

TENURE OF FARM LAND IN KOREA

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TENURE OF FARM LAND IN KOREA

Introduction

The tenancy problem in Korea is a large one. It is an important part of land economics. Tenants and landowners share in the products which come from land utilization. The share of the landlord and the share of the tenant come from the same original source. Therefore, the larger the share of the landowner, the smaller the share of the tenant, and vice versa. In healthy and growing rural communities as is the United States, tenancy is merely a stepping stone toward landownership. In Korea, population in proportion to the area of land is large. Consequently, land is very high in value. Tenants can see no possibility of becoming landowners, regardless of their efforts and diligence. Their income is very small. They must undergo extreme hardship to support themselves. This causes them to strive for a larger share of the product, leading to the so-called "Tenant Disputes" which are growing more serious year after year.

This paper is intended to analyze the situation from an economic viewpoint and to find out ways and means for

remedying the present situation. The inductive and historical method was used in handling the data which were obtained from the central and provincial governments in Korea. Periodicals and collateral readings are treated in the same way. In as much as the main purpose is to analyze the situation from economic grounds, the social, traditional, and historical side of tenancy is not so much dealt with. It is of interest to compare the situation with tenancy in the United States because it gives many excellent illustrations of economic principles.

More materials are needed and more study must be made to round out the picture and to give support to the conclusions presented here.

The writer wishes to express a great indebtedness to Dr. W. E. Grimes and Prof. Millard Peck, who have been kind in directing and correcting this work.

Chapter I. Historical and Geographical Sketch of Korea

Section 1. Historical Sketch

According to the earliest records, a branch of the so-called Mongol race at one time inhabited all of Manchuria, East Mongolia, and the southern part of the Russian Maritime Province. According to tradition, in about 2334 B. C. several groups gathered under a "Sedan Tree" and elected a king called Tankoon, who was very wise and to some extent divine. He established a capital in Pyeng Yang and called his country Chosen which means "land of morning calm." His reign was very peaceful and successful. His descendants governed the people until Kija, a Chinese philosopher, came to the country. Kija founded his new dynasty about 1220 B. C. by his successful method of teaching the people the more civilized and ethical ways. But King Kijun, in the forty-first generation after Kija, was revolted against by his subject, Wiman, a refugee from China, and fled to the southern part of the Korean peninsula in 193 B. C. When Kija came, many of the old Chosen subjects, disliking the new regime, founded several small countries in Manchuria, the Maritime Province, and in the northern part of Korea.

Some of them abandoned the cold, bleak region of Manchuria to move into the more warm and fertile land of the peninsula. There is not room here to describe the vicissitudes of these small nations, but the three Hans — Pyun Han, Chin Han, and Ma Han — were predominant.

The Kingdom of Kokuryu in Manchuria grew out of the small country of Kuri, largely under the leadership of King Tongmyung. The power of this kingdom reached its zenith during the reign of King Changsu and its territory covered all of Manchuria, the southern part of the Russian Maritime Province, and the northern part of Korea. Kokuryu successfully repelled the Chinese several times, but her fortune was ruined by the allied invasion of the Kingdom of Silla and the Tang Empire in 668 A. D.

The Kingdom of Pakjeh, succeeding the Ma Han, was founded by King Onjoh in 37 B. C. along the coastal line of southwest Korea, but its capital was taken in 660 by the allied army of Silla and Tang and the Kingdom of Pakjeh came to an end.

The Kingdom of Silla, originating from Pyun Han, was founded by King Hyukeuse in 57 B. C. Her territory was small at the beginning of her existence, but grew gradually by her incessant efforts to acquire more lands. During the seventh century her territory was extended to the adjacent countries

by conquering the two powerful kingdoms of Kokuryu and Pak-jeh, but the fall came in 934 A. D. when the Kingdom of Koryu rose to power.

This is the "Period of the Three Kingdoms." During this period not only literature and arts flourished, there being many relics around the sites of the old capitals testifying to the high state of civilization once attained, but also we can see the development of a high state of agriculture and even a systematically organized land system.

The Kingdom of Koryu -- called by the Italian traveler, Marco Polo, as Korea -- was founded by King Wangkeun in 918 A. D. He gained his throne, not only by his military success but by his wise readjustment of the land system which was corrupted toward the end of the Silla dynasty. In the reigns of King Moonchong and King Hyunchong, agriculture and the land system were systematized and developed, but the Mongol invasions about the middle of the Koryu dynasty had almost destroyed the industrial and civic organization of the nation. In 1392 the court was overthrown by Yi Sing Kei, who made himself the King of Chosen, the ancient name of the country. In the reign of Seichong (1417-1449) the civilization of the nation reached its zenith in every way. Several books on agriculture were written in Korean alphabetic characters. The method of

observation of meteorological phenomena was discovered. The laws and regulations relating to the land system and land surveying were formulated and enforced. But the Japanese invasion of 1592 entirely destroyed many institutions and organizations. After the victorious repulsion of the Japanese, system was restored, but there was no glorious development as of the days of yore. In 1897 the door of the "Hermit Kingdom" was opened to the world and the name of the country was proclaimed "Empire of Tai Han," but Japan took advantage of the victory over Russia and continued her military occupancy throughout the whole of the peninsula. As a result the Japanese officers forced the Emperor and his ministers, against the will of the Koreans, to agree to a Japanese protectorate in 1905 and to annexation in 1910.

Since the annexation, Japan has controlled Korea through military occupation. This is indicated by a letter from Bishop Herbert Welch to the Methodist Home Board, saying: "We are now under martial law." In 1919 the people manifested an Independent Declaration and started a gigantic national movement throughout the country, but this movement ended in disaster, fifty thousand people having been slaughtered by the ruthless swords and bayonets of the Japanese soldiers. Japanese militaristic order again prevails throughout the peninsula, but the people have never

given up the thought of independence for slavery is not only unbearable, but social and economic life continually grows worse under the predatory policy of the Japanese.

Section 2. Geographical and Climatic Conditions

Korea lies between $33^{\circ} 12'$ and $43^{\circ} 02'$ north latitude, and $124^{\circ} 18'$ and $130^{\circ} 54'$ east of Greenwich. It is bounded on the north by Manchuria and the Russian Maritime Province; on the east by the Japan Sea; on the south by the China Sea and Chosen Channel; and on the west by the Yellow Sea. Korea is very mountainous, especially in the northeast. The principal mountain range runs through the country lengthwise along the eastern coast and this forms the backbone of the peninsula. Naturally the eastern coast is rocky and precipitous, and there are no plains to speak of on the western and southern sides of the peninsula. However, there are extensive plains with many rivers flowing through them, the main ones being the Apnok, Taitong, Han, Keum, and Haktong. These rivers, together with their tributaries, supply waterways for navigation and act as reservoirs for the irrigation of farm lands. The rich fields of Korea, so important for the country's economic life, practically all lie along their courses. The coast line is very long in proportion to the area, being 5,400

miles, islands excluded. The southern and western coasts are deeply indented and are fringed with thousands of islands with many excellent harbors such as Fusan, Mokppo, Chemulpo, and Chinnampo. On the eastern side, however, the peninsula has only three good ports, these being Wonsan, Songchin, and Chungshin. A railway with numerous branches now runs through the country from Fusan to Wiju, a city in the northwest part of the country and is connected with the heart of Europe through Manchuria and the northern part of Asia. Another line connects the peninsula with the main part of China.

As indicated by the map on page 19 there are thirteen provinces in Korea. Their names from the north to the south are as follows:

1. North Hankyung Province	having	12	counties.
2. South Hankyung Province	"	17	"
3. North Pyongan Province	"	20	"
4. South Pyongan Province	"	16	"
5. Whanghai Province	"	17	"
6. Kangwon Province	"	21	"
7. Kyungki Province	"	22	"
8. North Choongchung Province	"	10	"
9. South Choongchung Province	"	14	"
10. North Kyungsang Province	"	24	"
11. South Kyungsang Province	"	21	"
12. North Chulla Province	"	15	"
13. South Chulla Province	"	23	"

Korea enjoys an excellent climate. One writer speaks of it as follows: "The physical configuration of Korea gives it a climate of almost unsurpassed excellence. The

winter quality is superb, the summer is sufferable. Persons accustomed to life in the temperate zone find the Korean climate exhilarating, particularly the cold, dry, bracing winter." W. E. Griffis, author of *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, says: "In general, it may be said to dwellers in the temperate zone that the climate of Korea is excellent, bracing in the north, and in the south tempered by the ocean breezes of summer. The winters in higher latitudes are not more rigorous than in the state of New York; while in the most southern they are as delightful as those in the Carolinas." It is well suited to the growing of most agricultural products ordinarily found in the temperate zone. Rice, wheat, beans, and other cereals flourish, fruits grow well, silk worms and cattle prosper, and the Korean ports are all ice-free. No hurricanes nor typhoons such as are commonly experienced in Japan ever visit the country. Korea is practically free from earthquakes. The following table shows certain general meteorological conditions prevailing within the country.

Table I. Climatic Conditions

Place	Annual Average Precipitation	Average Percent of Sunshine per Day	Frost		Maximum Temperature Centigrade	Minimum Temperature Centigrade
			First	Last		
Seoul	mm. 1000	57	Oct. 1	May 10	36.7°	-21.8°
Fusan	1500	52	Oct. 10	Apr. 20	33.6°	-14.0°
Siniju	700	63	Sept. 20	May 20	35.5°	-24.6°

Source: Annual Statistical Reports of the Korean Government.

Section 3. Area and Population

According to statistics compiled by the government, Korea with her adjoining islands has an area of 85,226 square miles of which 82,926 form the mainland, and 2,302 the islands, the former constituting 97.3 percent of the whole area and the latter 2.7 percent. It is about as large as the state of Kansas, or two-thirds the size of the British Isles. Arable land makes up 17 percent, forest 71 percent, and barren land, water surface, and rocky summits 12 percent of the entire area. The acreage under cultivation is represented in the following table.

Table II. The Land Under Cultivation

Year	Paddy Fields /1		Fields Upland Acres	Total Acres
	One Crop Acres /3	Double Crops /2 Acres		
1916	2,779,968	4,923,827	5,411,486	13,115,281
1920	3,190,081	591,928	6,831,415	10,613,484
1924	3,159,181	671,923	6,779,106	10,610,210

1. Paddy Fields are the lands which are under water during the rice crop.

2. Double Crops refer to the land on which the farmers sow barley or wheat immediately after the rice is harvested.

3. The original unit was "Cho." One "Cho" is the equivalent of 2.45 acres according to the World's Almanac for 1923.

The state of Kansas has an acreage of 21,234,594 under cultivation. Korea has about the same area in square miles as Kansas, but she has less than half as much as Kansas under cultivation.

The latest census, 1924, shows that the population is made up of 17,619,540 Koreans and 67,526 foreigners. The majority of the latter are Japanese, numbering 41,595, and Chinese, 24,695. There are 800 Americans, 262 Britons, 92 French, and 62 Germans. The density is about 200 per square mile. Korea is most densely populated in the south and least in the north, ranging from 382 per square mile in the southernmost to 45 in the northernmost provinces. The Japanese population is increasing alarmingly year after year owing to the immigrants who come to the peninsula under the government immigration policy and by the encouragement of the Japanese Oriental Development Company with which I shall deal elsewhere. It is said that one Japanese family drives out five Korean families from their peaceful farm village and tenant farms. Consequently, over 15,000,000 Korean peasants have migrated to Manchuria since the annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910.

As to the farm population, there is no nation which exceeds its proportion to the entire population. It consists of about 82 percent of the whole population as the following table shows.

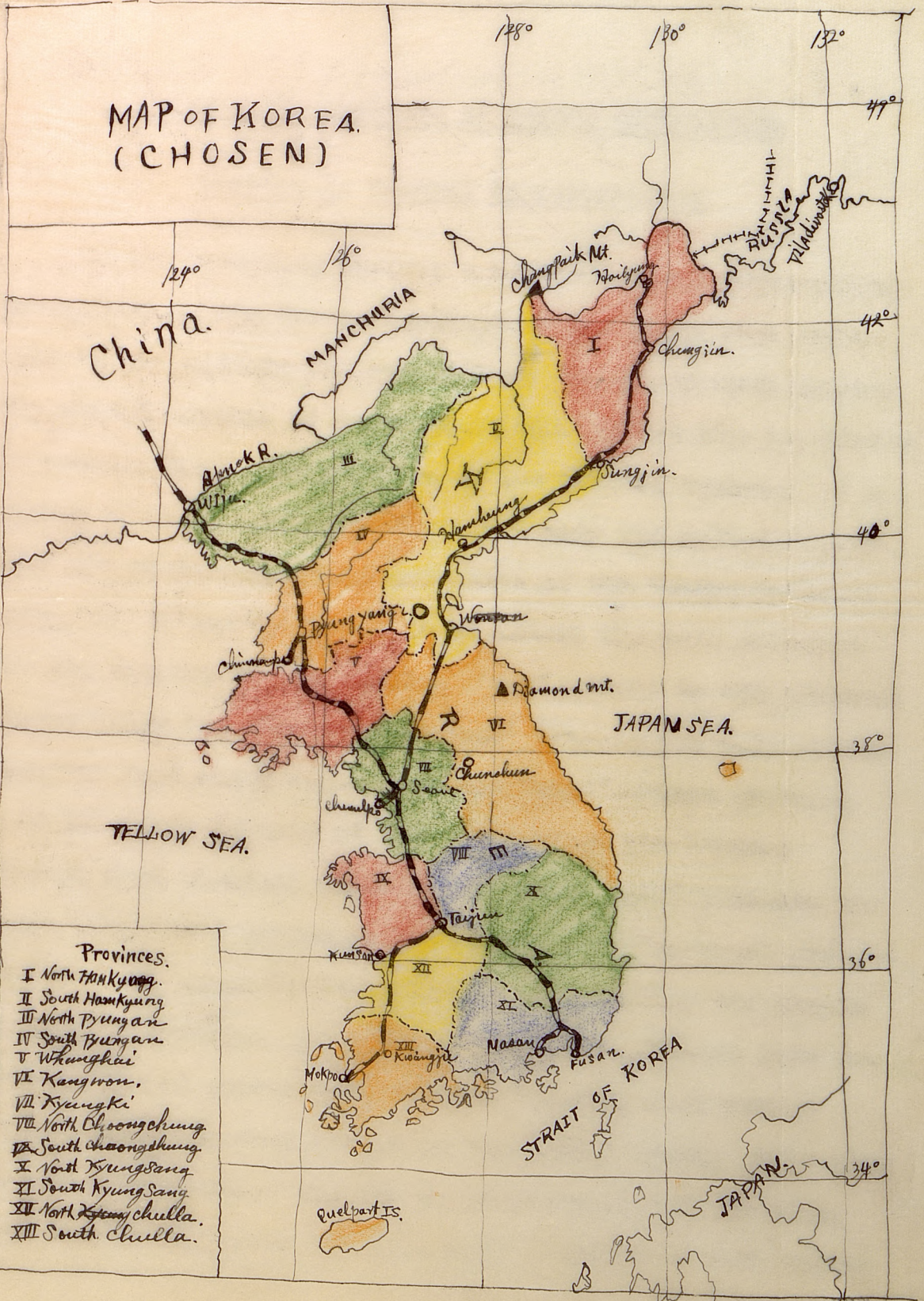
Table III. Population According to Vocations 1

	Agriculture, Forestry, and Dairying	Manufac- turing	Commerce and Trading	Official and Mis- cellaneous	Total
Number of Families	2,775,708	98,755	264,941	293,670	3,433,074
Number of Persons	15,105,686	450,618	1,212,195	1,299,640	18,068,139

1. Korean Government Annual Census Abstract of 1924.

Now Kansas has a population of over 1,800,000 and with a density of only 21 per square mile. One must realize, therefore, that the population is very compact and that the general living of farmers in Korea is very hard.

MAP OF KOREA. (CHOSEN)



Provinces.

- I North HanKyung.
- II South HanKyung.
- III North Pyung an.
- IV South Pyung an.
- V Whungkai.
- VI Kangwon.
- VII Kyungki.
- VIII North Chongchung.
- IX South Chongchung.
- X North KyungSang.
- XI South KyungSang.
- XII North Cholla.
- XIII South Cholla.

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JAPAN

Chapter II. Outlines of Korean Agriculture

Section 1. General Considerations

In the preceding chapter a historical and geographical background of the Korean agriculture was given with reference to its climate and population. In the present chapter the general status of agriculture will be briefly considered to provide for an explanation of the tenancy system. As a matter of fact, agriculture was not only the main industry from the beginning of the existence of the Korean national life, but it has continued to be almost the sole resource for the support of the people. "Agriculture is the greatest source under the canopy of Heaven," "The masses rely solely upon the food which comes from the farm." Those precepts were set forth by many of the great kings and leaders through four thousand years of history. Until recently the kings themselves performed the ceremony of "personal ploughing" in the "Demonstration Fields" to encourage the people engaged in farming. As a consequence, the farmers were respected by all persons and classes and they were ranked second among the four groups in the social scale. This kind of class distinction led the people naturally to farming, even though they were not well paid as compared with other

occupations. This social condition, at all events, explains partly the reason why eighty-two percent of the entire population is engaged in agriculture.

The farming communities are organized on the plan of the so-called village system, from 30 to 80 families grouping themselves together along the hillside of a valley. Each individual farmer owns his own house and farming tools, even in the case of the poorest tenant among the villages. The allotments of farm land vary from one-third of an acre to five acres in size. The farmer not only tills the bottom lands, but the hillside also, by making horizontal terraces around the slopes. They oftentimes even cultivate slopes with declivities of 25° and in the mountainous regions they crop on the flat tract of land among rocks by means of firing out weeds and shrubs. These are the so-called "fire-fields".

This kind of small-scale farming is commonly found in all old countries especially in China, Japan, and India. The average size of farm according to the statistical returns of the government in 1924 is as follows.

Table IV. The Farm Size

Province	Average Size Acres	Province	Average Size Acres
North Hamkyung	9.85	North Choongchung	2.94
South Hamkyung	5.14	South Choongchung	3.43
North Pyungan	5.39	North Chulla	2.69
South Pyungan	5.88	South Chulla	2.94
Whanghai	5.63	North Kyungsang	2.69
Kangwon	4.16	South Kyungsang	2.20
Kyangki	3.92	WHOLE OF KOREA	3.96

The average size of farm varies according to the density of population, being smallest in the south with only 2.20 acres. In Kansas the average farm contains 265 acres. One can easily imagine therefore how small the farms of the Korean peasants must be and how intensively they must cultivate them to support themselves by the product coming out of these small tracts of land.

Section 2. Soil Conditions

Generally speaking the soil is very fertile. It consists in general of disintegrated granite mingled with organic matter, forming sandy loamy soils very suitable for all kinds of crops. According to the report published by the "Model Farm" at Suwon, in most parts of the country the soil has a slight acid reaction with the exception of the small northeast section in which the soil is alkaline.

Soil fertility is maintained by constant application of manures and fertilizers. The imported fertilizers and manures from Japan and Manchuria, such as bean cake, ammonium sulphite, calcium super-phosphate, and other artificial fertilizers, amounted to \$4,219,500 in 1924. The value of natural manures in 1924 was estimated to amount to \$1,765,500. This can be construed to mean that farmers make the most of the opportunities offered by their neighboring countries to maintain the fertility extracted from the soil.

Section 3. Irrigation and Drainage

Rice cropping is the most important type of farming in Korea as will be seen in the next paragraph. It is very necessary therefore to keep water in the fields during the growing period of the crop. Korea has much rain in June and July, but it is necessary to have water running into the paddy fields constantly. The farmers constructed in early times reservoirs and dams across the valleys and streams for the purpose of irrigation. A movement to organize "irrigation associations" under large and scientific plans has arisen in recent years. In 1924 the number of reservoirs had reached 6,000 and dams 20,000. Irrigation

associations numbered 73 with an area under irrigation of 271,950 acres.

Section 4. Grain Growing

As in most countries with dense population, by far the largest part of the arable land is devoted to the growing of grains and legumes, of which the principal are rice, barley, wheat, rye, oats, millet, soybeans, and red beans.

Rice. Rice is the most important of Korean agricultural products. Its annual production, after having provided for all domestic needs which are very great as the people chiefly live on it, furnishes the largest item in the export trade. It is grown in the paddy fields under water. At first it remains on the seedling bed until it becomes fit for transplantation into the main fields. After about 130 days of very careful weeding and administration it can be harvested. In recent years the farmers have adopted better strains from Japan and production has been increased greatly. Its quality has been highly respected as a commercial product in the Japanese markets.



1. Transplanting Rice in Korea



2. Weeding Fields in Korea

Barley. Barley is one of the staple foods of the poorer classes and is mostly consumed at home. It is cultivated generally, spring sowing being generally in vogue north of Seoul, the capital, and autumn sowing south of it. Since barley constitutes so important a food for the needy, every effort has been made by the farmers to secure increased production. In recent years the species "Golden Melon" and "Manmut" have been introduced and the production has been greatly stimulated. It is grown in both paddy fields and uplands, but when it grows in the paddy fields the water in the fields must first be thoroughly drained as soon as the rice crop is harvested. For double cropping after rice, barley is generally used. Under a system of double cropping the farmer sows barley in autumn and harvests it in the following spring. This double cropping on the same lands is important in connection with the matter of dividing the production between landowner and tenant as will be seen in later chapters.

Wheat. The wheat raised is mostly consumed at home but it is not so important a crop as rice and barley. It is all autumn sown and in South Korea is often planted in paddy fields after the rice is harvested as in the case of barley. The species "Martin's Amber", "Fultz", and "California" have been introduced and they are most productive in this

country. Therefore they predominate.

Soybeans. Next to rice, beans form the most important item of export of agricultural products. Korean beans are known to be much superior to Japanese beans in quality, and, in some respects, even to Manchurian beans. They are exported mostly to Japan where they are not only used for food but also in certain chemical industries, and the amount is constantly on the increase. They are raised only in the uplands, being rotated with barley and wheat. Beans are raised in summertime and the wheat and barley in wintertime under a system of "upland double-cropping".

Corn, Millet, and Rye. These crops are raised in the northern part of the country, but on the whole they are insignificant in comparison with the staple crops mentioned above.

Now let us cast a glance upon the acreage, products, and yield per acre of those staple crops. The general features are given in the following table which is made up from the annual report of the government of Korea in 1924.

Table V. Kinds and Acreage of Principal Crops

(Unit: 1,000)

Crop	Acreage	Yield Bushels <u>1</u>	Value of Products <u>2</u>	Yield per Acre Bushels
Rice	3,860	66,096	\$218,409	17.1
Barley	1,989	35,840	38,505	18.1
Wheat	750	17,322	44,250	23.1
Soybeans	2,227	22,254	40,160	24.1
Rye	187	4,036	53,510	21.3
Corn	182	3,130		

1. Original unit is Koku or Suk equivalent to 4.9629 bushels.

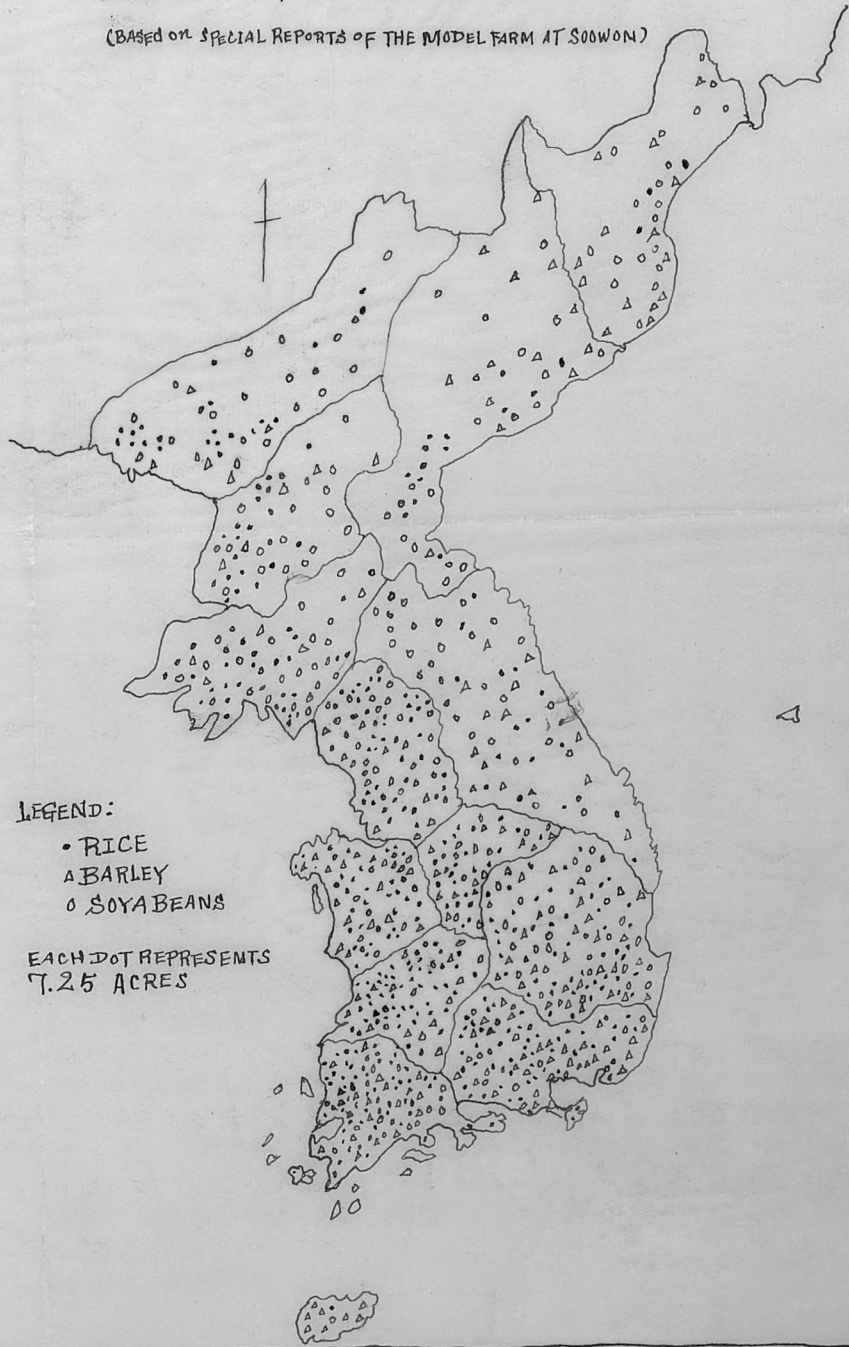
2. Yen is the original unit and is equivalent to 50 cents in United States money.

This seems very small to support Korea when one thinks of the billion bushel wheat crop and the three billion bushel corn crop produced by the people of the United States. But if one compares 14 bushels of wheat yield per acre of the United States with 24 bushels per acre of Korea, then the degree of intensivity in farming can be seen.

As to the distribution of crops with respect to the provincial divisions the accompanying map will be useful.

MAP OF CROP DISTRIBUTION IN KOREA.

(BASED ON SPECIAL REPORTS OF THE MODEL FARM AT SOOWON)



There are some commercial plants which must be dealt with briefly such as cotton, ginseng, and tobacco. Cotton has been cultivated from very early times for domestic use. In recent years Japanese authorities have forcibly required an expansion of cotton acreage because they are badly in need of the cotton for military purposes. Japan cannot grow cotton owing to her unsuitable climate and soil conditions. As a consequence, cotton growing in Korea has been markedly increased. The total product in 1924 amounted to 133,806,850 pounds, and the acreage rose to 417,573 acres with a yield of 445 pounds per acre. The American "Uplands" and "King's Improved" species are most generally grown.

Ginseng, or "insam" as the Koreans call it, is an important commercial crop in Korea. It was long believed in the Orient to be the best medicine in the world and a cure for all diseases, and so implicit was their faith in it that even to look at it was thought in China to be sufficient to cure many diseases. The government monopolizes the manufacture of ginseng products amounting in 1918 to 266,093 pounds. This is the latest figure available.

Tobacco is cultivated throughout the country. Korean tobacco is said to be palatable to most smokers the world over. Its products amounted in 1924 to 4,224,239 kwan from an acreage of 39,153 acres.

There are other miscellaneous crops and plants but it is beyond the scope of this paper to give a full description to them here. It is sufficient to say that almost every kind of crop grown in the temperate zone is raised in Korea.

Section 5. Sericulture and Stock Farming

Sericulture. Sericulture has been carried on in Korea from ancient times and has been a gainful type of farming and has provided the raw material for a textile industry. The climatic conditions offer highly favorable opportunities for this industry. The methods of cultivating the trees and rearing silkworms have been greatly improved in recent years. In 1924 over 593,240 families were engaged in sericulture. In that year 697,977 acres of land were devoted to the cultivation of mulberry trees, and no less than 1,219,260 bushels of cocoons were produced.

Cattle Breeding. Cattle are raised everywhere in the peninsula and play quite an important part in the rural economic life of the people. There are some cases in which livestock is hired similar to the renting of land. The bull, being of hardy constitution and massive, can stand hard labor and so is extensively used for ploughing as well as for transportation purposes, while the cow, though of

very little use in giving milk, furnishes good beef. Besides, they are instinctive and so gentle that a boy or girl of eight or ten is often seen handling them quite easily. The export of cattle is a large item. They are usually exported to Japan, Asiatic Russia, and China. The hides also occupy an important place in export trade. Both cow and bull hides are very good because of their large size and fine grain.

Horse Breeding. In wide contrast to the cattle, the native horses are small and thin, averaging only three feet and a half in height, and weighing around 450 pounds, but able to stand hard work. A number of Anglo-Arabs were imported by the Model Farm with a view to improving the native stock but the ultimate results can not yet be predicted.

Swine Breeding. Hogs are kept by almost every farm family. The size of the average hog is very small. Berkshires and Yorkshires have been imported for experimental purposes by the Model Farm. The results are satisfactory and their use is spreading among the farmers.

Poultry and Sheep Raising. Poultry raising for domestic uses has prevailed from early times though the quality of the stock is poor. In recent years the "Plymouth Rock" and "Rhode Island" breeds have come into use among the farmers. As for sheep breeding there is little to be said for there

are not many in the country. In recent years the Model Farm imported several species for experimental purposes but the results on the whole were discouraging.

The number of cattle, horses, pigs, and other domestic animals are given in the following table.

Table VI. Number of Domestic Animals /1

	1924	1920	1915
Cattle	1,605,072	1,524,134	1,353,108
Horses	65,816	67,572	67,040
Pigs	1,129,928	1,010,992	780,077
Goats	27,533	34,370	14,264
Poultry	5,909,178	5,626,201	4,400,351

1. Data from the annual report of the Government of Korea for 1924, Part II.

The number of domestic animals has been constantly increasing, but there is some doubt about these figures because they are estimated in some cases by the village clerks. It should be pointed out that Korea has almost no ranches nor stock farms. One head of cattle, one hog, and a few chickens is the most one finds on the ordinary farm at present.

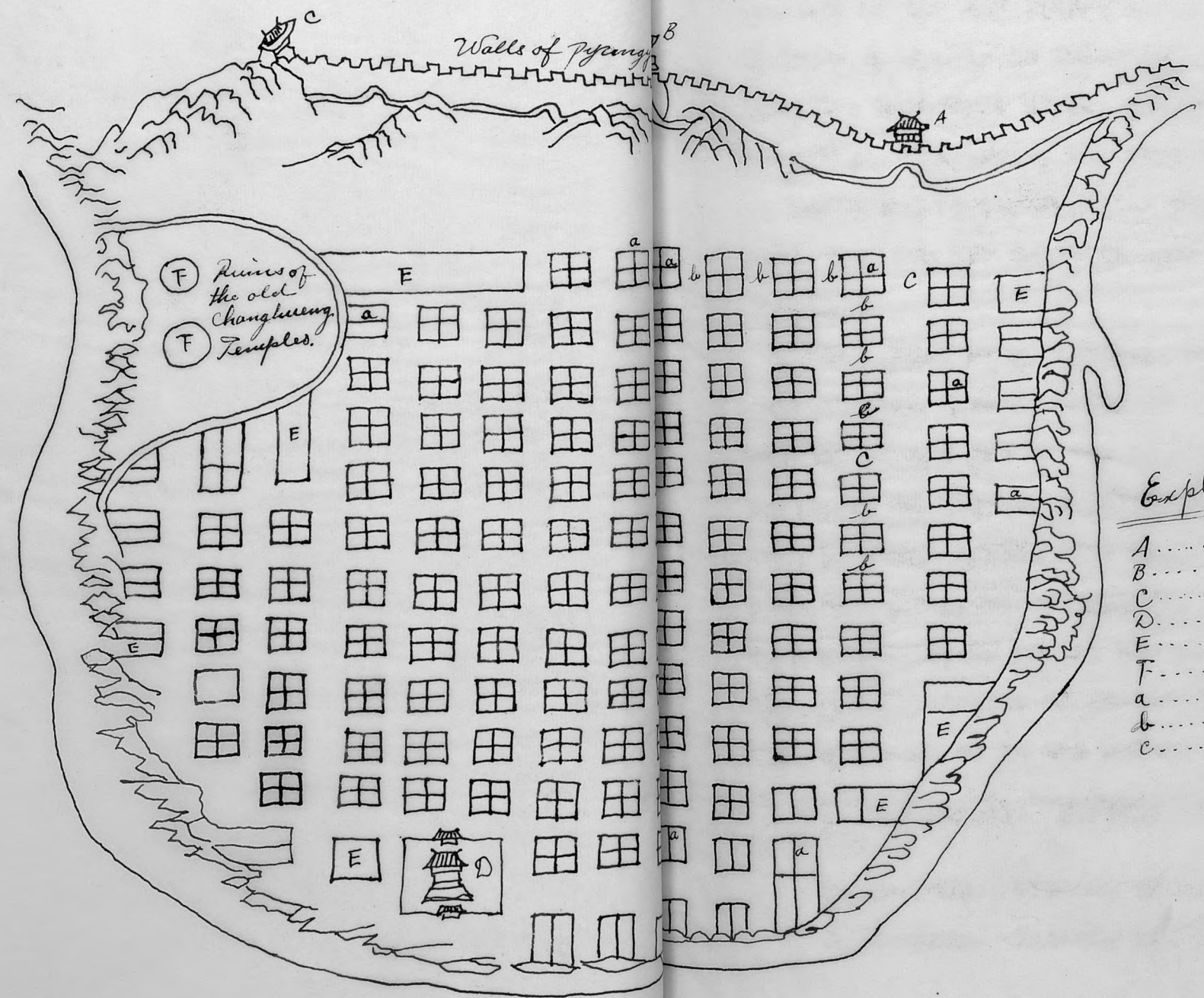
Chapter III. Origin of the Tenant System

Section 1. Early Records of the Land Laws

The preceding chapters provide a background for the proper understanding of the structure of the Korean tenant system. According to earliest historical records there was a land system called "Chungjun" as early as in the dynasty of Kija about 1000 B. C. The system was such that a tract of land was laid off in rectangular shape as shown in the chart on the following page. Each rectangle contained 100 "Myoes." Each of eight farming families was allotted to one of these lots, the central lot being tilled cooperatively and its products given as tribute to the government for the use of the king. The outside eight allotments were called "Private Fields" and the central lots "Public Fields." Some of the Chungjun relics can be found in the vicinity of Pyeng Yang, the capital site of the dynasty, and are evidenced by stone marks and ditches. However, these relics are explained by some modern archaeologists as the ruins of the capital of the Kokuryu kingdom which was so powerful and advanced. No attempt will be made here to answer this question because it is beyond the scope of the

CHART III. TN SYSTEM.

Was drawn by a
Mr. Han Baik Kyum,
(Author of the Tongkuk
of the East Land.)



- Explanations
- A..... Gate of Dankoo.
 - B..... Gate of Chingyang.
 - C..... Gate of Won.
 - D..... Tower of yungkui.
 - E..... Extra fields
 - F..... Ponds.
 - a..... One-Myo Road.
 - b..... Three-Myo Road.
 - c..... Nine-Myo Road.

paper. It is quite conceivable that such a law might be enacted to serve both as a tax and rent on land. In the reign of King Kyungduk of the Silla dynasty 1 more detailed land laws were enacted. These can be found in the records of the old literature but whether or not there was private ownership in lands is unknown because in those early days the principle of the government ownership of all lands prevailed. Moreover, the people were servile to the king, as indicated by the familiar phrase "There is neither soil under the sun nor subjects upon the shores which are not of the king."

The great king, Wangkum, who arose from the private ranks to the throne, reformed the land laws 2 left disordered at the end of the Silla dynasty, at the very commencement of his great policy of consolidating the Koryu dynasty which lasted five hundred years. His grandson, King Singchong, worked out 3, too, the elaborated emolument schedules in paying his civil and war officials by means of allotments of fields and forest lands, but it is unknown to us as to the method of operating the granted

1. Samkukseaki. History of Three Kingdoms, Vol. II, Part III.

2. Koryusa. History of Koryu, Vol. III, Part IV.

3. Koryusa. History of Koryu, Vol. II, Part IX.

lands by the officials owing to the scarcity of documentary materials, although it can be inferred that they might let out the lands granted for rent since they could not cultivate them themselves.

Section 2. The Development of Private Ownership in Land

The private ownership of land was prohibited and the principles described in the preceding paragraphs were maintained from the beginning to the middle of the Koryu dynasty. But it is no longer possible to support the policy of government ownership of all land nor to enforce the detailed land laws which were provided for the purpose of allotting land and forest to the officials according to their rank and position, because of the development of the economic conditions and social needs of the people, which had taken place largely after the middle of the dynasty. The officials not only enjoyed their exclusive possession of lands but some of the great families owned a definite area of land under the government grant. The latter, of course, were allowed to do so by the court in special consideration of their distinguished services in expelling foreign invaders. This opened, however, the door to the universal introduction of private ownership of land later on. At the end of the dynasty all lands actually were owned by

private persons and moreover, some of the officials in high power and some of the great families carried their influence over the poorer class of the common people so far as to compel the latter to give their lands to the former. This led to chaotic conditions and something had to be done for the general public. Cho Choon, the revolutionist and political economist at that time, says in part in his memorial to the throne; "Recently the great families' hunt for lands has reached its climax. Corrupt and dishonest elements in the court have taken a giant stride in the remote rural sections of the country, in taking possession of lands in marking mountains and rivers the boundaries by claiming that the lands within the boundaries are inherited from their forefathers who received the privileges from government in reward for military services. It is also commonplace for them to snatch and strive among themselves. Consequently, a tract of land sometimes belongs to five or six private owners, the annual rent amounting to eight or nine-tenths of the total product of the crop. Not only are the governmental lands owned by them implicitly in some cases, but also even the mulberry tree lands which were planted two or three generations before and owned by actual farmers are openly taken from them in many cases. Thus the masses ul-

timately lost their means of living." 4 Some similar memorials are found in Koryu history. It is beyond the scope of the present chapter to give a full statement of them, but this state of affairs could not continue long and a wholesale land reformation took place at that time. Cho Cheon, Lee Saik, and Cho Inok about 1400 A. D. were the prominent figures in the great reformation.

Such is the development of private ownership of lands in Korea. This origin of land ownership somewhat resembles the English manorial system in which the knights who had rendered great military services were given possession of lands by the king during the period of the Roman and later invasions and it developed into private ownership later.

Section 3. The Beginnings of Tenancy and its Evils in the Middle Age

The general cause of tenancy is found in the fact that certain individuals own land which they do not want to till or manage because they have so much of it while there are landless persons who do not have sufficient funds to purchase land. Consequently, a contract, written or oral, is made between the two parties by which the landowner or land-

lord may have his land cultivated by the landless, each enjoying a share of the return. So is it safe to say that there is no such thing as tenancy before the advent of the private ownership of land. The serfdom or villainage in England in olden times may be treated as a special type of land tenure precedent to modern tenancy.

In Korea it can be inferred that when all lands were under government ownership, there was no such thing as tenancy. But when the private land ownership was universally introduced and certain persons had seized possession of immense areas of land, there were many landless tenants. We are not able to say just when the tenant system emerged in Korea, but it is certain that it was introduced as a result of private ownership of land. At the time of the reformation of the land laws the evils of tenancy were in evidence. This can be substantiated by certain articles in the land reformation acts of 1396 and 1399: "Landlords found guilty of depriving tenants of their right of cultivation without any fault on the part of the tenant shall be given a penalty of 20 floggings when the farm contains from one to five "Boccs" $\frac{1}{5}$ of land. Additional floggings are given

5. "Boc" is a unit of area and also used as a unit of tax on land.

with each additional five "Bocoes" thereon with a limitation of 80 floggings.

"In case the area of land exceeds 100 "Bocoes," the said land shall be escheated and transferred to other persons.

"The tenants shall not be permitted to sell any rights in land to third persons or families without the consent of the landlords whose land they are cultivating.

"In case of the death, removal, or extinction of a tenant family line or in case any tenant rents land without a real intention of effective cultivation, the landlord shall be allowed to dispose of the said land as he may see fit." 6

Not only somewhat similar terms can be found in another memorial to the throne by Cho Choon referred to in the preceding section, but also some of the unfortunate relationship between landlords and tenants was suggested by him. He says in part:

"The agents of the absentee landlords have been worse than robbers. When they enter the fields to judge the crop and fix the shares going to landlord and tenant, respectively, they are treated by the tenant with every possible

honor. They are entertained with feasting and drinking by the tenants to the extent of losing their appetites even at an especially good table and horses are stuffed with new grains and beans. The share of the tenant then amounts to nothing by the time his rent is paid up." 7

Cho Cheon possibly exaggerated the situation prevailing at that time. The illustration above may be considered as an extreme case. At the same time we can believe with good reasons that the arrogant attitude of the landlords or their agents toward the poor tenants was quite beyond expression. The present attitude of landlords toward tenants suggests that the situation five hundred years ago must have been very bad.

Section 4. Land Laws and Tenancy in the Chosen or "Yi" Dynasty

In the beginning of the Chosen or "Yi" dynasty following the Koryu the fundamental frame work of land laws was formed by the new government by modifying to some extent the land reformation acts above mentioned. The law provided for "public fields" on the one side and "private fields" on the other to meet social and economic conditions. This classification of land is based on whether or not lands are exempted from taxation. The exempted lands are called

7. Koryusa. History of Koryu, Vol. II, Part VII.

"public fields" and the other "private fields."

In the reign of King Seichong more minute and comprehensive laws and regulations were elaborated, together with the land survey regulations. The Japanese invasion in 1592, however, destroyed not only the material evidences of civilization, but also the established organizations as well. So that many of the land laws could not be reenforced even after the war. In the succeeding ages the government failed to readjust the regulations on land on account of the stirring days which were passed by the Manchurian invasion and the several civil wars.

The consequent wartime emergency expenses compelled the government to initiate a new land system — the so-called "Doonjun." This was the system of granting lands by the government to the military camps for the purpose of defraying their necessary expenses. But in later days the "Doonjun" gave birth to many evils together with the maladministration of the "Koongchangto" or Manor — mainly public fields — which were granted to the royal princes or princesses for the benefit of their respective families. These two kinds of land systems explain the confusion regarding the "public" and "private" fields. Some of the corrupt officers of the government or servants of the royal

families began to sell the "public fields" surreptitiously and to deprive powerless individuals the ownership of land under the guise of compulsion on the part of military camps or the "palaces." Thus the land laws became badly disorganized.

Finally some of the dishonest nobles and men of high power and rank — sometimes called "Yangban" — took advantage of the existing confusion in the land system and acquired immense areas of lands in unlawful ways. On the other hand, common people lost their lands under the false charge of the "camps," "palaces," or "nobles." They were at the mercy of the "Yangban" and had no court of appeal. Most of the powerless farmers could scarcely continue to live as tenants. This state of affairs lasted about half a century until the eventful year, 1893.

In this year the lowest class revolted against the "Yangban" and government, but they failed to accomplish their purposes. In the following year the government proclaimed a general reformation of the laws and regulations including land laws which were made favorable to the general public. In the succeeding years the present system of land ownership was established. This land reformation came to an end with the "Land Survey" in 1915, which covered all of Korea and required seven years to complete.

The tenant from 1400 to about 1750 had generally farmed under the protection of good laws well enforced. But from 1750 to the present day they have suffered under social influences and political atmosphere. They suffered most by the merciless "Yangban" landlords mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

There is no written law at present concerning tenancy in Korea. The two parties — landlords and tenants — simply follow custom and tradition in determining their rights and duties. On account of the disadvantageous position, socially and economically, the tenants are always likely to be overburdened with duties or to have their rights trampled upon by the landowners when dividing the product of the land. The will of the landlord, depending upon whether the latter is high or low in rank, or whether he owns a large or small area, sometimes exerts a great influence upon community affairs. So a great deal of the fortune or misfortune of tenants depends in some cases upon the will of the landlord. The tenants always stand in a subordinate position.

In recent years the growing class consciousness and the progress of current thought on the part of tenants, coupled with racial prejudices against the Japanese capitalistic possession of lands, has brought about a serious

antagonism among Japanese landlords and Korean tenants and landlords. The relationship between the two parties is growing worse and has resulted in the shedding of blood in some extreme cases. The result was that tenants were put into prison. This state of affairs is even more serious in Japan. The present situation will be considered more in detail in a later chapter.

Section 5. The Percentage of Tenants at the Present Time

Here it is proper to consider the percentage of tenant farms and the percent of farm acreage operated by tenants. One can easily imagine that Korea must contain a large number of tenants after looking over the historical background described in the foregoing sections. The census returns in 1925 show that the part owners numbered 910,178 and pure tenants 1,184,422, totaling 2,044,602 in number of farms. The Paddy Fields farmed by tenants amounted to 2,489,041 acres and the Fields 2,898,840 acres. This means that 76.6 percent of the entire number of farms and 55.6 percent of the entire number of farm acres of the country are now under the operation of tenants. To make a comparison of the nations of the world in tenancy let us draw upon a chart on page 508 of the annual report of the United States Department of Agriculture for 1925.

Table VII. Percentage of Farms and Farm Acreage Operated by Tenants, Selected Countries; Including Part Owners in the United States, France, China, and Canada. 1

Countries	Year	Percentages ^{/2}
United States	1920	A. 46.8
		B. 46.1
United Kingdom	1914	A. 88.9
		B. 90.2
Australia	1917	A. No data
		B. 78.9
New Zealand	1917	A. No data
		B. 58.5
Argentina	1914	A. 38.5
		B. No data
Belgium	1910	A. No data
		B. 54.2
Ireland	1916	A. 36.0
		B. No data
France	1892	A. 36.1
		B. 47.2
China	1920	A. 49.5
		B. No data
Germany	1907	A. 25.4
		B. 12.7
Canada	1921	A. 7.9
		B. 14.6
Japan	1921	A. 59.1
		B. 46.3
Denmark	1918	A. 8.0
		B. 7.3
Korea	1925	A. 76.6
		B. 55.6

1. Data for Korea based on study of materials presented in this thesis.

2. A indicates the percentage of farms operated by tenants or part owners, and B the percentage of farm acreage operated by tenants or part owners.

This table reveals that Korea occupies second place in order of the percentage in number of farms and fourth place in number of farm acres operated by tenants. It is generally agreed among students of agricultural economics that ordinarily a small percentage of tenancy is desirable. It is said that England has no trouble with her relatively large number of tenants but England has resorted to several Small Holdings Acts to maintain better conditions between landlords and tenants. In view of these statistical facts and actual relationships of the two parties there must be found some remedial measures to better the condition of the tenants in Korea.

Chapter IV. Tenant Lands

Tenant lands are commonly of two kinds: Paddy Fields and Fields. There are also "forest," "grassy," "reedy," and "bamboo" lands, but they are seldom operated by tenants. This chapter will, therefore, be devoted mainly to a consideration of Paddy Fields and Fields and the various customs and restrictions which pertain to them.

Section 1. Acreage of Tenant Lands

According to the latest census returns published by the Agricultural Bureau of the Government the amount of land cultivated by owners and tenants respectively is as follows.

Table VIII. Farm Acreage Operated by Owners and Tenants

(000 omitted)

Provinces	Owners		Tenants		Total
	Paddy Fields	Fields	Paddy Fields	Fields	
	(acres)	(acres)	(acres)	(acres)	(acres)
North Hamkyung	17	443	5	41	506
South Hamkyung	68	864	41	156	1,129
North Pyungan	63	394	147	276	880
South Pyungan	71	436	100	372	979
Whanghai	88	419	330	570	1,407
Kangwon	100	433	96	196	825
Kyungki	129	159	465	291	1,044
North Cheongchung	63	98	102	68	331
South Cheongchung	112	105	276	95	588
North Kyungsang	205	127	257	240	829
South Kyungsang	142	127	262	264	795
North Chulla	84	71	323	93	571
South Chulla	196	340	298	169	1,003
Total	1,338	4,016	2,702	2,831	10,887

From the figures in Table VIII the amount of tenancy by provinces can be easily seen. The highest percentage of tenancy is found in North Chulla Province where it rises to approximately 72.8 percent; followed by Kyungki Province with 66.1 percent; South Choongchung Province with 65.5 percent; Whanghai Province with 60.9 percent; South Kyungsang Province with 59.8 percent; and North Choongchung Province with 57.4 percent. The lowest percentage of tenancy occurs in North Hamkyung Province where it is only 9.6 percent.

The explanation for these differences, in my opinion, is found in the following facts: The North and South Choongchung Provinces, North and South Kyungsang Provinces, and North and South Chulla Provinces are called the "Three South." This term signifies that they occupy the southern part of the country and have an enjoyable climate and fertile soils. Most of the "Yangbans," the officers of the old government and the servants of the royal palaces, preferred to have their country homes in those provinces, and these homes consist of large landed estates, especially those which are scattered throughout the Kyungki, and North and South Choongchung Provinces where they were accessible to the capital, where their official residence was located. The natural result of this social condition was a high degree of tenancy. As to the highest percentage in the North

Chulla Province, there is one thing to be considered and that is the large investment of Japanese capital in recent years. Of course, they purchase lands in all parts of the country, but this province has the largest amount of low level land in the country and almost seven-tenths of these lands are now owned by Japanese. The North Hankyung province, with the low percentage of 9.6, has been free from the invasion of Yangban or Japanese on account of the bitter cold in winter and the remoteness from the capital, Seoul.

So far as the trend of tenant acreage for Korea as a whole is concerned, a study can be made by using the figures from the annual census reports of the government. During the decade from 1916 to 1925 tenant acreage has shown an increase of 18,300 acres in Fields and 17,150 acres in Paddy Fields, while the land tilled by owners has shown an increase of 46,550 acres in Fields and only 9,800 acres in Paddy Fields.

Section 2. The Cost of Production on Tenant Farms

The cost of production on tenant farms may differ in many ways. It will differ according to locality, fertility and location of land, intensity of cultivation, and weather conditions. It is, therefore, impossible in some cases to determine the comparative productivity of the tenant farms.

But some investigations have been undertaken and their results indicate the cost of production on the farms at a definite time. The government of the South Chulla Province investigated in 1922 in five counties, chosen at random, the cost of production of rice per "Suk" (about five bushels). It has been shown that in the case of landowners B 8 it costs \$4.40 and in the case of landowners A 9, \$5.55, and in the case of tenants \$4.50 on the average. The cost of production of barley per "Suk" was also shown to be on the average \$5.06 in the case of landowners B, \$4.54 for landowners A, and \$4.99 for tenants.

Some studies of the cost of production according to the area of land have been made in the southern part of the country. These studies were conducted by the government in 1922 and 1923, five places at random being taken as samples. The total expense of cultivation of one "Toolak" or "Hajigi" (approximately one-eighth of an acre) of rice land amounted to \$14.51 on the average. The detailed items are:

Seed.....	\$0.29
Irrigating expenses.....	0.24
Manures and fertilizers.....	4.46
Taxes <u>10</u> and rates <u>11</u>	0.79
Wages and interest.....	6.32
Farm Improvements.....	2.39
Total.....	<u>14.51</u>

8. The landowner who owns and tills all his land.

9. The landowner who not only owns and tills some of his own land, but also leases out his extra land to tenants.

10. "Taxes" refer to levies of the central government.

11. "Rates" refer to provincial and local taxes.

Section 3. Taxes on Tenant Farms

The "Principal tax" upon land without buildings in 1924 was levied at a rate of \$17 per \$1,000 of "Legal land valuation," approximately at the present time one-third of the selling value. The "principal tax" is levied for the benefit of the central government, while the rates are for the benefit of provinces, villages, and schools. The provincial tax is imposed at 27 percent, the village tax at 60 percent, and the school tax at 30 percent of the principal tax.

The legal land valuation and the charges per "Hajigi" vary according to the grade of land, but in the southern provinces the legal land valuation per "Hajigi" averages \$21.00 for Paddy Fields and \$8.50 for Fields. All charges thereon per "Hajigi" average 78 cents in Paddy Fields and 32 cents for Fields. The land tax and rates are usually payable by the landowners. Lands owned by the government, provinces, localities, or villages for the purpose of providing for public and common benefits, and lands upon which the crops have been totally damaged by insect havoc, drought, inundation, or other causes of an inevitable character are exempt from taxation. It is very apparent, there-

fore, that landlords pay the taxes indirectly, but in the process of adjusting contract rent to economic rent the tenants may agree with their landlords to pay the taxes directly.

The expenses of irrigation and manuring on the tenant farms are paid for by tenants in most cases. There are differences of sharing the expenses according to type of tenancy and sections of the provinces. These will be considered in a later chapter.

Section 4. The Expenses of Improvements and Repairs on Tenant Farms

The small expenses due to repairs on tenant farms are borne by the tenants. The work is done in leisure time and no compensation can be expected from the landlords. Large expenses due to improvements and repairs on tenant farms are usually borne by landlords, but the tenants may contribute their personal labor without wages. In such case the landlords usually provide the noon meals for the tenants.

In case of organizing a "waterworks association" for the purpose of irrigation and drainage, where a large amount of funds is required, the landlords bear the entire expense, but small works such as digging ditches, repairing waterways, or rebuilding the ridges in the fields

are done by tenants without receiving money from the landlords.

Section 5. Restrictions on the Utilization of Tenant Lands

In the case of Paddy Fields the landlords put some limitations on the kinds and varieties of crops which may be raised on the farms. Some progressive landlords, for instance, let out the land on the condition that the tenants raise the improved variety of rice designated by them. Most of the landlords dislike double cropping because it is customary for the landlords not to share in the second crop and furthermore double cropping results in increased soil depletion.

In the case of Fields, if the type of tenancy provides for "Fixed-Product rent," there are ordinarily no such limitations as those mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, but there is one special exception. Where the tenants rent under term of "Fixed-Product rent," they are at liberty to plant perennials such as mulberry and fruit trees. These must all be cleared away at the expiration of the lease, however. Tenants do not enjoy this privilege in case of "Share tenancy."

It is customary to utilize the land mark ridges in the fields by the tenant at his discretion, but in recent years

the landlords have come to look with disfavor upon the planting of certain crops on them, especially beans, because they would affect the crops in the main fields.

The organization of the field system cannot be changed by the tenants without the consent of the landlords concerned. There are, however, two important exceptions as follows: First, the tenant may make temporary changes in the layout of the fields during his tenure, but the original layout must be restored at the termination of the tenure. Second, the beneficial changes for improving the land can be made by tenants without the consent of landlords, but the expense is borne by the tenants and they likewise secure for themselves the additional income resulting from the improvement.

It is generally provided that tenants shall not injure the lands through their carelessness or neglect, and that they shall not unnecessarily waste the fertility of the soil. Were the tenants to violate these restrictions and limitations they would, to be sure, be immediately discharged by their landlords. In case serious damage has been done to the lands through wilful neglect on the part of tenants, they are required to pay the expense of restoring the lands.

Section 6. Sub-letting of Tenant Farms

Tenants cannot ordinarily sub-let to third persons without the landlords' approval. Sub-letting is common in some parts of the country. This arises from two causes -- first, absentee landlords cannot supervise the farms effectively, so they necessarily allow the tenants to sub-let the land; second, landlords grant it to their own relatives or friends who in turn sub-let to cultivators. There is also a little sub-letting done secretly without the consent of the landlord. This is due to three causes: First, although the tenant has leased the land for a long period of years in the expectation of cultivating it himself, sickness or other inevitable contingencies may have prevented him from doing so, in which event he sub-lets to his relatives or friends without notifying the landlord; secondly, individuals lease the land in their own name with the intention of helping relatives who are not able to secure land themselves; thirdly, tenants sometimes lease land for the purpose of getting the substantial gains which may arise through sub-letting. Cases of this kind seldom occur because of the objections of the landlords, and they exist only because there is such a shortage of land. The amount of sub-letting has tended to diminish in recent years.

The selling by the tenant of crops before harvest does not frequently occur except in the cases where the tenant is going to move to another place. Likewise, the selling of lease rights is rarely found.

All the foregoing conditions arise from the shortage of land as contrasted with the abundance of land available to tenant farmers in America.

Chapter V. Landlords and Tenants

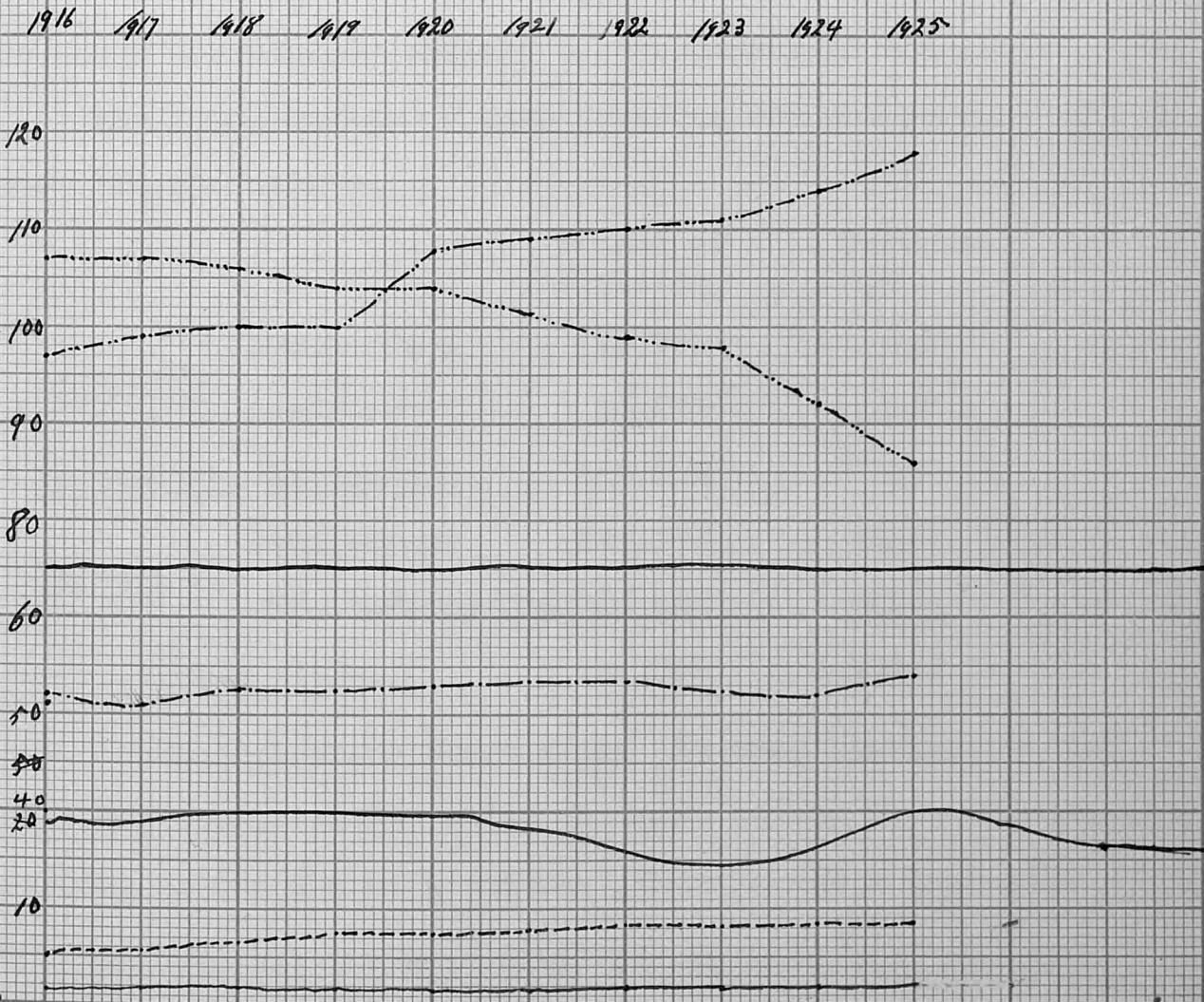
Section 1. Classification of Landlords and Tenants

"Landlords" include all the landed proprietors except those who own and till their own lands; that is to say, they are landowners who, for rent, let out their farm land wholly or partially to tenants. The former will be designated as "landlords A" and the latter "landlords B." They are kept separate for the "A" landlords are sometimes farmers and sometimes not, whereas the "B" landlords are always farmers. These two kinds of landlords have an important and significant relationship to the tenant system. Official statistics of the government in 1925 show that the number of families of the "landlord A" class is 19,755, while the "landlord B" class numbers 83,831. The percentage of the former who are farmers is 0.5 percent and the latter is 3.0 percent of the total number of farmers. Most of the "landlord A" class live in the cities. In the South Chulla province there is one landlord for every seven tenants on the average and the average landlord owns 14.2 acres.

As to the trend of increase or decrease in the number of landlords, the accompanying chart shows the situation during the decade from 1916 to 1925. This chart shows also

Graph. II Land TENURE in KOREA. 1916-1925
(By Families)

- LANDLORDS A.
- - - - LANDLORDS B.
- · - · - · INDEPENDENT FARM OWNER. (YEOMAN TYPE FARMER.)
- · - · - · PURE TENANTS.
- · - · - · PART OWNERS.
- * Unit: Thousand.



the situation of the tenants and the yeoman 12 type of farmers.

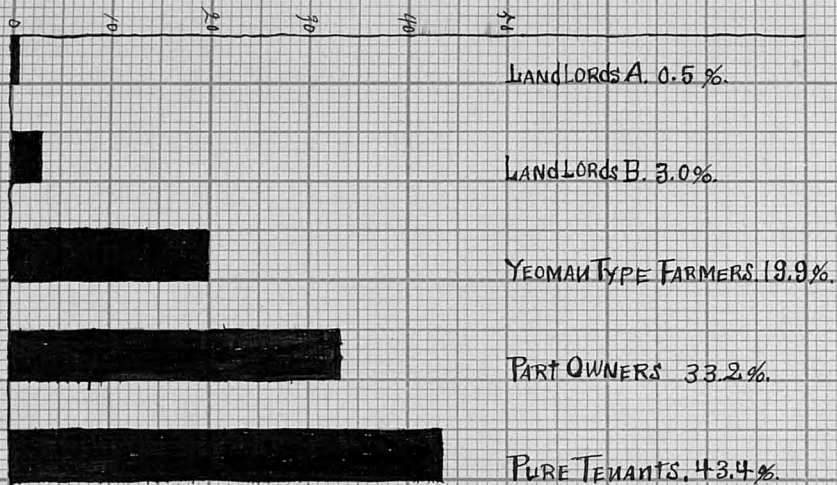
"Tenants" include both the "pure tenants" and the "part owners." The former refers to the farmer who owns no lands while the latter owns a part and leases a part. The latest statistical returns show that the number of part owner families was 910,178, and pure tenants 1,184,422; 33.2 percent of the total number of farm families were part owners and 43.4 percent were pure tenants. These families can be considered as units. The number of farm families in Korea corresponds exactly to the number of farms.

The total number of farm families and the percent of each are as follows.

		Number of families	Percent- age
<u>Landlords</u>	Landlords A	19,735	0.5
	Landlords B	83,831	3.0
<u>Yeoman type landowners</u>		546,112	19.9
<u>Tenants</u>	Part owners	910,178	33.2
	Pure tenants	<u>1,184,422</u>	<u>43.4</u>
	TOTAL	2,744,298	100.0

As the following chart shows the pure tenants are increasing very rapidly, while the part owners have decreased rapidly during the past decade. This is not a desirable

12. Farmers who cultivate and own their own lands.



The Percentage of Each Class of Farmers.
(By Number of Families)

social nor economic phenomenon. The tendency ordinarily must be in the opposite direction to show a healthy agricultural situation.

Section 2. The Economic Status of the Landlords and Tenants

The economic status of a group or of an individual can be determined by measuring the net income, but it is a rather hard task to determine or calculate the income and expenses of the landlords or tenants in general. This difficulty comes from the fact that the income and expense factors under consideration may differ for each member of the group by localities, size of farms, number of family members, standard of living, and the like. There are some available data which can be used for the purpose of observing the general status of the two groups, landlords and tenants.

The Korea Daily News, under date of April 3, gives useful information on this problem. Under the heading of "The Economic Conditions of Farmers — Newest Investigation shows Miserable Condition of Tenants," the paper says in part: "The general conditions of agriculture have progressed, but the tenants are continuously in a lamentable condition. In the southern part of the country, the tenant disputes are more frequent. This is due to the fact that there are so many tenants whose incomes are less than their

expenses. The government is planning to appoint special officials to handle the matter. Investigations on tenant customs will also be made in the next few years. The incomes and expenses of the farmers by provinces, already investigated by the authorities, are shown in the following table. The incomes include all the items of farm products, by-products and other miscellaneous items. The expenses include also all the items of the cost of cultivation, cost of living, taxes and rates, and other miscellaneous costs. All the tenants operating farms of less than average size have deficient balance of expenses over income as shown in the table. They continue their living, from spring to fall, on loans advanced by landlords. They are really in a miserable condition. The number of independent farm laborer families at present is estimated at about 162,000. They, together with the tenant families numbering about 973,000, are hard pressed."

The economic life of tenants and independent farm laborers is growing worse year after year. It is regrettable that they cannot get out of this critical condition, especially in view of the fact that they make up the large body of farmers as shown in the preceding section. The social environment and industrial organization give them no means of bettering themselves at the present time. On the other hand, their lot is growing harder as a conse-

Table IX. Farmer's Income and Expense

Unit: One yen /1

Province	Landlords			Yeoman type of farmers			Part owners			Pure tenants			Farm Laborers		
	Income	Expense	Balance	Income	Expense	Balance	Income	Expense	Balance	Income	Expense	Balance	Income	Expense	Balance
North Hamkyung	6,340	3,751	2,588	682	556	126	602	529	73	646	510	136	150	154	-4
South Hamkyung	2,227	1,299	928	524	458	66	601	583	18	405	409	-4	92	99	-7
North Pyungan	2,058	938	1,120	525	428	97	491	443	50	436	444	12	76	76	0
South Pyungan	4,789	2,823	1,955	655	539	116	520	490	30	434	439	-5	71	83	-12
Whanghai	4,738	3,612	1,126	437	363	74	353	315	38	313	309	4	92	99	-7
Kangwon	1,236	1,066	170	187	368	19	379	364	15	349	340	9	94	92	-2
Kyungki	2,172	1,740	432	673	565	108	611	501	110	523	514	9	89	101	-12
North Choongchung	2,614	1,784	830	613	525	158	606	540	66	501	476	26	90	97	-7
South Choongchung	3,143	2,018	1,125	740	598	141	645	620	25	555	558	-3	135	135	0
North Kyungsang	3,260	2,146	1,114	1,092	1,020	72	801	781	20	692	710	-17	53	53	0
South Kyungsang	6,175	4,220	1,955	1,829	1,383	446	855	814	41	664	694	-30	137	133	4
North Chulla	5,031	3,084	1,948	794	688	106	623	601	21	421	494	-73	104	114	-10
South Chulla	8,592	2,784	5,808	735	648	87	531	530	1	542	523	19	105	111	-6

1. One yen equals 50 cents.

quence of the overflowing agricultural immigration from Japan encouraged since the annexation by that government. They become heavily indebted and wretchedly impoverished. This, in its turn, creates grave social and economic unrest. They consider revolution to relieve the situation. We find here an illustration of the philosophy of Aristotle who said that poverty is the parent of revolution and crime.

Section 3. Debt and Credit Relations Existing
Between Landlords and Tenants

Landlords do not find it difficult to borrow money for their necessary uses, which is quite contrary to the position of the tenant class. There are credit societies and other cooperative organizations in the country mainly organized for the purpose of mutual help among the farmers. But these organizations lend no money on personal credit. The industrial banks also strictly adhere to the policy of not loaning on personal credit. Consequently, if a farm owner wants to borrow money, he can mortgage his farm. The poor tenants possess no means of complying with this requirement and have no way to get rid of the pressing need for money to maintain their living and the cultivation of this land. As a result they have to resort to the doors of usurers or pawn houses or else go to the landlords to tide over the urgent needs. In such cases they are compelled to

pay the highest rate of interest. The cooperative societies and the industrial banks usually let out their money at interest rates of from 8 to 10 percent annually on real estate mortgages. Usurers, however, charge the borrowers interest rates as high as 30 percent oftentimes. In recent years some of the landlords have realized that extreme poverty on the part of tenants has a malicious effect on the productivity of the tenant lands, and have been willing to lend money to the tenants at reduced rates of interest if the tenants use the money for cultivating, fertilizers, tilling, cattle, and for improvements in general. But this has not yet been done sufficiently to help much. It is, however, fair to say that such changes in the attitude on the part of landlords creates a warm atmosphere between the two parties.

There are certain other measures taken by the landlords for the purpose of bettering the conditions of the tenant farmers. Most of the objectives are to direct and to protect the tenants in their effort to develop and improve the general agricultural interest as well as living conditions. Some of the main steps are the following.

A. Establishment of Tenant Societies. --With the objects in view of protecting tenant interests, directing farm improvements, developing local farming conditions, and bettering living conditions, some of the landlords have

established so-called Tenant Societies in recent years. The business of these societies is to encourage saving, better management of seed fields, better cultivation and an increase in the use of green manures, cooperative purchase of farm tools and fertilizers, fighting insect attacks, utilization of farm credits, cooperative selling of farm products, exchange of seed rice, hiring of cattle, and so on. Some of the societies have shown a remarkable achievement in the past few years and their number is increasing. In 1923 the South Chulla province had about 500 societies with a membership of over 10,000.

B. Giving Rewards to Meritorious Tenants. — A limited number of landlords select some of the better tenants, and reward them for increasing the productivity of the land during the tenure.

C. Exhibitions and Fairs. — The societies of landlords collect rice produced by tenants and hold small scale fairs and exhibitions in many parts of the country yearly. Producers of the best quality are rewarded. This plan stimulates competition among the tenants.

D. Establishment of Seed Fields and Selection Fields, and Distribution of Seeds of Green Manuring Crops.

E. Lending of Money at Low Interest Rates. — To help the tenants get out of debt, some of the landlord societies

lend funds at reasonable rates of interest without security. They require the tenants to make payments in yearly installments. They also offer the tenants the free use of improved farm tools for a given period without charge.

F. Encouraging the Use of By-products.

G. Encouraging Postal Savings.

The above described measures and steps are merely an outline of the general tendency, but we can observe that the landlords are trying to adapt themselves to the timely tides of thought and needs. This is beneficial for both tenants and landlords.

Section 4. The Oriental Development Company and Japanese Landlords

As soon as the Japanese obtained political power in the peninsula by military operations and connivery, they began not only to control foreign commercial rights but also to undermine the agricultural structure of the country. After the eventful annexation of Korea to Japan in 1910, the Japanese government put its prepared policy into effect. Consequently, all commercial rights were controlled, all mines were forced to make contracts with Japanese concerns, and all forested mountain lands were confiscated and put under government ownership. There is not space here to enter into the details of the drastic and exploitive policies, but in short all natural resources were completely

put under the government or ceded to Japanese capitalists. Agricultural land, however, was not so easily transferred from the conservative Korean farmers into Japanese hands. Government and capitalist, therefore, joined together to encroach by a scientific method upon the agricultural land. This is the background and motive for the establishment of the Oriental Development Company and other capitalistic enterprises in agriculture. It is said that at present half the entire land area in Korea is owned by or mortgaged to the Japanese government and Japanese private landowners. The Oriental Development Company is also a representative of the many Japanese capitalistic landowners. Some of the details of that company as a landlord will be discussed here. Whatever their restless efforts toward getting land into their hands and whatever the government's trickish policy in aiding them to do so may have been, it is an amazing fact that half of the lands should fall into their hands in so short a time, — about 20 years! Let us examine a little more closely the plan of the Oriental Development Company.

The Oriental Development Company came into existence in the year 1908 as a joint-stock enterprise, with a capital of \$5,000,000. Its capital was purchased by the Japanese government and private individuals. It was authorized to issue debentures to the extent of ten times the paid-up

capital stock. The government guaranteed redemption of such debentures to the extent of \$10,000,000 together with the interest thereon. The business of the company was officially prescribed as follows.

1. Selling, purchasing, renting and leasing of lands.
2. Management and control of lands.
3. Construction, selling, purchasing, and renting of buildings.
4. Assembling and distributing Japanese immigrants.
5. Supplying necessary articles to immigrants and distribution of articles produced or acquired by them.
6. Furnishing funds to immigrants.

The Japanese government also took care to grant the company a subsidy of \$150,000 annually which was paid in the form of a tax by Korean taxpayers. The company immediately began to acquire lands from the Korean farmers. The Japanese government has consistently cooperated with the company. It set up a shrewd scheme to gain its ends. First the government manipulated the monetary system through the Taihan Bank which was strictly under the government control and issued so much paper money that the company was able to bid an extraordinarily high price for the land. The Korean landowners were unaware of this scheme and sold willingly on account of the boom in land prices and the general business prosperity. They soon discovered to their sorrow that they got only depreciated paper money for their lands.

Complaints and grievances among the people were many and stormy clouds appeared on the political horizon. The Japanese government lost no time in sending thousands of soldiers into the farming sections of the country. At the same time the government ordered the company to cease purchasing lands. The next step of the company was to assemble immigrants from the interior of Japan and locate them on the purchased lands in Korea in accordance with the business principles above mentioned. The acquired lands — Paddy Fields, Fields, Forest Land, and Other Miscellaneous Land — amounted to 171,118 acres during the period from 1908 to about 1913. The land of the company at present extends into Manchuria and the South Sea Islands, and acts as an immigration company under the direction of the Japanese government. The capital of the company has been increased to \$25,000,000.

The company modeled its immigration plan after the project which was practiced in Posen, Poland, by the German colonists before the great World War. It is not too much to say that the plan provides every possible convenience for the immigrants. The company's policy is to take the lands from the Korean farmers and give them to the Japanese immigrants without any loss on the part of the company and at the same time sucking out the blood of the Korean tenants as much as possible. It is hardly necessary here to enter into the details regarding the rules and regulations. Even

Dr. Eisaburo Ueno, professor of the Tokyo Imperial University, and other Japanese scholars strongly object to the sinister plans of the company.

The immigrants of the company may be divided into two classes. The one receives an allotment of about four acres per family from the company at the time of settlement. He acquires ownership to the land at the time he reimburses the company for the price, which requires 25 years. Interest is charged at the rate of six percent. No payments on principal are made during the first five years. The other type of immigrant receives an allotment of about 20 acres per family. One-fourth of the purchase price must be paid at the time of settlement and the remainder must be paid within 25 years with annual interest at seven percent. In the former case, therefore, three or four Korean tenant families are driven out with every Japanese immigrant. In the latter case at least more than ten tenant families have to move from their farm land. On the other hand, the immigrants are provided with every possible means for settling down, both by the company and the government. Since the establishment of the company, the total number of immigrants to 1923 was over 4,000 families or 20,000 individuals. The total settled lands amounted to 40,000 acres and loan funds to immigrants amounted to \$3,895,799.

What is fortunate for the Japanese immigrants is a question of life and death for the Korean tenants. A family of Japanese immigrants not only deprives so many of the Korean tenants of the land but the war-like Japanese live in the peaceful village of the Korean farmers just like a predatory lion lies down among flocks of gentle lambs. The Korean tenants who lost their lands became day laborers. The sudden increase of Korean immigration in recent years into Manchuria is a reflection of the Japanese immigration into Korea. The company consequently becomes an object of common hatred of the Korean people. Not only have there been many disputes and issues with the tenants, but the company's business office in Seoul was destroyed last year by a bomb thrown by a young Korean.

Other Japanese landowners including individuals and corporations are carrying on in much the same way as the Oriental Development Company. There are no available figures pertaining to the Japanese ownership of land during the last two years, but in 1922 it amounted to 624,550 acres. There were 148 Japanese who owned over 60 acres each and 31 who possessed over 2,000 acres each.

The Independent Movement of Korea in 1919 did not succeed and though the Japanese government's policy and the capitalistic landowner's attitude toward tenants have changed, the Korean's fight for freedom will never leave

their mind and soul. The tenant disputes with the Japanese owners have increased more rapidly than with the Korean owners.

Section 5. "Landlord Associations" and
"Tenant Associations"

The landlords and tenants have their own organizations to protect their mutual interest, better their conditions, and improve agriculture in general. These organizations are usually called "Landlord Associations," "Tenant Associations," or "Tenants' Mutual Help Associations." The Landlord Associations are usually sponsored by the officers of the local governments and have been doing certain kinds of work along the line of improving agriculture and protecting and directing the tenant's interest and business. Their activities are commonly as follows:

1. Rewarding progressive landlords and tenants.
2. Preparing programs showing improved farm moving pictures.
3. Planning programs for local fairs.
4. Holding short course schools for the agents of landlords.
5. Organizing travelling parties to observe advanced farming methods.
6. Managing the original rice seed field and encouraging the use of improved seeds.
7. Establishing model farms for tenants.

8. Holding meetings for farm discussion and for practical farm training.
9. Publishing farm circulars.
10. Distributing improved farming tools, manures, and young plants.

The landlord societies spread rapidly, almost every county having one society. The South Chulla province has 22 societies with 12,735 members, and expenses of \$22,500 in 1922.

Tenant associations are of two kinds. One is backed by landlords and is subject to their will in the conduct of their business. The other is organized by the tenants themselves for the purpose of protecting their interest against landlords and resisting unreasonable actions on the part of landlords. These latter have gained strength in recent years on account of the prevailing tendency toward socialism in the Orient. By 1923 the number of societies had greatly increased, especially in the southern part of the country. The South Chulla province has 455 societies with a membership of 32,777 at the end of the year. Their objectives and business are commonly as follows:

1. To protect tenants in their mutual interests.
2. To cooperate in the matter of improving agriculture.
3. To compel landlords to pay the taxes on land.
4. To demand that the expense of transporting the landlord's share of the product should be paid

for by the landlord when the distance is more than three miles to the shipping point.

5. To prevent landlords from removing tenants from their lands without fault on the part of the tenants.
6. To oppose and resist unreasonable actions of landlords.
7. To cooperate and help each other in cases of dispute with the landlords.

The tenant societies are increasing year after year.

Section 6. The Relationship Existing Between Landlords and Tenants

In former times the relationship of landlord and tenant was something like the relationship of a master to his subjects. The rank and file of the tenants in the social stratum was very low and the landlords were very liberal in economic matters with the tenants and had a feeling of warmth toward them. There were, therefore, no disputes between them and even though the landlords might do things disadvantageous to the tenants the latter could not complain of the landlord concerned owing to the social structure and the additional fact that their weak economic position might cause them more harmful consequences in the future. But nowadays the general conception of the landlord's obligations has been changed and the social structure has been entirely loosened. This is much like the English medieval

manorial system in its social nature and in its disintegration after the beginning of modern industrial life. In recent years socialistic currents of thought have poured into the peninsula from the surrounding nations -- especially from Russia and Japan. The extreme poverty of the tenants and laboring classes caused them to be very easily moved by external and temporary agitations. There were several cases of "class war" started by the Russian communist, Krepotokin. This state of affairs has become more and more serious in recent years. All this is the social and economic background of the so-called "tenant disputes" among the farmers. There are some quotable figures which show the number of disputes and the number of persons taking part in them.

Table X. Disputes Between South Chulla Korean Landlords and Korean Tenants. 1

Year	Number of Cases	Number of Persons
1920	2,956	5,347
1921	2,836	5,862

1. These figures are from an investigation which was conducted by the South Chulla provincial government.

Table XI. Disputes Between South Chulla Japanese Landlords and Korean Tenants. 1

Year	Number of Cases	Number of Persons
1920	378	1,009
1921	461	1,664

1. These figures are from an investigation which was conducted by the South Chulla provincial government.

Below is another table showing the increasing tendency to engage in disputes.

Table XII. Number of Tenant-Landlord Disputes in South Choongchung, 1923-1925. 1

Year	Number of Cases	Landlords	Tenants
1923	36	42	497
1924	80	83	178
1925	306	146	1,006

1. These figures are cited from the Report of the South Choongchung Provincial Government on Farmers' Economic Conditions, 1926.

According to this table the number of disputes is increasing by leaps and bounds. The disputes with Japanese are more frequent than with Korean landlords.

There are no available figures showing the total number of tenant disputes throughout the country, but it is obvious that they occur and presumably reach an astounding-ly large number. The next question might be raised as to the essential points at issue. To answer this question a table is presented below based upon the conditions in South Choongchung and Chulla provinces.

Table XIII. Number of Tenant Disputes.

Causes of Dispute/1	1920		1921		Total	
	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons	Cases	Persons
I	123	149	144	177	267	319
II	1,225	2,620	1,580	2,649	2,835	5,314
III	421	495	315	398	736	893
IV	659	715	667	1,233	1,526	1,976
V	479	490	592	1,019	1,061	1,509
TOTAL	3,332	4,467	3,298	5,516	6,235	11,001

1. Cause I, Demand not to increase rent; Cause II, Request to lower rent; Cause III, Demand to change type of tenancy; Cause IV, Demand to be free from paying taxes on land on the part of tenants; Cause V, Demand not to remove tenant rights without fault on the part of tenants.

Tenants are on the offensive while the landlords take the defensive. The causes are entirely of an economic nature. Cause II is responsible for the largest number among the five causes. This shows that tenant farming, owing to the high rate of rent, is not profitable, as already

mentioned in Section 3 in this chapter. There is a movement toward an adjustment of contract rent to economic rent. No one can deny that the disputes are due to class sentiment on the part of tenants who are trying to take a strong position in economic matters through organized action.

Among thousands of cases of tenant disputes there were three significant ones in which a number of tenants were killed by Japanese policemen and several injured. Others were imprisoned. These three cases are the Poonkyee, Amtai, and Bookyulnyuen disputes. The first two originated over the demand for rebates of rent. Hundreds of tenants took part in the dispute under the leadership of the Tenant Mutual Help Association. Several were wounded, but none killed. The third case, however, was the dispute between the tenants and the Oriental Development Company. Thousands of tenants gathered in the local branch office of the company and complained of the unreasonable rent and demanded that the rent should be reduced. While they were engaged in the dispute with the director of the branch office the Japanese troops came in and fired at them. As a result many of the tenants died on the spot and a dozen were severely wounded. This dispute lasted for two years but it ended in total failure for the tenants.

To summarize, there is social and economic unrest among

the farmers, a real sense to the progress and improvement of agriculture. The conditions of the tenants may be compared to the peasants of the southern part of Russia before the great war and revolution of that country. The writer will not venture to predict revolution, but social, economic, and political conditions urgently demand changes in every direction. At any rate the friendship between landlords and tenants must be quickly improved.

Chapter VI. The Forms of Land Tenure and Rent

Section 1. Types of Tenancy

The forms of land tenure can be roughly classified into two groups; that is, the Cash Rent System and the Share Rent System. The former is not commonly found except on the public lands and some incorporated public institutional lands. On the contrary, the latter is the most prevalent form of tenancy, and is subdivided into three types all distinctly different. These types are as follows:

1. Fixed-Product Rent (Wontochi).
2. Half-Share System (Tachak).
3. Surveying System (Tochi).

The cash rent method is used on about two percent of the entire acreage of Paddy Fields and Fields. The share rent method is found on about 98 percent of the acreage, of which the Paddy Fields constitute 58 percent and the Fields 40 percent.

The Cash Rent System. — The cash rental is usually not fixed in the contract. The rent is variable according to the price fluctuations of the products raised on the land. The computation of the amount of rent is somewhat complicated. For calculating the rent, the government or

public institutions select a terminal market near the tenancy as a standard. They determine the average price at this market by taking account of the cash prices and the trend of future quotations on the grain exchange during harvest time. This average price is represented by 100. They then compute the average November price for the preceding three years at the local markets in which the products of the tenant are usually marketed. They then measure the ratio between the two average market prices. The amount of cash rent is determined by multiplying this ratio by the amount of fixed rental figure which is already fixed according to the grades and yields of the tenancy. The amount of cash rent, therefore, varies from year to year. This method of calculation is rather troublesome, but it has an advantage for the tenants pay in proportion to the prices of their products.

The three types of share tenancy differ very much in the matter of determining the amount of rent. The general process is as follows.

Fixed-product rent or Wontochi. — According to this type of tenancy the amount of rent is determined once and for all at the time of signing the contract; that is, the rent once fixed at the beginning of the tenancy will never change until the expiration of the tenure. Usually the landlords and tenants take into consideration the quality

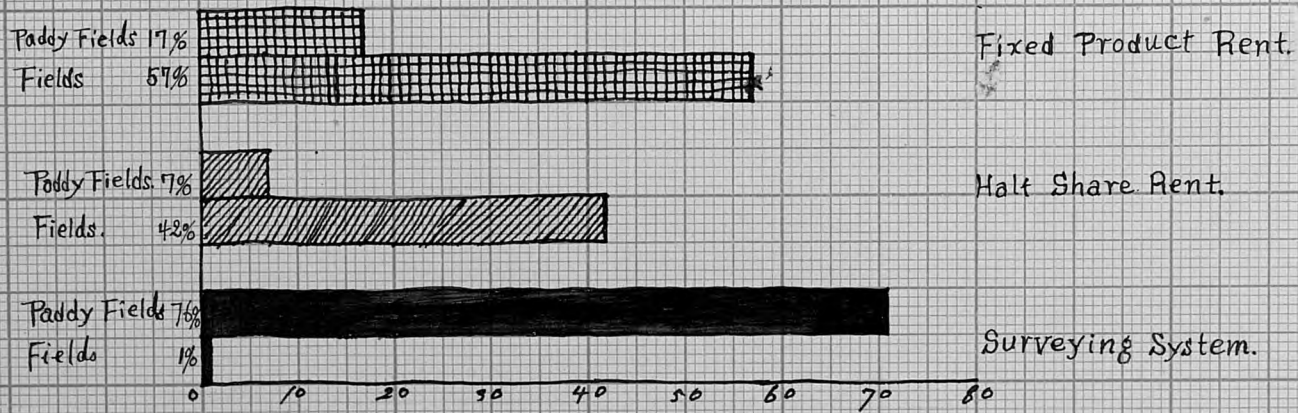
of the land and the average products of the several preceding years. This type, therefore, is commonly found on the good lands. It has the merit of lessening the administrative expenses on the part of landlords and permits the reaping of the benefits from the increased use of manures and farm improvements on the part of the tenant. On the other hand, in case of crop failure the tenants have to shoulder the heavy burden of paying rent without sufficient yields from the land. This type of tenancy constituted 17 percent of the rented Paddy Fields and 57 percent of the rented Fields in 1923.

The Half-share System. -- This type of tenancy is like the share rent system in the United States. It is also very similar to the metayer type of land leases in France and Italy. According to this form of tenancy the landlord and tenant each share half of the product of the land at the time of harvest. This type of tenancy is most prevalent where the tenant lands are inferior in location, fertility, and productivity, and where crops are uncertain. This type constituted seven percent of the Paddy Fields and 42 percent of the Fields in 1923.

The Surveying System. -- According to this type of lease the rent is determined at harvest time. The tenant and the landlord or his agent meet usually in the field in order to inspect the crop and survey the size of crops, and

estimate the yields of the land for that year. The calculation of the yields is commonly done by comparing the products of the preceding years with the results of the actual survey which is done by examining "cut" samples from the different parts of the field. The tenant, therefore, has a tendency to minimize the size of the crop and the landlord to maximize it. This method of rent determination brings about a conflict between the two parties interested. Rent fixing is something like price determination in the markets, being accompanied by such "bargaining" and "higgling." After much discussion the rent will be settled at a figure fairly agreeable to both landlord and tenant. This type of tenancy is the most common and prevails throughout the country, especially in connection with the Faddy Fields. It included 76 percent of the Faddy Fields, but only one percent of the Fields in 1923. This form of land lease does not encourage the tenant to improve his soil nor to increase the productivity of the land. Moreover, most of the landlords or their agents estimate the yields too high. This is the main cause of the notorious tenant disputes. The accompanying diagram shows the percentage of the various types of tenancy which are considered in the preceding paragraphs.

The Percentage of the Types of the Tenancy.



Section 2. The Rate and Amount of Rent

The rate of the rent as compared with the whole product of the land is hard to determine on account of the differences in the grade and kinds of lands, fertility and accessibility, facilities for irrigation, variation in the selling value of land by localities, forms of land tenure, single or double cropping, and the like. But according to investigations made by the government in 1925 the general prevailing rate of rent is as shown in the table on the following page.

According to this table, the rents vary from province to province, ordinarily ranging from 32 to 55 percent, with 50 percent the most prevalent. It may, therefore, be said that roughly the rate of rent is one-half the total product of the lands. But it is noteworthy that the maximum rate runs up as high as 80 percent of the total products.

The amount of rent per acre has been estimated in the southern part of South Chulla province by the government and representative cases are as follows.

	Uppermost grade of land (bu.)	Middle grade of land (bu.)	Low grade of land (bu.)
Paddy Fields	20 Rice	12 Rice	6 Rice
Fields	10 Rice	5 Barley	6 Beans

The trend of the increase in the percentage of the rent in general should be studied, but there are no available

Table XIV. Amount of Rent as Compared with Total Product. \triangle 1

Provinces	Lands	Type of Tenancy	Maximum	Minimum	Common
Kyungki	Paddy Fields	Fixed-product rent	56%	36%	46%
		Surveying method	50	40	45
	Fields	Fixed-product rent	65	38	49
		Surveying method	65	35	50
South Choong-chung	Paddy Fields	Fixed-product rent	70	30	46
		Surveying method	70	30	47
		Half-share	50	50	50
	Fields	Fixed-product rent	60	20	32
		Half-share	50	42	50
		Half-share	50	42	50
Whanghai	Paddy Fields	Fixed-product rent	52	35	40
		Surveying method	50	50	50
		Half-share	50	50	50
	Fields	Fixed-product rent	51	35	42
		Surveying method	50	50	50
		Half-share	50	50	50
South Kyung-sang	Paddy Fields	Fixed-product rent	80	30	50
		Surveying method	80	30	55
		Half-share	70	30	50
	Fields	Fixed-product rent	80	25	50
		Surveying method	80	30	50
		Half-share	70	30	50

1. Compiled from the "Investigations on the Tenancy Customs," by South Chulla Provincial Government and Choongchung Provincial Government, December 1923.

data at the present time. It is thought to have increased about 10 percent during the past decade. This is one of the most important causes for the recent tenant disputes.

It is an unwritten law that the rent may be temporarily reduced or go unpaid in case of crop failure resulting from serious droughts, floods, or insect attacks, and the like. When crops are 80 percent of an average yield no rebates are made but when there is only a half crop a rebate of one-half the rent is made and for a 30 percent crop all rent is rebated.

Section 3. Length of Tenure

Length of tenure in connection with the rent of land should be mentioned here. Generally speaking, the length of the lease is not a fixed one. It depends upon the willingness of the tenants to pay the rent at the proper date and in proper quantity. Sometimes it runs for life but at other times for only a year. The long term lease is conducive to farm improvements and agriculture in general. On the other hand, the frequent removal of a tenant not only causes soil depletion, but bears an important relation to tenant disputes. According to the "Investigation on Farmers' Economic Conditions and Tenant Situation" made by the South Choongchung Provincial Government in 1922, "The length of tenure as stated in tenants' contracts runs

from 10 years at the longest, 5 years on the average, to 3 years for the shortest. But in case the tenant is unable to show himself very competent, the lease can be terminated at the end of the growing season. When the time for the termination of the lease is not specified in the contract the lease runs for one year as a minimum and for many decades at the maximum."

Chapter VII. Tenant Contracts and Land Administration

Section 1. The Contract

As already indicated, the tenant contract may be either oral or written. In former times, contrary to the situation at present, the written contract was seldom found. Moreover, the continuous tenant disputes necessarily induce the landlords or their agents to take such legal precautions. In the case of an oral contract there is merely an informal agreement between tenant and landlord. On the other hand, in the case of a written contract, there are many specific provisions. The provisions listed below are those most commonly found.

1. Legal description of the land.
2. Classification as to types of land and acreage of each type.
3. Amount, kinds and quality of the products delivered as rent.
4. Tenure of the land.
5. Time when the rent is to be paid.
6. Place where the product given as rent should be delivered.
7. Restrictions on utilization of tenant land and crops thereon.
8. Matters concerning the transfer of the tenant's rights.

I, the tenant, hereby lease the above described lands which Mr. _____, the landlord, possesses, and agree on the under-mentioned articles.

Art. I. The termination of tenure shall be on _____, 19____.

Art. II. The rent shall be paid or delivered every year at the place where the landlord or his agent may order, and only improved crop varieties shall be grown.

Art. III. In years of crop failure, resulting from inevitable forces the rent shall be reduced or done away with altogether after inspection by the landlord.

Art. IV. All taxes and rates on the lands shall be paid by the landlord and all expenses such as improvements, repairs, manuring and watering by the tenant.

Art. V. The increase in the product resulting from the improvement of the lands shall not be shared in by the landlord in the form of an increased rent; and at the termination of the lease the lands shall be returned intact to the landlord, without any claim on the improvements made by the tenant during his tenure.

Art. VI. The tenant shall not make any disadvantageous or permanent changes in the lands.

Art. VII. The lease shall be terminated at any time if the tenant falls into any one of the following conditions:

- A. Taking bankruptcy proceedings.
- B. Failure to pay the rent at the proper time and place.
- C. Transference of the tenancy to a third person without the consent of the landlord.
- D. Paying rent by other than the actual products of the lands.

I shall therefore firmly fulfill every provision of the said articles and conclude hereby this contract in joint liability with Mr. _____, the guarantor.

Residence _____ tenant _____ (signed)

Residence _____ guarantor in joint liability _____ (signed)

Many other examples of leases could be shown, but it is not necessary here to describe more of them. Furthermore, the provisions of the contract are more or less the same as in the example cited above. Some landlords use printed blanks to be filled out by the tenants. As shown above, the contracts are not on equal terms for the two parties interested, the tenants always standing in the weaker position.

The renewal of contracts may be necessary for any of three reasons. In the first place, the lease will eventually expire. If no fault is to be found with the tenant, then the landlord will ordinarily renew the contract. In the second place, the death of one of the parties provides occasion for renewing the contract with the successors. In the third place, the owner of the land may be changed during the tenure. The lease then is either renewed or discontinued. It is, however, customary for the lease never to be canceled during the cropping season. The lease usually expires in the winter time. There are some exceptions as follows:

1. Where the tenant has failed to pay the rent at the appointed time and place.

2. Where the tenant has disobeyed the directions of the landlord with respect to kind and quality of rent.

3. Where the tenant has transferred or sold his tenancy without notifying the landlord.

4. Where the tenant has changed the fields and classification of land at his own will and when it has damaged the landlord.

Section 2. Land Administration

In the case of small landowners the lands are usually administered by the landowners themselves, but the large landlords cannot do the same because of the fact that they are mostly absentee landlords. And even though they live in the rural community, it is impossible for them to supervise all of the widely scattered tracts of land. Therefore, the landlords commonly hire administrators or agents to act for them. According to the investigation on tenant customs made by the South Chulla provincial government the causes for hiring agents or "Sacums" are as follows:

1. The area of land may be very large and it is entirely impossible for the landlord to administer it by himself.

2. The landlord may be unable to oversee the lands on account of his being busy with other callings.

3. He may not have the technical ability to administer his lands.

4. The landlord may live outside of the region where the lands are located.

5. The landlord may feel it very difficult to collect, survey, rebate and exempt the rent, if no agent helps him.

6. Illness, travelling, or various other hindrances may make it necessary to hire an agent.

The powers of the agents differ from case to case but

In general they are to (a) Collect the rent; (b) Oversee the tenant farms; (c) Select tenants and their sponsors; (d) Draw up contracts; (e) Supervise the repairs or improvements on the lands; (f) Act for the landlords in paying taxes and rates; (g) Investigate and decide the amount of rebate or exemption of rent in case of crop failure; and (h) Survey and inspect crops to determine the rent. The agents act like landlords in many respects.

The agent's reward is not definite as to method of determination, nor in amount, but according to the "Investigation on the Farmer's Economic Condition and the Tenant Situation" made by the South Cheongchung Provincial Government, the incomes of the "Saeums" are as follows:

A. They usually receive one to five percent of the rents which they gather.

B. They receive 5 to 40 cents per bushel of the rent collected.

C. They are allowed to cultivate one to three acres of land of superior quality without being charged for the use of it.

D. They draw a salary of \$15 to \$25 per month with travelling expenses.

On the whole, the agents' rewards are very small from the standpoint of income, but they are usually at liberty to choose superior tenant lands which it is very difficult for the ordinary tenant to do. They also get a commission when landlord and tenant renew their lease.

The number of tenants and number of acres per agent have been studied, but the figures are rather fragmentary due to the lack of comprehensive investigations covering the whole country. The table on the following page was prepared by the South Chulla Provincial Government in 1923.

The contracts between landlords and agents usually take the form of a trust agreement. The form shown below is a simple one.

(Original in Korean)

Date _____

Trust Agreement

Locality of Land	Classification of Land	Area

I, the undersigned, hereby commit the matters concerning the collection of rent, administration of the lands, direction and protection of tenants and other necessary powers on the lands above described, to Mr. _____'s management.

Residence _____

Landlord _____ (signed)

There are forms used which are not so brief but they are not common.

The advantages and disadvantages of the agent in the tenant system have been widely discussed in Korea, and their position midway between landlord and tenant is very signifi-

Table XV. Number of Tenants and Acreage per Agent.

Province	No. of agents	Acres per Agent			Number of Tenants per Agent		
		Maximum	Minimum	Average	Maximum	Minimum	Average
Kyungki	4,597	735	21	49	735	68	61
South Kyungsang	4,942	367	4	24	122	5	17
South Choongchung	2,295	1,225	4	416	110	5	61
Whanghai	1,013	949	7	144	269	14	66

cent. On the whole, it is not a desirable institution. The merit of the system is due to the fact that (1) it makes possible the administration of tenant farms; (2) agents can act as landlord in case the landlord lives in a distant district; (3) agents can supervise, direct, and protect the tenants in case of absentee landlords; (4) they adjust the rental terms; and (5) act as arbitrators in case of tenant dispute. On the other hand, the numerous defects of the system are (1) it increases the expenses for both landlord and tenant; (2) it results in scheming oftentimes to get unfair income by manipulation of rents; (3) implicit demands for money or presents through threatening to remove the tenant from his holding; (4) removing the tenant frequently on account of personal considerations; (5) in some cases, exploiting the tenant as much as possible to please the landlord; (6) making it possible for the landlords to enlarge the ownership of land; and (7) making a profit on the whole at the expense of landlord and tenant.

Accordingly, the agent is a necessary evil in the tenant system. The agents desire constantly to get something out of the two parties. Moreover, if the agent is dishonest, the vicious effect on the land tenure is frequently beyond expression. There are numerous cases of tenant disputes on account of the maladministration of lands by the agent. In recent years the landlords have realized the de-

fects of the system and are trying to restrict their powers.
Its evils, however, are not wholly removed.

Chapter VIII. Conclusion

Section 1. General Characteristics of Tenancy

The study presented in the preceding chapters provides excellent illustrations of the economic theories of the classical school of economic thought. The shortage of land, coupled with a dense and increasing population, have pushed out the extensive and intensive margins of cultivation much farther than in America. It is natural, therefore, that the share of the national dividend going to landowners in the way of economic rent should be very large. The high contract rent is merely an adjustment of itself to high economic rent. The high yield per unit of land and low productivity per capita offer a good illustration of the Law of Diminishing Returns. The income for tenant farmers after making deduction for living expense was negative. Accordingly, the standard of living of the tenant class declines gradually. The so-called "Iron Law of Wages" seems to govern the daily wages. It fluctuates around a steadily declining subsistence standard for tenant farmers.

The shortage of capital naturally makes for a high rate of interest. The tenants, therefore, suffer from low wages as laborers and from high interest rates as borrowers. The land tax voluntarily paid in many cases by the tenants

is in effect the equivalent of tenants paying an increased rent. On the whole, the high rent on land, high rate of interest on capital, and low profits and wages, are the economic characteristics of tenancy in Korea. The numerous evils found in the foregoing study are rooted in those facts. The economic remedies for these evils, therefore, must be centered around these facts.

There are, of course, many evils which spring from the social, institutional, political, and traditional life of the farmers. The social prestige of the landlord class, middlemen such as landlords' agents, the Japanese immigration under government encouragement, and customary methods determining rent, point to the significance of these social, institutional, political, and traditional policies. These conditions together with the economic facts give plenty of room for tenant disputes. It is hard to draw a clear-cut conclusion in view of these complicated causes, and yet there must be some remedies for the situation. Here academic discussion is of no value, but on the contrary the practical thinking based on a systematic analysis oftentimes is of tremendous value. The following remedies are suggested.

Many of the evils in the tenant system come from the economic sources as described. Over-population on a limited area of arable land is the most difficult problem to be

solved. There is no country in the world which embraces so large a farming population on so small an area as Korea. The fundamental solution to this problem lies in the acquisition of more land and restriction of population. The "away from the land" movement has been lamented by many writers on economics and sociology. But the movement from the farms must take place in Korea in some way. The result then will be to cut down the high economic rent and to increase the share of the product going to tenants. The remedy, therefore, is either in restriction of population or migration from the country.

Industrialization of towns and cities will absorb some of the surplus population. Industrialization requires, of course, many natural conditions and resources. The abundance of cheap labor gives a rare opportunity in overcoming some of the difficulties. The recent movement of the Japanese capitalists to set up factories in Korea is an illustration of how industrialization can be accomplished. The raw materials from silk, cotton, and other agricultural products, ores of minerals, and water power from the ever-running streams, are some of the promising possibilities of the industrial movement. Thus there is much hope for the industrialization of the country. The population can in this way be lessened in the farming sections.

In recent years, thousands of Korean farmers have moved

to Manchuria and Siberia. There is plenty of room for them in Manchuria. The Government of the Maritime Province welcomes them with land and improvements. The immigrants enjoy a peaceful life with the natives there, and they are important forces in the exploitation of the virgin soils. On the other hand, Japanese immigration into Korea must be checked. It is a problem of life and death for the Korean farmers. It is now thought that over two million Koreans live in Manchuria and Siberia.

Positive or preventative checks upon population can be expected. Neo-Malthusian doctrines can be effectively practiced in well educated communities. Denmark, for example, owes her effective birth-control to general widespread education of people. Korea has an annual natural increase (birth in excess of death) of 13 per thousand. Poverty is generally thought to restrict population growth, but it is unproved in the case of Korea. The psychology and religious thinking of the majority of the people go against restriction. "Heaven does not create a man who is not endowed with food and clothing" is a doctrine of Confucianism, the dominant philosophy of the people. There is, therefore, not much hope for the time being of restriction of population. It will require a long time and much effort to develop the idea of birth control in the minds of the people.

The extension of arable land has been suggested as an ameliorating factor. The extensive margin of cultivation is already pushed out to include the so-called "Fire Fields." These lie on the mountain sides. The reclamation work along the west and south sea shores will increase the land area only slightly. Even this will require scientific planning and a large amount of capital to make it a success. The Fuji Gogyo Company has been engaged in this line of work with somewhat satisfactory results. This kind of reclamation work is a practical example of the pushing out of the extensive margin of cultivation. Rent, therefore, in general will not be reduced, but it will increase. Reclamation alone is not a remedy for the situation.

The increasing number of tenant disputes in Korea is significant. In Japan the government has taken steps to remedy the situation. She has passed several laws and regulations to arbitrate and mitigate the serious tenant disputes, but she has found that they are of little effect as yet. The Japanese cabinet has proposed a bill providing for government ownership of the land under dispute before the House of Representatives last year. The plan was to buy all the lands concerned and create a yeoman type of farmer under government supervision. Many of the western writers on economics advocated the same proposition. It was especially favored by the Socialists and Communists.

Government ownership of land, however, runs contrary to the history of the economic development of nations; that is to say, the trend is from public ownership and public use of land, to public ownership and private use of land, and then private ownership and private use of land. Most of the nations of the world are at present in the third stage. It is very doubtful whether the socialization of economic rent would result in greater well-being of the public. The history of land utilization in Korea, as described in Chapter III, reveals the general stage of development and shows that the people enjoy private ownership of land. Therefore, the public ownership of land in Korea may be conceivable but not practicable. Granting that it might be practicable, that would not be the ultimate remedy for the situation.

In connection with this problem, the single tax theory is usually discussed in connection with high rent. Practically the whole of contract rent in Korea is economic rent since the landlords furnish almost nothing but the bare land. The idea of taking away the rent from the landlord class is a revival of the "Net Product" theory of the Physiocrats. The Korean landlords already pay a highly progressive income tax at present. Therefore, not much can be hoped for from the application of the single tax.

The intensivity of cultivation in Korean agriculture has been noted in many places. There is, however, still

room for improvement of crops and scientific cultivation of land. The extensive use of manures, systems of irrigation, and improvement of breeds of livestock have been very productive. Increased returns can be reaped by tenants under such a type of tenancy as the "fixed-product" rent. This will enlarge both the share of rent and wages. The tenant can get a larger return with the same amount of labor. Improvement of farming is, therefore, not only good for the tenant class, but for landlords and society in general.

The economic life of a nation has a close relationship to the general policy of the government. So far as land tenure in Korea is concerned, it has much to do with the economic policy of the Japanese government. At the present time, unfortunately, the policy of the government goes against the interests of the Korean people. Numerous illustrations of this policy can be shown. Japan has been and is trying to make Koreans bankrupt by interfering with their economic welfare. The activities of the Oriental Development Company are a good example of how this is being done. Despotism and militaristic suppression is not only unbearable to the Koreans but the economic policy with respect to the land is fatal to the farmers. It is robbery to transfer the land from Korean to Japanese hands in the way it has been done. So long as the Japanese government remains in power, all the remedies suggested are mere palliatives. The

Koreans must get their freedom. They must be politically independent at any cost. Every problem can be solved in the right way. The problem of land tenure can also be easily handled according to Korean methods. As indicated in the preceding chapters, Japanese immigration is a real menace to the life of Korean tenants.

There are many temporary steps which may be taken for the improvement of the land tenure, such as regulations for maintenance and creation of the small independent owners of land, for rent fixing methods, for land administration and landlords' agents, for lowering the interest rate and the like. But these are not the fundamental remedies for the present situation. However, were they properly enacted and effectively enforced, they would be much better than nothing and the number of tenant disputes would be materially reduced.

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