is the administrative village.

41 Japanese households in Daejangchon,¹¹ giving it a high concentration of Japanese residents (70.7 percent). Daejangchon was comparable in terms of ethnic composition to the newer town of Iri where Japanese immigrants outnumbered native Koreans (see Table 1).

The Japanese community at Daejangchon was more stable by the early 1930s than in the 1910s. The Daejangchon in 1915 was acknowledged as a Japanese-style “model town” by the Government-General of Korea (GGK). One GGK report records a total of 65 Japanese immigrant households settling at Hosokawa Farm between 1906 and 1915. A majority of them (53 households, 81.5 percent) came from the Hosokawa’s homeland of Kumamoto prefecture in Kyushu. The Japanese tenants on the farm were required “to be sincere, to have an extended period of farming experience, and to bring family members.”¹² In return, the Japanese tenants benefited from low-rent land and housing, as well as access to a police box, elementary school, post office, Shinto shrine, doctor, and midwife at Daejangchon.

Interestingly, this report carries a “behavior code” for the tenants in addition to the “tenant contract.” The code encouraged them, apart from usual agricultural guidelines, to keep reciprocal village practices (i.e., paternalistic customs), to behave as a model for Koreans, and to maintain peaceful relation with Koreans. The code indicated that the Hosokawa family acted like feudalistic rulers, transcending the position of mere collector of rent.¹³ The Hosokawas held to reciprocal paternalism and collective subsistence ethics in their relation with the tenants.¹⁴ In light of the modest progress of the Japanese immigration project in Korean countryside (Lee 2007, 61-63), Daejangchon was

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11. It is because other three hamlets in Chunpo *myeon* lacked Japanese community like Daejangchon (Yamashita S. 1927).
 12. The Hosokawa Farm was awarded a silver medal by the GGK for its outstanding achievements in recruiting and supervising immigrants (Ohashi 1915, 822-824).
 13. The Hosokawa Farm in Korea followed the same example as their farm in Kyushu, however the Kyushu Farm lacked such codes as “maintain peaceful relation with Koreans” (Senda 1987).
 14. For more information on paternalism between landlord and peasants in agricultural villages in Southeast Asia, see Scott (1976).

considered a rare success. Though the Japanese community in Daejangchon shrank to 40 households or so in the early 1930s, the Japanese tenants were depicted as diligently engaging in farming with fertilizer, and raising silkworms, thus “enjoying economic affluence beyond their fellows in Japan” (Ohashi 1915, 823). Given that Japanese immigrants were able to enjoy various everyday and cultural conveniences in Daejangchon, they might have been much better off than ordinary Korean peasants.

The Iri station was established as the terminal station of the Honam and Gunsan lines, both of which belonged to the Chōsen Railway Bureau under the colonial government. The Daejangchon station connecting Iri and Jeonju was built and owned by the private Jeonbuk Light Railway Company that was established in 1914. The biggest stockholders of the company were Hosokawa Farm, and Tozan-noji Farm of the Iwasaki family of the Mitsubishi *zaibatsu*, who had purchased a vast tract of more than 1,000 *chō* (i.e., one hectare) in the area. Bak Gi-sun, a well-known Korean landlord in Jeonju, joined the administration of the company as well (Chung and Matsumoto 2005, 258-259). This Jeonbuk Light Railway Company and its Daejangchon station represented a common interest between large-scale Korean landlords and Hosokawa Farm which had been anxious to reduce the transportation cost of rice produced by their farms. In 1927, the company was consolidated into the Chōsen Railway Bureau, and subsequently improved the railway track to standard gauge.

Hosokawa Farm sold most of the rice collected as rent at the Osaka market in Japan, and the rest at local markets in Daejangchon, Iri, and Gunsan. Hosokawa Farm owned warehouses in the Gunsan port. They shipped the rice through Daejangchon and Iri to the Gunsan port by rail, then shipped it to Osaka by sea. Hosokawa Farm took full advantage of their status as a large-scale dealer, and transacted directly with the huge markets of the Japanese metropolises, made possible by the development of railway networks.

Table 2 shows the weight of commodities both outgoing and incoming at Iri, Daejangchon, and Samnye stations in 1928. At all

Table 2. Dealt Commodities at Iri, Daejangchon, and Samnye Station in 1928

Total	Iri station		Daejangchon station		Samnye station		(unit: ton)	
	Commodities	Arrival	Commodities	Arrival	Commodities	Arrival		
(a)		33,284		2,374		15,776	6,837	
Representative commodities	Rice	9,305	Gravel	2,313	Rice	11,509	Fertilizer	1,056
	Gravel	6,982	Coal	31	Corn	2,345	Salt	996
	Coal	6,888	Fertilizer	11	Wood	1,104	Rice	934
(b)		69.6%		99.2%		94.8%	43.7%	
	b/a							
Number of dealt items		46	48	9	28	23	40	

Source: Government General of Korea (1928).

Note: Fifty two commodities were dealt in total.

three stations, rice was the biggest outgoing commodity. Nevertheless, the Daejangchon station had peculiar characteristics that set it apart from the other two stations. First, the number of transported commodities was smaller. Second, the weight of the top three commodities was proportionately much heavier (see “b/a”). Third, the top three commodities arriving were materials for construction, while those of the other two stations included such consumption goods as salt, rice, and fertilizers. In other words, this cargo pattern indicates not only the priority of rice production in Daejangchon but also the weakness in the consumer market.

In 1909, Hosokawa Farm contributed 6,000 yen to GGK; namely, the total building cost of the suspension bridge connecting Daejangchon to Jeonju on the opposite side of Mangyeonggang river.¹⁵ This suggests that Hosokawa Farm was committed to road construction in this area, as well as rail. The distance from Daejangchon to Iri and Samnye is 8.4 and 4.1 km, respectively. Both Iri and Samnye had traditional periodic markets, and there was another traditional market in Geumma, eight km away from Daejangchon. Therefore, villagers in Daejangchon could walk to these three markets and return within a day. The improvement of roads must have made access to the markets much easier.

As mentioned above, the commodities handled at the Daejangchon station were small in number and were comprised of consumer goods than construction materials. This suggests that ordinary Koreans in Daejangchon visited neighboring traditional markets on foot to buy everyday necessities, while the Japanese living there preferred the modern stores in Daejangchon or Iri (run by their compatriots) when they needed to buy consumer goods. Japanese farm owners in Daejangchon purchased fertilizers and tools from Japanese merchants at Iri and Gunsan. The difference in purchasing power between two ethnic groups resulted in division of consumer markets.

15. See Yamashita H. (1915, 150). As for Hosokawa Farm's contribution to regional society, see Table 3.

Daejangchon and the Establishment of the Jeonik Irrigation Association

The long-term investment infrastructure like irrigation and water projects provided major momentum in developing Daejangchon. Since the 1905 Protectorate Treaty when Korea essentially became a colony of Japan, Japanese landlords, including the Hosokawa family, sped up founding agricultural farms, especially in the Honam plain. These irrigation and water projects were key to the success of agricultural investments.¹⁶

In Chunpo-myeon, there used to be a traditional-style irrigation system called Dokjuhang-bo to channel water from streams to paddies. It supplied water benefits to a total area of 1,300 *chō*, or 20,300 *durak* of land in return for water tax rate of one *du* of rice per one *durak*.¹⁷ The founding committee of the Jeonik Irrigation Association intended to renovate the existing *bo* after purchasing it from the owner, Queen Min's nephew, Min Yeong-ik. The irrigation area overlapped a substantial part of the Hosokawa Farm of 1,400 *chō*. The committee submitted an application for founding the Association in 1909 and received a permit from the Ministry of Taxation in March 1910.¹⁸ The first head of the Association was Kuroda (from 1910 through 1915), who used the same office he used while managing Hosokawa Farm.¹⁹

16. For more on reorganization of irrigation system in Mangyeonggang river in colonial Korea, see Matsumoto (2003); Hong (2006).

17. One *chō* equals approximately one hectare or 2.45 acres. One *durak* equals 6.7 acres. The 1,300 *chō* equals about 3,185.7 acres, then water tax was based on 27 liters per acre.

18. See Jeonik Irrigation Association (1909-1941); Jeonbuk Irrigation Association (1978, 176-190).

19. The succeeding heads of the association after Kuroda were also managers of the Hosokawa Farm: Tasaka (1915-1917), Nojiri (1917-1919), Nagahara (1919-1936), and Yoshitake (1937-1941). Nagahara, who served the longest, had been from Kumamoto and was a graduate from Tokyo University, and a lawyer. It is not clear whether the last headman, Yoshitake, was the manager of Hosokawa Farm or not (Jeonik Irrigation Association 1909-1941).

Founding the Association cost a total of 20,000 yen, loaned from the Nonggong Eunhaeng (Bank of Agriculture and Industry) at Jeonju, including 11,000 yen for purchasing the old facilities. Notably, the Association collected a water tax of one Korean *seung* of rice per one *durak* wide of paddy field, thus “continuing the old custom.”²⁰ From 1913 on, the water fee was to be paid in cash, 25 *jeon* (0.25 yen) per one *durak* twice a year, due December 20 for the first half, and February 20 for the second half. With stable revenue in cash, the operation of the association was well established.

Out of a total of 75 memberships, 22 Japanese members were in the minority in terms of numbers. However, the leadership of the association was dominated by Japanese landlords, with six Japanese founding members including Kuroda, Imamura, Tasaka, and others. The association used the same office as Hosokawa Farm before a new, separate office was built in 1915 at Hoehwa-ri, which became part of Daejangchon in an administrative reorganization in 1917.²¹ The association ran an office at Daejangchon, and was closely connected with the Hosokawa Farm before it was merged with the Jeonbuk Irrigation Association in 1941.

The Jeonik Irrigation Association was not very innovative in irrigation techniques preferring to utilize existing facilities like *bo* and its channels. Still, the association brought about two important changes in managing the institution. First, it was the Japanese rather than Koreans who initiated a modern system of irrigation.²² Second, even though the association was run by the Japanese, and principally the Hosokawa family, they were sensible to their alien environment, giving consideration to both stability and development of the regional society. Accordingly, the water fees remained unchanged. At the

20. One *seung* equals approximately 1.8 liters. For the statistics cited, see Jeonik Irrigation Association (1909-1941).

21. See Jeonbuk Irrigation Association (1978, 223-224). Hoehwa-ri was a hamlet in Daejangchon (Ochi 1917, 282).

22. For the leading personnel of irrigation association projects in colonial Korea, see Matsumoto (1991, chap. 2). Leading figures in other irrigation associations were mostly Japanese, as was the case for the Jeonik Association.

same time, the Jeonik Association benefited from a massive river project undertaken by the GJK, as described below. Nonetheless, the dilemma of the association and the Hosokawa Farm was that as their influences in the region deepened, the gap between Daejangchon and neighboring villages widened as well as between Korean and Japanese in Daejangchon (Chung 2008, 2009).

Table 3 shows that Hosokawa Farm often paid the cost for repairing river banks; for example, they put up the rather large sum of 682 yen in 1913, and in 1919 they contributed 593 yen for the cost of bank protection work on Mangyeonggang river (see Map 1). According to an investigation report on rivers by GJK, flood damage between 1920 and 1925 amounted to more than 100 million yen (GJK 1929, 370-371). The river bank protection works were crucial to the growth of Hosokawa Farm and Jeonik Association, as well as the regional society.

In 1922 and 1925, Hosokawa Farm contributed 700 yen and 350 yen respectively to the Committee for Improving Mangyeonggang river as seen in Table 3. Organizing the committee was a response to the “Plan” of the GJK to improve four large rivers, including Mangyeonggang river in 1922. A newspaper reported on the meeting of three representatives of the committee with the Secretary-General and other high-ranking officials in the government in July 1923. All three representatives were Japanese, including Mr. Nagahara, the manager of Hosokawa Farm (*Dong-A Ilbo*, July 29, 1923). In September 1924, the Secretary-General visited the Mangyeonggang river valley (*Dong-A Ilbo*, September 21, 1924). Hosokawa Farm also played an important role in negotiating with the government for the promotion of the river improvement project.

The Mangyeonggang river improvement project was the first of its kind in colonial Korea, which began in 1925 under the auspices of the GJK.²³ The project began work on the middle reach of the river

23. The project was carried out by the Mangyeonggang river Improvement Association with the financial support from the GJK. For this association, see Iksan County (1914-1970) .

Table 3. Hosokawa Farm's Expenditure for Public Works

(unit: yen)

Item of expenditure	1906	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	1919	'20	'21	'22	'23	'24	'25
- Bank repair	73	12			9	126	39	682	50						
- Contribution to Mangyeonggang river bank project									593						
- Fund for the Mangyeonggang river improvement project									700			350			
- Contribution to the celebration of Mangyeonggang river project									70						
- Contribution to construction of Chumpo ordinary school building									1,500						
- Contribution to movement and construction of Chumpo-myeon office									500						
- Cost for police station construction	588														
- Fuel for night watch	57														
- Contribution to the cost of night watch in Daejangchon	10								55						
- Contribution to night watch group in Daejangchon									20	20	20	20			
- Contribution to celebration of Emperor's birthday	24	35	17	42	47		30		30	30	30	30	30		
- Contribution to celebration of Emperor's birthday and sports day									30	30	30	30	30		
- Contribution to construction of Daejang shrine	500								200						
- Contribution to ceremony for move of Daejang shrine	50								17	138	90	80	70	100	70
- Contribution to Daejang shrine									200	600					
- Contribution to Daejang shrine move and rebuilding construction															
- Contribution to school building construction	682														
- Contribution to school	50														
- Contribution to Daejangchon primary school									650						
- Subsidy for Daejangchon primary school	50	100	100	200	150										
- Subsidy for the expense of Daejangchon primary school									250	600	950	950	950	950	950
Total	73	594	92	749	201	1,023	799	862	945	788	1,590	1,880	2,570	1,500	2,070

Source: 『東京府細川家家政文書』(Hosokawa Family Documents in Tokyo).²⁴

24. These documents titled *Hosokawa Family Documents* is extant at the Hosokawa family archive in Tokyo. Hosokawa documents only up to the 1920s are open to the public (Senda 1987).

in the aftermath of a severe drought in 1924. The initial project was for a six-year plan of 5.7 million yen from 1925 to 1930, further extended by five years with increased fund of 9.64 million yen to develop the lower reach and a tributary (Iksan stream) of the river as well. The total cost of the project was supported by the GGK. In particular, the drainage project in Iksan stream, completed in the early 1930s, guaranteed Daejangchon and its neighbors a safety from flood and drought damages, as seen in Map 1.

In other irrigation associations, water projects to build banks or drainage channels were generally conducted by the irrigation association concerned, thus placing financial burden on the associations and their members.²⁵ However, the Jeonik Irrigation Association benefited from this state-sponsored river project so its peasant members were spared the additional costs. Moreover, the project combined with the irrigation project so that the Jeonik Irrigation Association and its sister associations along Mangyeonggang river valley were much more advantaged than other associations.²⁶ In sum, given its well-established and highly effective irrigation facilities, Daejangchon was distinguished from other peripheral villages in agricultural environments.

Daejangchon as a Japanese Immigrant Community

What were the reasons for the establishment of a Japanese immigrant community at Daejangchon? It is highly probable that social and physical infrastructure, including railroads, roads, and irrigation facilities stimulated the development of other projects in the region. In tandem with such colonial development enterprises by Japanese landlords as farms, irrigation systems and river banks, and the mov-

25. The same pattern was true for the Dongjingang River project in the southern Honam plain, and other projects across the country (Dongjin Irrigation Association 1935); Gobu Irrigation Association (1916).

26. See Igok Irrigation Association (1923); Jeonbuk Irrigation Association (1978).

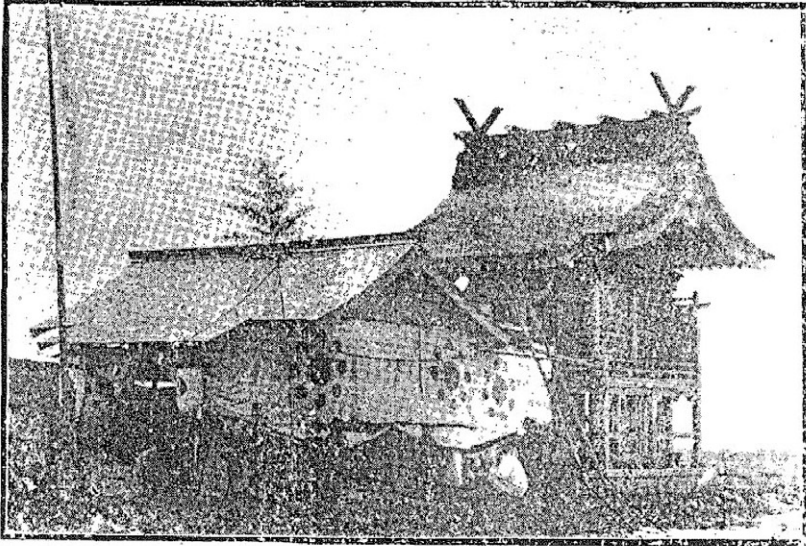
ing of the sub-county seat, Daejangchon transformed itself into a Japanese-style town on the mainland. In Chunpo-myeon, there were major Japanese farms tilled by Korean tenants, including Hosokawa Farm, Imamura Farm, and Tasaka Farm. Imamura, who served as vice president of an agricultural committee in Iksan-gun county, was an expert agriculturalist developing a plant-derived fertilizer (*jaun-yeong*) for the first time in Korea (Ohashi 1915, 239-256; Yamashita S. 1927, 143; Kihara 1928, 6). The two farms had their head offices at Daejangchon. Understandably, Daejangchon was highlighted as a “model village” within colonial Korea in a guide pamphlet to Iri, published in the 1920s.²⁷

Hosokawa Farm offered financial support for the security of the Japanese community in Daejangchon. As shown in Table 3, the earliest was a contribution of 558 yen in 1907, as part of the cost of police station construction. Koreans conducted an armed resistance movement against the annexation by Japan from 1905 to the early 1910s. In 1907 and 1908, some Japanese were reported to be killed or injured near Iri (Yamashita H. 1915). From the Japanese immigrants’ point of view, security was the most pressing issue to be addressed. Hosokawa Farm made contributions for night-watch activities in 1912 and 1919 and an annual contribution of 20 yen for the night-watch group in Daejangchon after 1921.

Hosokawa Farm also took a leading part in promoting education among immigrant Japanese. In 1909, the Daejangchon Ordinary Primary School was established. The school was modeled on the elementary school system in Japan, and designed to educate the children of Japanese immigrants in Korea. Daejangchon Ordinary Primary School was the first of its kind in Iksan. As shown in Table 3, Hosokawa Farm contributed 682 yen for the cost of school building construction in 1909. In addition, Hosokawa Farm continued to make contributions to the school, giving somewhere between 50 to 200 yen from 1909 to 1913 and 950 yen annually after 1921. In 1928, the total

27. See Yamashita S. (1927). The term “model village” is based on examples in Ohashi (1915).

Figure 1. Daejangchon Shinto Shrine and Hosokawa Farm



大 場 神 社



大 場 村 侯 爵 細 川 農 場

expenses of the school were 4,277 yen, of which 20 percent was a donation from Hosokawa Farm (Kihara 1928).

Moreover, Hosokawa Farm contributed financially to events that helped consolidate the Japanese identity. As shown in Figure 1, a shinto shrine was constructed in Daejangchon. Hosokawa Farm donated 500 yen for the construction of the shrine in 1912, as seen in Table 3, and continued sending contributions of 50 to 100 yen every year thereafter. Furthermore, Hosokawa Farm had set aside 30 yen yearly for celebrating the Emperor's Birthday since 1907. Visiting the shrine and celebrating the Emperor's Birthday could be regarded as important opportunities for immigrant Japanese to confirm their collective identity. But the increasing solidarity of the Japanese community at Daejangchon further distanced the Korean peasants living there, thus threatening the unity and stability of the village. During the Kōminka Movement to transform Koreans into imperial Japanese subjects, Koreans were required to participate in shrine rituals in the late 1930s.²⁸ The Korean rejection of this movement took forms of passive resistance and indifference.

On the other hand, some Koreans achieved social advancement through cooperating with the Japanese of Hosokawa Farm. These people fell to what some scholars refers to as the "gray zone" between outright resistance against and collaboration with the colonial rule.²⁹ A case in point is Kim Seong-cheol (1913-2004), who graduated from Iri Agricultural High School and was sponsored by Hosokawa Farm before he took a position as clerk at the Farm from 1938 to 1945.³⁰ He ascended the social ladder, taking a variety of important posts like head of Chunpo-myeon, head of local land

28. For Kōminka Movement in 1941-1945 Korea, see Miyata (1985); Tanaka (1993).

29. The gray zone refers to a behavior pattern of ambiguous choices apart from outright resistance or collaboration (Yun 2004; Matsumoto 2005).

30. This is based on an interview with account on Kim Seong-cheol, conducted during field research in Daejangchon from August 18-20, 2002. At the time, Kim was living in the same house where Nagahara, the former head of the Jeonik Irrigation Association, had lived. The career Kim spoke of is identical with his certificate of career in the member list of the Jeonbuk Irrigation Association's list of members. (『組合評議員補充員名簿』)

reform committee (1950), head of the Jeonbuk Irrigation Association, and finally, two-terms of a national assemblyman. His cooperation with the Japanese provided him with opportunities for future success as an influential local elite. It is not clear how well Kim represents Korean collaborators, but certainly there existed many Koreans who were attracted to cooperation with the Hosokawa since they were a potential source of wealth for the locality.

The projects of the railway, roads, irrigation facilities, river banks, and downtown streets and so on, mentioned above, might have influenced the agricultural production and livelihood of the Koreans in the area. Hosokawa Farm, however, did not promote these projects for the interests of the Korean peasants. Hosokawa Farm promoted these projects to pursue its own profit in its farm management, as well as Japanese immigrant society. The financial contribution to security, education, and shrine was made primarily for the sake of Japanese community in Daejangchon.

In 1922, the committee for founding a public common school was organized in Chunpo-myeon (*Dong-A Ilbo*, November 29, 1922; Kihara 1928). The head of the committee and two other board members were all Koreans. Even though little is known about the activities of the committee, Chunpo Public Common School was founded in 1923. The common school was to give an elementary school education to Korean children in Chunpo-myeon. It was located not in Daejangchon, but in nearby Yongyeon-ri village.³¹ Hosokawa Farm did contribute 1,500 yen for the cost of building the school for Korean children in 1923, as shown in Table 3. This was certainly a large sum, but only given once, and Hosokawa Farm did not make further donations to the school. Hosokawa Farm was not actively involved in the establishment and management of the common school, in contrast to the case of Daejangchon Ordinary Primary School. Chunpo Public Common School was the eighth established among the 13 schools in Iksan as of 1928, whereas Daejangchon Ordinary Primary School was the first school established in Iksan (Kihara 1928). This

31. Yongyeon-ri is an administrative village near east Daejangchon (Ochi 1917).

indicates a lack of interest in promoting education of Korean on the part of the Japanese landlords in Daejangchon.

In 1921, Hosokawa Farm contributed 500 yen for the cost of moving and reconstruction of the Chunpo-myeon office. On the face of it, this contribution was for the sake of the whole subcounty (*myeon*). In actuality, considering the fact that the office was moved from Insu-ri to Daejangchon, this was to the immediate benefit of the Japanese community in Daejangchon.

Notably, the heads of Chunpo-myeon were all Koreans during the colonial period. All eight of the *myeon* staffs in 1928 were also Koreans. Since 1920 the members of the *myeon* council were selected. According to the member roster of 1935, eight out of eleven members were Korean and three were Japanese; of those three, one was the manager of Hosokawa Farm, and another was Mr. Tasaka, one of the large-scale landlords in Chunpo-myeon (Chunpo-myeon 1935). Koreans took charge of the regular *myeon* administration because Korean residents were far dominant in number in most of Chunpo-myeon, except in Daejangchon.

Hosokawa Farm was active in promoting projects to develop infrastructure for the area of Iksan and other neighboring counties, such as railways, roads, irrigation facilities, and river bank improvements. Hosokawa's political and economic position of influence in Japan made it possible to promote such huge infrastructure projects successfully. At the same time, Hosokawa Farm did not forget to promote infrastructure projects on a smaller scale for the sake of the immigrant Japanese community in Daejangchon. These two types of Hosokawa Farm investments were very different in scale and scope. We, however, can find the "paternalistic" elements in both types. The Hosokawa Farm was comparable to the Hosokawa family's position in Kumamoto, Kyushu, where the marquis exerted influence over local society like a feudal lord (Senda 1987). This was a unique feature of the farm, distinctive from other Japanese farms of similar size in Korea and these two types of investment were closely related. The huge infrastructure projects enhanced the profitability of Hosokawa Farm, which in turn was able to spare a part of the profit to invest in

the unity of the immigrant community in Daejangchon.

In the meantime, the regular administration of Chunpo-myeon was by and large under the control of Koreans, especially by the low-ranking Korean bureaucrats (Matsumoto 2005, chap. 2). Under colonial rule, however, their administrative power was limited. Their activities for local society were “bureaucratic” in nature as opposed to the “paternalism” of large-scale Japanese landlords.

After the liberation of Korea in 1945, the immigrant Japanese of Daejangchon went back to Japan immediately and Daejangchon itself disintegrated. Hosokawa Farm and other Japanese farms were dismantled by the Land Reforms conducted by the South Korean government in 1950.³² To Daejangchon, this means the end to the inflow of fringe benefits that had accompanied the imperial economic activities of Hosokawa Farm.

Conclusion: Dilemmas in Colonial Development

Daejangchon today is representative of the decline of Korean villages after the liberation of Korea from Japanese rule, and it is no longer distinguished from the ordinary villages around it or by any particular sign of prosperity. What are reasons for this decline? A number of new cities and towns that thrived during the colonial period faced a decline after liberation, including Gunsan, Iri, Janghang, and Yeongsanpo in Jeolla-do provinces.³³ The decline of Daejangchon followed a different pattern not only from that of these colonial cities but also from that of such traditional commercial centers as Ganggyeong, Nampyeong, and Beopseongpo.

The dilemma of colonial development in rural society came about first from differentiation in the colonial class structure. The high productivity in rice production and the accelerated expansion of

32. See Chung and Matsumoto (2006). For the details of land reform in Korea, see KREI (1985).

33. Daejangchon was also different from the treaty port of Mokpo in Jeollanam-do province (Park 2008).

large landholdings in Jeolla-do provinces, including Daejangchon, generated a class of tenants who were more dependent on the landlords than their predecessors.³⁴ Despite fringe benefits from the prosperity of the Hosokawa Farm, Korean tenants were left trailing behind the Japanese immigrants in agricultural capital and income level. The immigrant farmers benefited from advanced agricultural skills and paternalistic support from the Hosokawas.³⁵ For the Korean tenant class, this socioeconomic gap worsened the existing pattern of unequal distribution. As mentioned before, the water tax levied by the Jeonik Association was relatively low; however, in order to adapt to new agricultural skills introduced with the new irrigation methods, the Korean tenants were burdened with the necessity of purchasing new varieties of rice, fertilizers, and other agricultural products. The Korean tenant class in the irrigation association area found their economic position deteriorated further as the colonial economy stagnated (Hong 2006, chap. I).

As the development of Daejangchon accelerated, so the economic gap between the Korean peasants and the Japanese immigrants widened. The Korean tenants with less income could not enjoy similar levels of economic and social development in their areas as Japanese residents. They continued to go to the traditional Samnye Market rather than the permanent marketplace in Daejangchon or Iri. Consequently, class and cultural differences in Daejangchon gave rise to the ethnic discrepancy.

In colonial Korea, the more developed the center (i.e., Daejangchon) became, the weaker its relations with the peripheral villages. The economic and cultural gaps entailed by the development of Daejangchon could be seen in ethnic terms as the difference between the Japanese community and the surrounding Korean villages. This is what this paper calls “a dilemma of colonial development” (Chung

34. For more on the development of colonial landlord classes and the class differentiation in colonial Korea, see Hong (2006); Sorensen (1990); Shin (1996).

35. In the early 1930s, Japanese farm households earned twice as much that of their Korean counterparts, 1,615 yen and 757 yen, respectively. The gap might have been somewhat less than this in Daejangchon (Matsumoto and Chung 2008, 202).

2008). It meant that colonial development in Korean villages did not necessarily bring prosperity and stability to them. The economic development of Daejangchon was so isolated and distinct from the neighboring Korean villages that it could not even form a center-periphery relation with them. The rapid decline of Daejangchon after the liberation proves that the colonial development was not fully integrated into the adjacent regional community, as well as the mind of Korean peasants. The failure of Daejangchon to promote substantial development for Korean peasants there spelled the rupture of the professed assimilation policy of Japan, *naisen ittai*.

Daejangchon has lost the initiative and momentum for development it once had demonstrated, and remains today a small, relatively undeveloped town. Traces of the former status of Daejangchon remain today only in memories and nostalgia for the part of the Japanese, when it was still a wealthy village. The discrepancy between the rising town and backward hinterland villages was not confined just to the problem of economic inequality. Such problems were also translated into the issue of subject consciousness of peasants. The Korean peasants, alienated from the process of modern development, showed resentment of the modernization initiated by outsiders. The discord between the developed center and the undeveloped periphery deepened the image of Daejangchon as a “closed community” at the center. The weak relations of Daejangchon with its villages during the colonial period conditioned them to a pattern of response to changes in agriculture after the liberation. The hinterland villages experienced little benefit from the center and responded with delayed forms of adaptation or engaged in passive resistance.

It should be noted that the development of Daejangchon did raise the living standard of the Korean residents, despite the large gap between the two groups. More importantly, however, Koreans began to have a keen awareness of such gaps, not only in economic well-being but also in cultural benefits. In other words, colonial development stimulated class and national consciousness of being Korean. Of course, to the GGK, this growth of consciousness was an unexpected ramification of colonial development. In developing Korean villages,

the GGK aimed to bring modern progress and stability to them. Ironically, however, the “developmentalism” of Japan instead infused a sense of alienation and resentment on the part of Koreans, thus creating a dilemma in colonial development.

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GLOSSARY

<i>bo</i>	湫	<i>jaunyeong</i>	紫雲英
<i>chō</i> (J.)	町	<i>jeon</i>	錢
<i>chon</i>	村	Mangyeonggang	萬頃江
Daejang	大場	<i>mura</i> (J.)	村
Daejangchon	大場村	<i>myeon</i>	面
Dokjuhag-bo	犢走項湫	<i>naisen ittai</i> (J.)	內鮮一體
<i>du</i>	斗	<i>naisen yuwa</i> (J.)	內鮮融和
<i>durak</i>	斗落	Nonggong Eunhaeng	農工銀行
Hosokawa (J.)	細川	<i>seung</i>	升

(J.: Japanese)