

Formation of the Modern City of Busan: *Focusing on the Space and Culture of the Japanese Settlement in Busan before 1910*

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Abstract

The Japanese settlement in Busan began with the designation of Choryang as a Japanese residential area in 1876. With the increase in Japanese entries into Busan, Japan expanded the settlement in various ways both legally and illegally. Japan built a grid network of streets centered around Mt. Yongdu and overhauled the district. It was around 1901 that urban Busan was taking shape as a modern city. In addition, Japanese people started to reclaim the coastal areas to secure more city space from that time on.

After the establishment of the Japanese Residency-General in 1906, Japan organized an association of Japanese residents in Busan to take charge of the city administration and attempted to expand its urban space by annexing illegally purchased land to its settlement. As a result, the Japanese settlement that was once just a small fishing village developed into a city with a population of 20,000 people in 1910.

The Japanese-led urbanization of Busan was much imbued with Japanese characteristics in terms of both urban space and culture. The Japanese quarters formed the central part of the city, while Koreans were driven to the outskirts. The ethnic division of living quarters in Busan contributed to ethnic discrimination within the urban culture of Busan, after the Japanese annexation of Korea.

Keywords: Japanese settlement, port-opening period, colonial city, Busan, concession, reclamation, urban space, resident, urban culture, occupation, cityscape, entertainment spots

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Introduction

With the opening of the Busan Port in accordance with the 1876 Korean-Japanese Treaty, a Japanese concession was also created in Busan. From then on, Japanese began to settle in this open port, causing the Japanese residential area to gradually evolve into a modern city. This Japanese-centered urban development continued after Japan forcibly annexed Korea (Joseon) in 1910 and laid the foundation for the development of Busan into the present-day metropolis.

In this manner, as initiated by the Japanese, Busan developed as a colonial city cut off from tradition. This colonial city was largely distinct from other domestic cities with traditional bases in terms of function, landscape, and culture. Taking these points into consideration, this paper examines the landscape of Busan and the culture of its citizens during the period of the formation of Busan in the years prior to the Japanese Annexation of Korea in 1910, particularly focusing on the year 1907, when the building of Japanese urban areas was completed. For this purpose, the paper mainly relies on *Hanguk busanhang sigaji myeongsedo* 韓國釜山港市街地明細圖 (A Detailed Map of the Busan Port in Korea; hereafter, *Myeongsedo*),¹ a map of the Busan Port produced in 1907, and *Busan ilbonin sangeop hoeuiso yeonbo* (Annual Bulletin of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan; hereafter, *Hoeuiso yeonbo*) published in the same year.

By focusing on the city formation process in Busan during the port-opening period, this paper offers an exhaustive analysis of the nature of the open port city, a major part of modern Korean cities, and thereby explores the impact that the Japanese settlement has had on the development of modern Korean cities, since the Japanese

1. The production date marked on the map is August 1, Meiji 40 (1907), while the printing and publication date is August 15 in the same year. The printer's mark indicates that the scale is 1:4500, and the creator and publisher of the map is Yanagita Kyutaro, whose address was 10, 1-jeongmok, Seo-jeong, Busan, Korea. The mark also indicates that it was printed by the Yanagita Lithographic Printing Company. From the stamp "fixed price: 15 jeon," it can be estimated that it was produced for sale.

annexation of Korea till today.² If this work is successful, it will be of significance as an exhaustive exploration of the coloniality and modernity latent in modern Korean cities.

Expansion of the Japanese Settlement and the Formation of Urban Areas in Busan Following the Opening of the Port

*Establishment and Expansion of the Japanese Concession*³

According to the "Treaty on the Japanese Concession in Busan" concluded on August 4, 1876 between the Dongnae Magistrate Hong Uchang and a Japanese official named Kondo Masuki as a follow up to the "Appendices to the 1876 Korean-Japanese Treaty" (signed on January 30, 1877), approximately 87 acres of land around Mt. Yongdu, which had been provided for Japanese use (Choryang Waegwan or Japanese Area in Choryang) from 1678-1873, was designated as a Japanese concession entitled "Settlement for the Citizens of the Japanese Empire in Busan." The east-west length of this rectangular land was about 37 feet, the length from its eastern corner to the beach was about 47 feet, length from its western corner to Mt. Yongmi was about 68 feet, and its length along the beach was about 57 feet. This measurement is the same as that reported in the Choryang Waegwan period, but Japan gradually expanded its concession in various ways afterwards.

Following the establishment of a Japanese concession in the area, Japan dispatched an administrative officer to the concession to run it as a Japanese diplomatic post as well as an official center for the Japanese residents in Korea. Consequently, various systems and facilities were rapidly instituted within the concession. In November

2. For comprehensive discussion of the process of the formation of modern Korean cities, see Hong Soon Kwon (2008).

3. Major studies of Japanese settlement was established in Busan during the port opening period are as follows: Kim Y. (1962); Kim U. (1973); Kim H. (1998); Song (2002).

Figure 1. Map of the Choryang Waegwan before the Opening of Ports



1876, when negotiations for the establishment of a Japanese concession in Korea were underway, a post office was established within the Japanese diplomatic compound in Busan. In January 1878, a branch of the First National Bank of Japan was opened in Busan with the approval of the Joseon government. In October 1879, a Japanese consulate was set up at the site where the chief of the Japanese settlement stayed during the Choryang Waegwan period. During the same period, police stations, banks, and big stores were constructed around the Japanese consulate, and the area around Donggwan⁴

4. During the Choryang Waegwan period, the Japanese area was divided into two independent areas: East Area (the present-day Donggwang-dong in Busan Metro-

evolved into the center of the settlement. In August 1880, the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan was established in the Japanese residential area, separately from the existing self-governing body named "Hoeuiso." The Japanese Chamber of Commerce was established in Busan, following the first in Tokyo and the second in Osaka.⁵ In contrast, in the area around the Western office building, there was a village consisting of houses and stores built by Japanese small merchants, who came over to Joseon following the opening of ports. In this manner, villages were formed around the East and West Areas, and the road linking the two areas was given the name "Jangsutong."⁶

In 1880, the Japanese government dispatched a consul to take the place of the administrative office, and in April of that year, the existing Choryang Office was renamed "Great Japanese Empire Consulate in Busan." By incorporating the northern coastal area on July 13 of the same year, Japan expanded its concession to the area through the agreement concluded between the Japanese consul and magistrate of Dongnae. In 1885, Japan acquired some parts of Jeoryeongdo island (area E in Fig. 2) as a concession under the pretext of constructing of a naval coaling station, and again in 1892, leased the area around Mt. Bokbyeong, which amounted to approximately 12.25 acres, in the name of using the area as a cemetery attached to the concession. Afterward, the cemetery relocated to Mt. Ami in 1906. In addition, as foreigners' land transactions and ownership were legitimized after the establishment of the Japanese Residency-General, a great deal of land around the concession was in fact incorporated into the Japanese settlement. Through these processes, the Japanese population in Busan, which had amounted to no more than eighty persons at the time of the opening of ports, rapidly increased every year to reach 24,000 persons in 1910, when Joseon was annexed to Japan. As a

politan City) and West Area (the area around the present-day Daegaksa temple and Dongju Girls' Commercial High School).

5. Kim U. (1973, 98-99).

6. Japanese called this street "Nagate-dori." "Nagate" means a long shape or side.

result, Busan became a Japanese colonial city that was no different from other cities in the mainland Japan.⁷

Another way of expanding the Japanese settlement was the reclamation of coastal areas, a method already employed by Japanese in the mainland. Japanese reclamation of the coastal areas in Busan was undertaken twice from July 1902 until August 1909 by the Busan branch of the Japanese Land Reclamation Corporation. As a result of the two reclamation projects, a total of 33.8 acres of new land was created, including the 25.88 acres of reclaimed land completed in December 1905 and the 7.16 acres created in July 1907.⁸ Due to hilly surroundings, expansion of urban areas through land reclamation was very attractive to Japan. For them, it was killing two birds with one stone, because they could use the soil from the razed hills to fill in the sea and create new flatlands.

The creation of new flatlands following the completion of the reclamation work led to many changes afterwards. Busan station began to be constructed in Gyeongbu-jeong in June 1908 and was finally completed in October 1910. The site was called "Sae Madang" (New Ground). Busan station was built opposite to the Busan Customs House in the Japanese imperial period so that anybody who entered Busan through the Busan Port would be able to see the station building.⁹ Besides the station, many companies, factories, and commercial facilities were moved to the reclaimed areas. In addition to the Busan station, quite a few public facilities, including the Busan post station that had existed in Seo-jeong, was relocated to Daechang-jeong, which was created on the reclaimed land in May 1910.

7. Starting with 82 in 1876, when Busan opened its port, the Japanese population in Busan kept growing. It increased to 4,028 in 1894, when the Sino-Japanese War broke out, to 9,691 in 1902, when reclamation of coastal areas started, to 13,364 in 1905, the second year of the Russo-Japanese War, and to 21,928 in 1910 when Japan annexed Korea. Refer to Hong (2004).

8. Choe (2001, 221).

9. The Busan Station building is known to have been designed by Tatsuno Kingko (1854-1919), a prominent Japanese architect who designed Tokyo Station. The Busan Customs Office, which had been at 1-jeongmok, Bon-jeong, was relocated to a new building at Gyeongbu-jeong in 1911.

This increase in population and the expansion of urban areas led to the Japanese residents' increasing demand for autonomy, resulting in the formation of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan after the forced conclusion of the Protectorate Treaty of 1905.¹⁰ Based on the Residency-General Ordinance No. 76 adopted under the Residency-General Order No. 21, on August 15, 1906, the Japanese Residents Association of Busan staked out, as a part of its territory, the Japanese concessions as well as Jeryeongdo island, Choryang, Gugwan and Busanjin. By then, the Japanese settlements had turned into a sizable urban space, as they spanned from Daesin-jeong below Mt. Gudeok to the west and Busanjin to the east. According to a survey report published immediately prior to the completion of reclamation in 1905, Japanese-owned land in the urban space of the Japanese settlements in Busan totaled 4,486 acres, including 817 acres of public land, 3,553 acres of private land, 26 acres of reclaimed land in addition to 90 acres of concessions.¹¹

Creation of Urban Districts and Diversification of Urban Space

From the initial period of the opening of the port, Japan, in anticipation of the increasing number of Japanese residents in Busan, planned to construct road networks, control house structures, and set up many public building, such as police stations, banks, commercial chamber, and telegraph station, in an area adjacent to the Japanese consulate, thus creating an urban area very similar to those in most

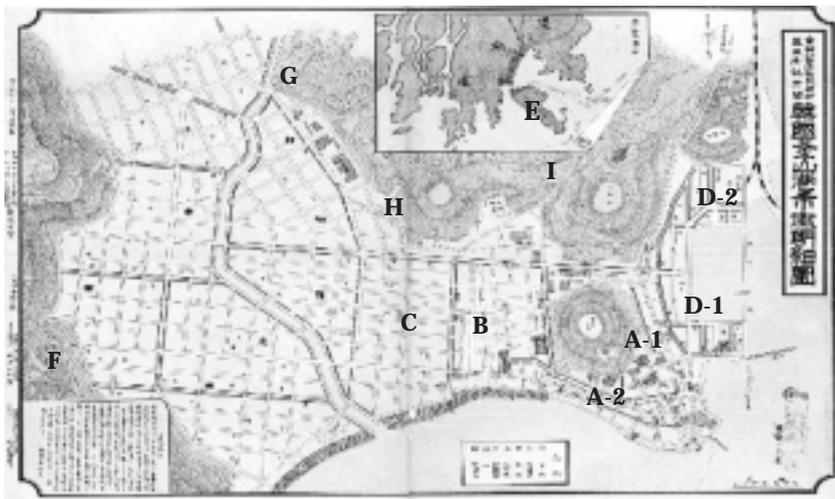
10. The autonomous organization of Japanese residents in Busan after the opening of the Busan Port evolved as follows: In 1881, Japan issued a settlement decree under which representatives of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan were appointed, the existing post of Head of Security for Japanese Residents was substituted by the Deputy Chief and the Deputy Chief's Office was established to take care of the residents' affairs. In 1902, the Deputy Chief's Office was reshaped into the Japanese Residents' Office, with the Deputy Chief renamed as Head of the Japanese Residents' Office. In 1905, the Japanese Residents' Office was renamed as the Japanese Settlement Office, but it was also reorganized into the Office of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan.

11. *Busan yaksa* (A Short History of the City of Busan) (1968, 201).

cities in Japan. This area has evolved into the downtown of Busan—which now consists of Donggwang-dong, Gwangbok-dong, Changseon-dong, and Sinchang-dong—through the Japanese colonial period till today. Around the year 1879, the Japanese concession was divided into the East Area (A-1 and A-2 in Fig. 2) between Mt. Yongdu and Mt. Yongmi and the West Area (B in Fig. 2) west of Mt. Yongdu. East Area was made up of two districts. District one included Bonjeong, Sangban-jeong, and Byeoncheon-jeong (A-1 in Fig. 2), while the District two included Ipgang-jeong and Haeng-jeong (A-2 in Fig. 2). The West Area was later renamed Seo-jeong.

As the Japanese settlement expanded in this manner, new administrative divisions were created. Japan newly incorporated the coastal area north of the East Area in 1880 and named it Bukbin-jeong. Then in 1890, the Japanese consul attempted to enlarge urban areas by taking back Japanese-owned lands in Seo-jeong because larger urban areas were needed due to the increasing number of Japanese residents in the settlement (C in Fig. 2). This fact is also certified in Figure 3. Furthermore, as shown in Figure 2, the flatland area ranging from Mt. Gudeok to Mt. Ami, which encompassed 3-jeongmok and 4-

Figure 2. A Detailed Map of the Busan Port in Korea



jeongmok in Bupyeong-jeong is marked as “candidate locations for new urban districts.” From this, it can be presumed that the final plan for urban expansion to the western region of Busan was already in place during the period between 1903 and 1907.

In addition, new administrative districts were established on the new parcels of land created following the completion of the first reclamation project in 1905 (D-1 in Fig. 2) and on the land to be provided through the second reclamation project (D-2 in Fig. 2).

With the creation of new administrative units and urban areas in the Japanese settlement in Busan, urban space was divided into the downtown area in the center of the city and the residential area in the outskirts of the city. This phenomenon can be examined through analysis of population distribution in the Japanese settlement in Busan reported in 1907. Given that exact population statistics per village at the time cannot be found, residential situation of the Japanese in Busan can only be presumed through the number of households per *jeong* district, as shown in Table 1.¹²

Upon examination of Table 1, it may be noted that around 1907 the West Area including the Seo-jeong district was more populated than the earliest developed area of the East Area including the Bonjeong district. This is because new residential areas created around the West Area, which had been populated by many small merchants. It is also notable that as residential areas were formed centering around the Seo-jeong district, such neighborhood community facilities as educational and religious facilities accordingly increased in the district.

In contrast, the East Area was the administrative and commercial hub of the region where official buildings, shops, and banks were clustered, rather than a residential area. However, it can be inferred from Table 1 that urbanization had not yet occurred in the newly reclaimed districts whereas Gogwan and Busanjin, despite being peripheral districts in the city, continued to experience steady urbanization. The relative concentration of the population in Yeongdo (Jeoryeongdo

12. Since population statistics by *jeong* district are not given in Hoeuiso yeonbo, household statistics by *jeong* district are used here.

Table 1. Number of Japanese Households per Jeong in Busan in 1907

District	No. of Japanese households	District	No. of Japanese households	District	No. of Japanese households
Anbon-jeong	2	Daesin-jeong	35	Jungya-jeong	2
Bon-jeong	110	Geumbyeong-jeong	13	Jwadeung-jeong	6
Bosu-jeong	286	Godo-jeong	2	Ikeno-jeong	3
Bukbin-jeong	44	Gogwan	113	Ipgang-jeong	173
Bumin-jeong	10	Gok-jeong	3	Maeripsin-jeong	13
Bupyeong-jeong	414	Gyeongbu-jeong	50	Sangban-jeong	10
Busanjin	112	Haeng-jeong	221	Seo-jeong	748
Byeoncheon-jeong	65	Jeoryeongdo	330	Seosanha-jeong	27
Daechang-jeong	5	Jina-jeong	50	Toseong-jeong	22
Daecheong-jeong	125	Jungdo-jeong	2		
Total: 3,423 households					

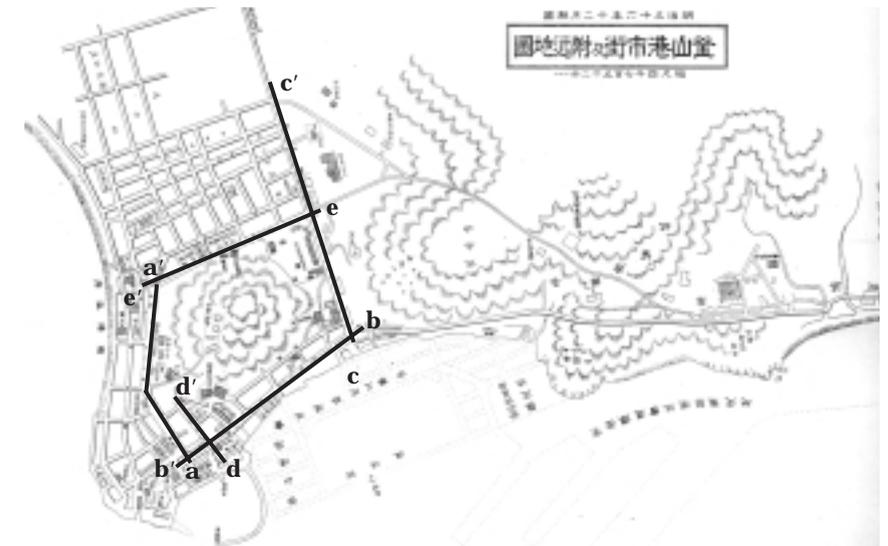
Source: *Hoeuiso yeonbo* (1907, 214).

island) reflects the fact that the area was in a transitional phase to be developed into a sub-center of the city, not only serving as a base for the fisheries and an industrial zone but as a residential area.

In addition to Table 1, it is observed from Figure 2 that with the creation of urban areas within the Japanese settlements, Korean neighborhoods were being formed in the outskirts of the city. Those areas are in the vicinity of a graveyard at the foot of Mt. Ami, the area adjacent to Bosu-jeong and Daecheong-jeong at the foot of Mt. Gudeok, and the area along the road from Daecheong-jeong to Choryang, which was located at the base of Mt. Bokbyeong, all of which were to become new urban districts (A-1 and A-2 in Fig. 2).

Along with the expansion of urban areas came the construction of urban roads. Principal roads were constructed in the following order. In June 1886, a road to Bon-jeong and Byeoncheon-jeong (b-b' in Fig. 3) was built, and from November 1888 to December 1889, a

Figure 3. Map of Downtown and Its Vicinity near the Busan Port in 1903 (by anonymous)



new road linking the present Daecheong-dong with Donggwang-dong and Choryang (c-c' in Fig. 3) was constructed by digging out the hillock between the Japanese graveyard at Mt. Bokbyeong and Mt. Yongdu. In 1890, another new road was constructed in the area around the Seo-jeong district (d-d' in Fig. 3), and in October 1900 a highway was constructed in Geumbyeong-jeong (e-e' in Fig. 3). It appears that Japanese settlements were developed into urban areas around 1901. This is seen in Figure 3 produced in December 1903.

Around this time, Japan tried to systemically manage the land in the Japanese settlement by carrying out a land survey. In April 1901, when urban areas were taking shape, Japan systemically managed the land in the Japanese settlement by carrying out a land survey. In April 1901, when urban areas were taking shape, Japan graded the land within the Japanese settlement in Busan into five ranks and measured the size of each graded lot, while dividing the private land owned by the Japanese into four grades. The central districts in the

East Area, such as Bon-jeong, Byeoncheon-jeong, Geum-pyeong-jeong and Ipgang-jeong, were mostly graded as first or second grade, Haeng-jeong and Bukbin-jeong districts as second or third grade, and same parts of the Haeng-jeong district and the Seo-jeong district as third or fourth.¹³

In accordance with the increase in population and expansion of urban areas, basic infrastructure like water supplies were newly created or expanded. At the early stage of port opening, the Japanese relied on wells for water, but as the increase of population in the region led to shortages of water, from 1880 they began to draw water from the upper reaches of the Bosucheon stream by use of bamboo pipes. However, most of the residents were still getting water mainly from wells, not from waterworks. The Japanese in Busan began to construct modern water-supply facilities in June 1894 and completed them in February of the following year. At the time, the Japanese built a water-collecting dam at Bosucheon stream, which was to serve as a water storage reservoir with a natural filtering system, while constructing a water-supply reservoir at Mt. Daecheong. But even after that point, there were still some water shortages owing to the rapid increase in population, and that is why Japanese residents in the settlements began to construct a water storage reservoir at Mt. Eomgwang in January 1901. Upon its completion in January 1902, Japanese residents could be provided with drinking water through four water-filtering systems and two water distribution reservoirs. However, it was impossible to meet the growing demands for drinking water caused by the continually increasing urban population, using only the water storage reservoir at Mt. Eomgwang. Thereupon, in 1906, the Japanese Residents Association of Busan in Busan launched the construction of a catchment basin through negotiations with the Korean government, which would supply 40,000 to 50,000 residents with water in Seongjigok valley at the northeast outskirts of the city.

13. "Je 33 georyuji nae toji jongbyeol" (Classification of the Land in the 33rd Japanese Settlement), in *Gyeongsangdo sajeong* (Circumstances in Gyeongsang-do Province) (1904); cited from Song (2002, 12).

In July 1910, just three years later, the entire system of waterworks, including water distribution reservoirs, was completed.¹⁴

As Busan Light Bulb Inc. was established in May 1902, electricity began to be supplied to Busan. It was four years after the Hanseong Electric Company, Korea's first electric company, was established in Seoul in 1898. In June 1909, Japanese capitalists in Busan established Busan Railroad Inc. and launched a project to build tramlines for the operation of tramcars in the city. Upon completion in October 1915, tramcars began to run between Busanjin and Oncheongjang. In May 1910, Busan Railroad Company transferred the entire business to Joseon Electricity and Gas Company.¹⁵

Social Composition of Japanese Residents and the Urban Culture

Origins and Occupations of Japanese Residents in Busan

In the early period of the opening of ports, the majority of the Japanese residents in Busan were from Tsushima island, which was geographically close to Busan. A typical example was Tadasuke Oike. Right after the opening of ports in 1876, Oike began working in the import and export trade, marine transportation, and rice-polishing business at the Busan Port, and rose to become one of the three richest men in Busan during the Japanese colonial period. Around the time of the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, he served as the head of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan and as chairman of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan, and during the Japanese colonial period, he was elected as a member of the lower house of the Japanese Imperial Diet.¹⁶ But as Japan's trade volume with Busan dramatically increased and the Busan Port was according-

14. Refer to *Ilseon tonggyosa bu busansa geundaegi* (Modern History of Busan as Part of the History of Japan-Korea Relations; hereafter, *Ilseon tonggyosa*) (205-210).

15. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (240, 291); and *Busan yaksa* (1968, 228).

16. For information on Tadasuke Oike's economic activities, see Bak (1977).

ly expanded, many Japanese from various regions began to pour into Busan. Of a total of 15,989 Japanese residents who belonged to the Japanese Residents Association of Busan in Busan in 1907, 4,008 came from Yamaguchi Prefecture, 2,512 from Nagasaki Prefecture, 1,453 from Fukuoka Prefecture, and 1,264 from Hiroshima Prefecture.¹⁷ This fact shows that geographical proximity was an important factor in the Japanese immigration to Busan, but according to recent studies, in addition to this factor, Japan's domestic and economic changes during the Meiji period also influenced Japanese immigration to Busan.¹⁸

Information on the occupations of the Japanese who were residing in Busan as early as the opening of the port can be obtained from the survey conducted by the Japanese consulate in 1880. According to Table 2, out of a total of 296 households engaged in businesses, 208 households (approximately 70%) were engaged in brokerage (including households with an additional job), accounting for the largest percentage of the total, followed by 50 households (including households with an additional job) engaged in trade (approximately 16.9%), 15 households operating restaurants and 14 households operating small eateries. The table shows that in the year 1880, the early days of the port-opening period, brokerage merchants and trading merchants, rather than resident merchants, were still accounting for the absolute majority of the market in Busan. It can also be seen in Table 2 that food service businesses such as restaurants and eateries flourished earlier than other businesses.

Following that time, some changes were made to occupation of Japanese residents in Busan. For example, according to the statistics on the Japanese population in Busan by occupation, drawn up by the Japanese Residency-General in 1907, commerce accounts for the largest percentage at 37%, followed by miscellaneous business at

17. *Hoehiso yeonbo* (1907, 211-222).

18. For an analysis of the social and economic background against which the Japanese moved into Joseon, centering around Yamaguchi-ken, during the Meiji period in Japan, see Kimura (1989). The chapter titled "Socio-economical Background of Japanese Emigration to Korea" is of particular reference in this paper.

Table 2. Occupations of Japanese Residents in Busan (1880)

Type of occupation	No. of households	Type of occupation	No. of households	Type of occupation	No. of households
Brokerage	152	Freight shipping transportation	1	Precision machinery industry	43
Brokerage and export-import business	3	Freight shipping transportation and export-import business	2	Restaurants	15
Brokerage and miscellaneous business	2	General store	1	Retail trade and B & B	1
Brokerage and miscellaneous trade	34	Inn and brokerage	1	Retail trade and export-import business	2
Brokerage and retail trade	8	Inn and eatery	1	Retail trade and miscellaneous business	1
Eatery	13	Marine transportation company	1	Retail trade in miscellaneous goods and brokerage	3
Eatery and brokerage	3	National bank	2	Retail trade in miscellaneous goods and export-import business	4
Export-import business	34	Pawnshop	4		
Export-import business and brokerage	5	Pawnshop and brokerage	1		

* Source: *Busanbu sa wongo* 釜山府史原稿 (A Manuscript of the History of Busan).

18%, manufacturing industry at 12% and manual labor at 10%.¹⁹ More detailed survey data on the occupations of Japanese residents in Busan can be obtained from *Hoeuiso yeonbo*, published by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan in the same year. *Hoeuiso yeonbo* records the survey results on a total of 168 different occupational categories of the Japanese people in Busan (5,204 households with 7,576 employed, and a total of 19,734 persons, except for soldiers and their families), which also show the number of Japanese population in Busan as well as the number of households and family members (Refer to Appendix 1).

The survey statistics carried in the *Hoeuiso yeonbo* of 1907 reveals that in accordance with urbanization of the Japanese settlement in Busan following the opening of the port, the occupations of Japanese residents became more diversified. In the case of commercial business, the number of tobacco dealers, photographers, barbers, and clock dealers, to say nothing of commodities dealers and grocery dealers, greatly increased. This means that the Japanese who moved to Busan became permanent residents, which differed considerably from the situation right after the opening of the port.²⁰ This trend reflects the fact that in the case of the manufacturing industry, not only the production of liquors and soy sauces but also the manufacturing of roofing tiles greatly increased along with the construction business. In other words, in concomitance with the increase in population, demands for general groceries as well as housing greatly increased. In addition, the survey statistics show that the shipping industry developed centered on Jeoryeongdo island as a result of the island's development as the base of the Japanese marine products industry.

19. *Je 2-cha tonggambu tonggye yeonbo* (1907, 52).

20. According to statistics on the Japanese population in Busan, in *Je 2-cha tonggambu tonggye yeonbo* (1907), the total number of Japanese male residents was 10,436 while the number of female residents stood at 8,045, with the ratio of females to males being 100 to 129.7. This ratio is quite abnormal for a city, implying that many Japanese residents in Busan had left their families in Japan and come alone to Korea, implying, in other words, that they did not intend to become permanent residents in Busan.

Now, let us examine the life of the Japanese residents in Busan during the port-opening period. For this purpose, the major occupations grouped in the statistics on the Japanese residents in Busan, which the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan compiled in 1907, may be reclassified as in the following Table 3. According to Table 3, store clerks and servants accounted for the largest portion of the total, followed by farmers, bank tellers, ornament dealers, general dealers, and bank tellers. However, if similar occupations are included in the same occupational group (as seen in Item A+ B in Table 3), skilled people engaged in construction work, such as master carpenters, and lower-class laborers, such as barmaids, porters, store clerks and servants, still accounted for the majority of employers. The fact that there were many Japanese construction workers in Busan implies that the city was still in the process of formation or expansion, while the existence of many day laborers, such as porters, characterized the city as a port, where cargo handlers were in high demand. It was also related to the boom in the construction business in Busan at the time, which kept Japanese laborers constantly pouring into Busan.

In addition to the above, barmaids, including professional female entertainers, also represented a significant proportion of Japanese occupations in Busan. This was part of the cultural characteristics of the Japanese residential area. Most of those professional female entertainers were from mainland Japan, and accounted for the absolute majority of the total number of female entertainers in Busan. A comparative analysis of the survey data reveals that they were mostly employed in restaurants.

The survey on the occupations of Japanese residents in Busan, conducted by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan in 1907, shows that in accordance with the increase in the number of permanent Japanese residents in the city, the number of educational workers and medical workers (such as doctors, pharmacists, and medicine dealers) also increased. In addition, high priests and monks, though small in number, were considered to be a very important occupational group, mainly because they played an important role in maintaining traditional Japanese culture but it also reflected the urban cultural

Table 3. Top Ten Occupations of Japanese Residents in Busan and the Number of Households by Occupation of Household Head (1907)

Unit: persons (households)			
Type of occupation	No. of persons (A)	No. of persons engaged in similar occupations (B)	A+ B
1. Store clerk / servant	979 (116)		979 (116)
2. Farmer	443 (229)	Stock farmer 2 (2)	445 (231)
3. Bank teller	418 (418)		418 (418)
4. Ornament dealer / general dealer	390 (365)	– Sundries dealer 48 (48) – Retailers of liquor, hot pepper paste and soybean paste 169 (158) – Other retailers	607 (571) + a
5. Public official	267 (226)	Public servant 44 (42)	311 (268)
6. Barmaid	244 (9)	– Female entertainer 218 (1) – Waitress 42 (16)	504 (26)
7. Master carpenter	228 (226)	– Shipwright 78 (78) – Stonemason 134 (86) – Plasterer 50 (47) – Cooper 29 (27) – Wood-cutter 47 (40) – Joiner 14 (13) – Plaster worker 160 (89)	740 (606)
8. Fisherman	226 (226)		226 (226)
9. Porter	219 (149)	Day laborer 155 (134)	374 (283)
10. Confectioner / baker	197 (192)	Candy maker 5 (5)	202 (197)

* Source: Compiled from *Hoeuiso yeongam* (Yearbook of the Chamber) (216-224).

characteristics of the Japanese settlements. These religious workers who moved into Busan right after the opening of the port held, along with merchants and soldiers, one of the oldest jobs in the city of Busan.

Operation and Culture of the City of Busan

1) Establishment and Operation of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan

After the establishment of the Japanese Residency-General in Korea in 1906, the Japanese Residents Association of Busan was formed as the Japanese residents' self-governing body in Korea for colonial settlements across the nation, at the same time as the enactment of the Law of Settlement Corporations. The Japanese Residents Association of Busan, whose office opened in Geumbyeong-jeong (present-day Donggwang-dong), exercised administrative power with respect to all affairs regarding Japanese settlements through its six administrative divisions of general affairs, office work, civil engineering, taxation, finance, and water works. Its jurisdiction covered the area from the valley in the west of Amnam cape to the right shore of the second Singyecheon stream, along the watershed on Mt. Cheonma, Gudeok, and Sinam, with the watershed on Mt. Bongo leading to Heukgi serving as its boundary. The area under the Japanese jurisdiction also included Dongbaekdo and Jeoryeongdo islands. It was a result of the arbitrary expansion of the Japanese settlement by the Japanese Residents Association of Busan.

The Japanese Residents Association of Busan also established an assembly consisting of 25 representatives, who were elected by restricted suffrage and were to take charge of all administrative affairs of the corporation. The right to vote was given to male residents, 25 years of age and over, who paid more than five won in taxes to the corporation a year. Most of the representatives of the assembly were entrepreneurs who simultaneously served as members of the Japanese Chamber of Commerce.²¹

The way the Japanese Residents Association of Busan was operated can be seen in the "Revenue and Expenditure of the Japanese

21. For detailed information on this, see Bak (1977, 45-46) and Kimura (1986).

Residents Association of Busan in Busan” contained in *Hoeuiso yeon-bo*. The following Tables 4-1 and 4-2 show the major items of the corporation’s revenue and expenditure.

Of the revenue items, miscellaneous taxes account for the largest portion, followed by sales tax, household tax and land tax. Revenues from the four items totaled 90,730 yen, accounting for 91.4% of the taxes levied on Japanese residents and 28.7% of total revenues. Of the miscellaneous taxes, the tax on the entertainment business was the largest (13,176 yen), 51.4% of the total, followed by the tax on restaurants and the tax levied on geishas. Compared to the sales tax, composed of merchant tax and industrial tax, that amounted to 20,074 yen and 2,264 yen, respectively, the tax on entertainment spots employing geishas was far greater. It means that the entertainment business enjoyed a boom amid the smaller consumer market and the immature industrial sector. Other notable revenue items were incomes from tap fees, hospitals, and schools. It represents the fact that the Japanese Residents Association of Busan as a public organization was in charge of tap water and hospitals.

The most significant characteristic of the expenditure is the greatest portion of education costs. This was because most of the schools in the settlement were operated by the Japanese Residents Association of Busan, a public organization. Other large expenditure items were corporation operation costs, sanitation and tap water supply costs, and security costs. What is notable is the expense of operating new entertainment districts, which amounted to 43,000 yen. This temporary budget allocation was earmarked to cover the costs associated with a three-year project that was launched in August 1907 to relocate the entertainment spots in Bupyeong-jeong to the new entertainment district in Nok-jeong for the purpose of improving public morals. Under the project, expenses for the operation of the new entertainment district were included in the revenue budget every year, and as a result, the existing entertainment spots began to be relocated to the new entertainment district in Nok-jeong, starting from March 1911. When the relocation was completed in December 1911, the new entertainment district was named

Table 4-1. Budget Revenues of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan in 1907

(unit: yen)

Current budget	
Budget item	Budget figure
Corporation tax	
Land tax	21,243
Housing tax	5,513
Sales tax	22,338
Miscellaneous tax	25,618
Brewery tax	3,067
Household tax	21,531
Various fees and commissions	1,102
Income from property	199
Income from tap fees	20,679
Income from schools	11,193
Income from hospitals	15,044
Miscellaneous income	3,840
Sub total	151,367
Temporary budget	
Budget item	Budget figure
Balance carried forward	9,817
Subsidies	3,000
Corporation bond	132,623
Income from property	2,946
Others*	16,390
Sub total	164,776
Sum total	316,143

* The budget item “Others” in the temporary budget section refers to donations and revenues from sales of property and of rocks and earth.

Table 4-2. Expenditures of the Japanese Residents Association of Busan in 1907

(unit: yen)

Current budget	
Budget item	Budget figure
Corporation cost	24,993
Conference cost	1,187
Civil engineering cost	2,102
Education cost	40,644
Sanitation cost	22,532
Cost for social security	3,494
Shrine maintenance cost	1,107
Tap water cost	5,607
Park maintenance cost	320
Cemetery upkeep cost	220
Reception cost	1,450
Others*	8,489
Sub total	112,135
Temporary budget	
Budget item	Budget figure
Civil engineering cost	56,614
Tap water cost	3,489
Corporation bond	42,399
Cost for operation of new entertainment districts	43,000
Others**	68,506
Sub total	204,008
Sum total	316,143

* "Others" in the current budget section refers to salvaging expenses, tax payments, retirement allowances, cost of school property acquisition, miscellaneous expenses, reserve funds, and bonus payments.

** "Others" in the temporary budget section refers to subsidies, shrine upkeep costs, park maintenance costs, educational costs, sanitation costs, military camp relocation costs, cemetery relocation costs, corporation operation costs, etc.

"Nok-jeong Prostitute Quarter."²² It implies that the operation of the entertainment district in the Japanese settlement was a kind of public business legally supported by the corporation.

The Japanese Residents Association of Busan also created the Special Account to Establish Busan Waterworks Corporation to propel the construction of waterworks facilities at Seongjigok and other waterworks, jointly with the Great Han Empire (Korea), and budgeted 453,000 yen and 641,410 yen respectively in 1907 and 1908 for the projects.²³ The revenue included 50,000 won invested by the government of the Great Han Empire. The project to build Seongjigok basin was designed to supply tap water to 40,000-50,000 households, and the total investment for the project was composed of 1.17 million yen from the Japanese Residents Association of Busan and 350,000 won from the Great Han Empire. Having started with the opening of the waterworks office in Busan in May 1907, the construction of waterworks facilities was completed in July 1910.²⁴

2) The Cityscape and Urban Culture of the Japanese Settlement

As of 1907, public buildings, including official residences and government offices, accounted for an absolute majority of the public facilities as seen in Table 5, followed by schools and hospitals. Other facilities such as banks and corporate offices also formed a major part of city center, with cultural places like theaters and religious places like Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples constituting another part of the urban culture of the open port city.

Government offices included the consulate office, post offices, police stations, military polices, and fire stations. What draws attention with respect to the establishment of fire stations is that it was linked to the Japanese settlement in Busan, where the Japanese style wooden houses grew sharply in number with the rapid increase of Japanese entry since 1884. Accordingly, in April 1901, the Japanese

22. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 323-325).

23. *Hoewisso yeonbo* (1907, 231).

24. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 205-207).



Figure 4. Japanese Consulate (built in 1904)

Table 5. Public Facilities, Government Offices, and Other Buildings (1907)

Type of Buildings	No. of Buildings
Clubs	3
Corporate offices	20
Government offices	5
Houses	2,820
Private hospitals	5
Private kindergarten	1
Private schools	5
Public hospitals	3
Public offices	89
Public schools	8
Residences of government officials	3
Sheds	122
Shrines	5
Storages	170
Temples	6
Theaters	3
Vacant houses	241

*Source: *Hoeuiso yeonbo* (1907, 215).

consulate drew up the Regulation to Establish a Fire Station in the Busan Port.²⁵ Another government building was the Busan Meteorological Office, which opened in Bosu-jeong in the outskirts of the Japanese settlement in March 1903, at the request of the Japanese military authorities during the Russo-Japanese War.²⁶

Educational institutes in Busan, including Busan Public Primary School, were in the residential areas near Seo-jeong and neighboring districts. Also, in Choryang, there was the Choryang Primary School.²⁷



Figure 5. The Japanese Chamber of Commerce in Busan (built in 1904)



Figure 6. Busan Post Office (built in March 1910)

25. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 215).

26. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 111-112).

27. For more information on the establishment of schools after the opening of the port, see Song (2002, 68-72).

Commercial institutions, such as the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and its exhibition and sales centers were in Seo-jeong. Also, shops were concentrated in Bon-jeong, Nambin-jeong, Byeoncheong-jeong, and Haeng-jeong, along with Korean-owned shops or shops for Koreans.²⁸ Branches of Japanese banks, such as the Daiichi Bank in Tokyo (1878), the 18th Bank in Nagasaki (1897) and the 58th Bank in Osaka (1893), were established in Bon-jeong and Ipgang-jeong.

Other public facilities included public hospitals,²⁹ such as the isolation hospital run by Japanese Residents Association of Busan, private hospitals, journalist organizations, such as Joseon Sibosa and Joseon Ilbo (later renamed Busan Ilbo), branch offices of the mainland Japanese newspaper company and newspaper delivery shops. Such public institutions were located in Gothic-style modern buildings with their imposing and oppressive images of the colonizer.

Meanwhile, the Japanese attempted to Japanize the Korean city of Busan by building traditional Japanese-style wooden houses and religious facilities in general residential areas. Such religious facilities, in particular, were concentrated in Seo-jeong and the neighboring areas where retail dealers were gathered. Representative temples in Busan included the Koyasan mission of the Chizan sect (Daecheong-jeong), the Korean branch of the Honganji Temple of the Shinsu

28. According to *Zaikan jitsugyouka meikan* 在韓實業家名鑑 (Directory of Japanese Entrepreneurs in Korea) (1907), Korean-owned shops and Japanese shops for Koreans were concentrated in 3-jeongmok, Bon-jeong. Korean merchants, Gwon Sun-do, Yi Gyeong-baek and Ji Sa-gyeong opened their shops in 3-jeongmok, Bon-jeong to sell cotton, towels, silk and hemp cloth, and a trading merchant named Jeong Myeong-hyun opened his shop, Gwangsinsa, in the region. 3-jeongmok, Bon-jeong also had many Japanese shops for Koreans to sell sundry goods, tobacco and metal utensils. For instance, the branch of the Kondo Gonnohyoe based in Osaka, which was located in 3-jeongmok, Bon-jeong, sold sundry goods to Koreans. Other Japanese owners of shops for Koreans were Yama Ijo, Kuranari Kumasuke and Hukuda Matabei. The Japanese shops listed in the *Directory of Japanese Entrepreneurs in Korea* were scattered in 2-jeongmok, Bon-jeong, Bukbin-jeong, Bupyeong-jeong and Nambin-jeong.

29. Public isolation hospitals were set up in Sasu-hijiwara and Jeolyeongdo in 1905 to sequester and treat contagious patients, in the face of rampant small pox and other epidemics.

Kamakura sect (1-jeongmok Seo-jeong), the Nishi-honganji Temple of the Shinshu Hogan faction (4-jeongmok Seo-jeong), the Chionji Temple of the Jodo (Pure Land) school (Daecheong-jeong), the Myokakuji Temple of the Nichiren sect (2-jeongmok Seo-jeong), in addition to the smaller numbers of temples on the outskirts of the Japanese settlement in Busan. Shinto shrines, such as the Konkokyo temple in Busan (1903) and the Tenrikyo temple in Korea (1908), were also established in Bupyeong-jeong. There were also shrines in various regions of the city, including the Yongdusan Shrine, Yongmisan Shrine and Susan Shrine. The Yongdusan Shrine, located at Yongdusan Park, the highest point of the city, was called "Kotohira Shinto Shrine" and served as a sanctuary where the Japanese held many rituals and as a place symbolic of Japanese national identity.³⁰

Most factories were in Bupyeong-jeong and Daesin-ri, the outskirts of the city. Shipyards were also built in Jeoryeongdo after the Japanese leased the region, thus inviting smaller factories to relocate and form an industrial zone there.³¹

3) Cultural Places in the Japanese Settlement in Busan

Typical venues for Japanese leisure and cultural activities in the open port of Busan during the port-opening period were theaters and restaurants. Haengjwa (Saiwaiza), Songjeongjwa (Matsui), Busanjwa (Fuzanza) were theaters for traditional Japanese puppetry or *yoruri*. It is not known exactly when Haengjwa and Songjeongjwa were established, but they are largely presumed to have opened around 1895.³² Unlike the theaters established in coastal areas in the early period of

30. Refer to *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 179-199).

31. See "Myeongchi 40 nyeon hyeonjae busanhang-e inneun jungyohan gongjang" (Major Factories in Busan in the 40th Year of the Meiji's Reign), in *Hoeuiso yeonbo* (1907, 189-190).

32. Japanese *kabuki* theaters were located on the outskirts of cities along with red-light districts and teahouses. Figure 2, a map of the Japanese settlement in 1903, produced by an anonymous maker, shows the location of restaurants with geishas, Gwangwollu, Daehapjeong, Myeonghoru, and Saiwaza. It seems that the theater emulated the mainland Japan's urban culture at that time.

Japanese settlement, Busanjwa was first opened in the Bupyeong-jeong district in 1907. It was one of the major theaters financed by wealthy Japanese residents, who brought in architects from the mainland Japan. It was established with 35,000 yen in capital from the two influential Japanese merchants, Oike Tadasuke and Goto Jinkichi, who spent 20,000 yen to build the theater, which had a total floor space of 800 square meters and could accommodate 1,200 persons.³³ Busanjwa is not marked on Figure 3, possibly because it was erected after the map, *Myeongsedo*, was created. *Fuzan mintosei ippan* (General Outline of the Busan Port) (1905) compiled by Jinsuke Aizawa lists the cultural performances in Busan theaters in 1904, noted in Table 6.

As shown in Table 6, traditional Japanese plays like *kabuki*, *yoruri*, and *naniwa bushi* were showed on stage in Busan, along with sumo matches, circus, and magic shows. Viewed this way, the traditional Japanese performing arts that originated in Kansai region are presumed to have taken the central stage of Busan.

In 1900, an entertainment district (*yukaku* in Japanese) was opened in Bupyeong-jeong in Busan. It was for the first time in the nation.³⁴ The entertainment district in Bupyeong-jeong served as a special zone, as seen in the fact that 21 of the 39 restaurant owners in Busan listed in *Zaikan jitsugyouka meikan* (Listing of the Japanese Businessmen in Korea, 1907) had their shops in the Bupyeongjeong district.³⁵ Many of the restaurants in Bupyeong-jeong were not distinguishable from ordinary entertainment spots, and special restaurants serving as entertainment spots were operated in Choryang, Jeoryeongdo, and Gogwan. Geishas employed at the restaurants and entertainment spots were mostly Japanese, but there were a few restaurants that hired Korean women as geishas, which included Manghaeru and

33. Kimura (1996, 394).

34. Following the case of Busan, an entertainment spot opened in Incheon in 1902 and in Seoul in 1905. Refer to Hashiya (2004, 98).

35. According to the edition of January 24, 1905 of *Joseon Ilbo*, the entertainment spots in Busan numbered 17, which had 177 geisha girls and 55 waitresses. The largest one of them, Sinongnuu, had 18 geisha girls.

Table 6. Cultural Shows in Busan at a Glance (1904)

Name of Shows	Days of Performance
Genji Day play	5
Hand-dancing	12
Lantern <i>yoruri</i> (lantern-lit Japanese puppet play)	15
Mandolin concerts	3
Motion pictures and <i>niwaka</i> (impromptu comedy)	19
Old actors' play	30
<i>Saimon yoruri</i>	49
<i>Soshi shibai</i> ³⁶	207
Sumo match	20
<i>Ukare</i> ³⁷	37
<i>Ukare-bushi</i> ³⁸	70
Various shows	34
Total	494

Source: Cited from Kimura (1996, 394).

Geumparu in Bupyeong-jeong and Myeongwollu in Bosu-jeong. In particular, Geumparu was owned by a Korean named Yi Yeong-gwon and was supervised a Japanese man named Goichi Hujii, but it was a very exceptional case. It marks a difference from Taiwan, then a Japanese colony, where native Taiwanese women were serving as geishas at entertainment spots. The prosperity of entertainment district led to the emergence of geisha brokers, such as Ueda, owner of the Ueda Store, an entertainment spots in Seo-jeong district.

36. "*Soshi*" refers to political human rights activists in the Meiji era. *Soshi shibai* is a play that political activists started for the human rights movement in the twenties (1887-1896) during the Meiji era. The first play was performed in Osaka by Teiken Kakuto, and it was developed into a new drama by Otojiro Kawakami.

37. Folk songs played with the shamisen (a three-stringed instrument), which was previously called "*naniwa-bushi*" (浪花節) was popular in the Kansai region until the 1940s during the Meiji era.

38. *Ukare-bushi*, the old name of *naniwa-bushi*, which is a genre of traditional Japanese narrative singing.

These entertainment spots were so closely related to Japanese life in Busan that the *Joseon Ilbo* (later renamed *Busan Ilbo*) featured stories about the entertainment circle almost regularly. The economic situation of the entertainment business served as an indicator of that of Busan. The entertainment business was so integral to Busan's economy that it was said that Busan's economy was heavily dependent on restaurants, teahouses, and geisha parlors. At Sasu-hijiwara, one of the restaurants located near *Jeongiru*, outside the Japanese settlement, sumo matches were held regularly.³⁹ According to an advertisement in *Zaikan jitsugyouka meikan* (Listing of Japanese Businessmen in Korea) (1907), the operator of Busallu, located outside the Japanese settlement, was also served as "actor scout," which indicates that Busallu served as a theater as well. The geisha restaurant Allakjeong even had a billiards room. It can be interpreted from these facts that the entertainment spots were places for daily leisure as well as for prostitution. As the entertainment business enjoyed a boom, STDs (sexually transmitted diseases) emerged as a fearful epidemic as serious as small pox and cholera, and it became a serious urban problem for the Japanese settlement. It is against the prevalence of these epidemics that an isolation hospital was established on the seafront of Chojang-jeong on the outskirts of the port city.

In this regard, entertainment establishments displayed the colonial nature of the open port city of Busan. They constituted an integral part of Japanese urban culture to the extent that some Japanese said that "the success of entertainment spots is a barometer of that of a city."⁴⁰ A Japanese man named Ueno Yasutaro earned huge profits by bringing scores of women from Hiroshima and opening the first three-story geisha restaurant, Allakjeong, in Bupyeong-jeong. The Allakjeong, the "only high-rise building," constructed in the barren western area of Busan was deemed to have led the development of the western part of the city.⁴¹

39. *Joseon Ilbo*, January 27, 1905.

40. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 323).

41. *Ilseon tonggyosa* (1916, 326-327).

Another feature of Busan as a colonized city of Japan is found in the fact that the Japanese military camps for MPs and garrison forces were stationed on the outskirts.

Conclusion

The Japanese settlement in Busan during the early period of port opening began with the designation of Choryang as a Japanese residential area. With the increase in Japanese entries into Busan, Japan expanded the settlement in various ways: Japan increased leased territories by pressuring the Korean government, annexed the illegally purchased land of Japanese residents into the Japanese settlement, and expanded the settlement through reclamation. Japan transformed the city into a modern urban space by building a gridded network of streets centered around Mt. Yongdu and by overhauling the urban districts in the Japanese settlement. In this manner, the construction and expansion of urban areas inside the Japanese settlement were, in fact, simultaneously implemented.

It was around 1901 that Busan saw a network of main street completed and was taking shape as a modern city. Around this time, the Japanese named each district in the Japanese residential area using the Japanese term *machi* (*jeong*) and graded the land within the settlement. In addition, they started to reclaim the coastal areas to secure more urban space from that time on.

After the establishment of the Japanese Residency-General in 1906, Japan organized an association of Japanese residents in Korea (the Japanese Residents Association of Busan) to take charge of the city administration and attempted to expand its urban space by annexing illegally purchased land to its settlement. In the *Myeongse-do* map in 1907, those annexed regions are marked as the "area designated for future urban areas." During that time, the Japanese settlement took a more modern shape as it was demarcated into administrative and commercial areas (downtown) in the east and south of Mt. Yongdu and the residential area in the Seo-jeong district. As a

result of urbanization, the Japanese settlement that was a small fishing village developed into a town with a population of 20,000 people in 1910, when Japan completely annexed Korea.

The Japanese-led urbanization of Busan was much imbued with Japanese characteristics both in terms of urban space and culture. This is evident not only in the location of the Shinto shrine at the city center, with Buddhist temples kept to the outskirts of the city, and construction of theaters and entertainment spots, but from the Japanese style of everyday life marked by traditional kabuki plays, modern dramas called *sinpageuk*, and sumo matches. Western facilities, such as exhibition centers, enterprises, banks and customs offices, were also created in the urban area, thus lending the city a modern appearance. Nevertheless, the colonial nature was never completely absent, as a the police station was set up at the center while military police and garrison forces were stationed on the outskirts and granted diplomatic immunity, making the area a kind of extraterritorial zone.

The urban character of Busan that was formed through Japanese-led urban development of the Japanese settlement in the early period of port opening was maintained without much change in spite of the continued growth of the Korean population in the city. The Japanese quarters formed the central part of the city where Japanese residents pushed Koreans from other areas to the outskirts of the city to create a separate residential area. This ethnic division of residential areas contributed to ethnic discrimination within the urban culture of Busan, which was distinct from that of other cities. More specific characteristics of the cultural space of Busan as a modern city during Japanese colonial rule have yet to be explored in other studies.

Appendix 1: Occupational Distribution of Japanese Residents in Busan (around 1907)

Occupation	No. of Employed	Occupation	No. of Employed
Accessory and sundry dealer	390	Engineering contractor	68
Apothecary	4	Entertainment employee	11
Attorney	3	Farmer	443
Bank official and clerk	418	Ferry service operator	3
Barber	63	Financier	1
Barge operator	2	Firewood and charcoal dealer	80
Barrel maker	29	Fish dealer	69
Bathhouse worker	19	Fisherman	226
Bean curd dealer	32	Fishing gear dealer	6
Beverage shop	4	Fishing net manufacturer	1
Bicycle dealer	2	Food peddler	102
Boiled fish sausage dealer	14	Forester	6
Border clearance official	8	Fortune-teller	2
Brazier	7	Funeral outfit shop owner	3
Bread and cake baker	197	Fruit dealer	141
Brewer	16	Furniture dealer	3
Brick-maker	20	Geisha	218
Broker	65	Glass and lamp dealer	9
Butcher	2	Grain dealer	95
Cabinet maker	14	Gun and gunpowder shop owner	2
Candle maker	2	Hairdresser	30
Candy manufacture	5	Hardware shop owner	15
Canner	6	Husker	5
Clothing maker	34	Icemaker	1
Coachman	1	Inn employee	2
Coal dealer	6	Interpreter	6
Correspondent	14	Job broker	6
Cotton maker	12	Kitchenware dealer	48
Customs official	22	Korean money broker	12
Dairy worker	4	Laborer	155
Dentist	3	Lacquer coating shop owner	1
Diver	20	Lacquerware maker	1
Doctor	26	Laundry shop owner	14
Drugstore owner	22	Lawyer	3
Dye worker	13	Locomotive engineer	7
Electrician	11	Lodging house employee	29
Eatery employee	123	Lumber mill	11
Engineer	7	Mason	134

Occupation	No. of Employed	Occupation	No. of Employed
Masseuse and acupuncturist	15	Scrivener	10
Master carpenter	268	Seafood dealer	7
Metal worker	1	Seal engraver	9
Midwife	22	Seaman	93
Miscellaneous job	80	Shamisen player	3
Money lender	21	Shipbuilding worker	78
Monk	12	Shipping agent	19
Navy officer	7	Shoemaker	2
Newspaper delivery man	5	Shop employee and laborer	979
Newspaper reporter	15	Shrine priest	5
Nurse	10	Smith	64
Official	267	Soap maker	7
Paint worker	14	Soy and sesame oil maker	9
Paper and stationary items	5	Spinner	1
Paper hanger	12	Station worker	84
Pawnshop owner	23	Stock farmer	2
Peddler of used items	8	Stoker	6
Petroleum and oil dealer	9	Secondhand dealer	95
Pharmaceutical peddler	18	Tailor	52
Pharmacist	4	Tatami floor worker	14
Phone operator	43	Tea shop owner	3
Photographer	8	Teacher	51
Plaster worker (<i>togong</i>)	160	Textile worker	7
Plasterer (<i>jwagwan</i>)	50	Theater employee	3
Porcelain maker	19	Tin-smith	21
Porter	149	Tobacco dealer	36
Poultry and meat dealer	15	Trader	59
Print shop worker	5	Trainee engineer	19
Prostitute	244	Transportation worker	13
Public employee	44	Umbrella/lantern maker	8
Repairman	5	Vehicle rental dealer	1
Restaurant worker	53	Veterinary surgeon	5
Retail dealer of drinks, soy, sesame oil and bean paste	160	Wagon operator	18
Rice mill	17	Waitress	42
Rickshaw man	105	Washwoman	21
Ritual food dealer	15	Watch dealer	12
Roof-tile maker	14	Western beverage dealer	3
Salt dealer	5	Wholesale trader	5
Sawyer	47	Others	127
		Total	7,576

Notes: 1) *Jwagwan* and *togong* are a type of plasterer.

2) Unfilled occupations identified by the survey are not included.

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