

Korean Emigration to the Russian Far East, 1860s-1910s

*BAN, Byung-yool**

1. Introduction

Throughout the Japanese colonial period, Koreans called Manchuria and the Russian Far East “*Wondong*” (the Far East). By contrast, “*Naeji*” meant inside Korea and “*Haeoe*” meant simply abroad, usually implying America, Hawaii or Mexico. The *Wondong* region became a symbol of hope for the anti-Japanese struggle through which Korean patriots sought to realize their dream of an independent fatherland. Both nationalist and communist Korean patriots looked to *Wondong* as the staging ground for full-scale military assault on northern part of Korea which one day might incite support from the masses inside Korean territory. Small, but concerted military incursions against Japanese colonial dominance in the north attest to this strategy.

Several factors coalesced to sustain the anti-colonial struggle from *Wondong*. Above all, the region’s geographical proximity to Korea, and the relatively favorable attitude of local Chinese and Russian authorities attracted many Korean peasants oppressed by the Chosŏn government and Japanese policies after 1905. The burgeoning Korean population in *Wondong* itself provided manpower and resources to resist Japan south of the Tumen River. Furthermore, the Russian Far East and Manchuria had once been the territory of ancient Korean people, Korean nationalists felt a strong sense of historical franchise toward these regions. The

*Visiting Fellow, East-West Center, USA

Lecturer, East Asian Languages and Literatures, University of Hawaii at Manoa, USA

Seoul Journal of Korean Studies, Vol 9, pp 115-143, 1996

Russian policies on early Korean emigration to the Russian Far East left long-lasting and deep-rooted effects on the socio-economic and political life of Koreans in Russia. This article focuses on how Russian policies in particular influenced the formation of expatriate Korean communities from the 1860s to the eve of World War I.

2. Historical Background

In ancient times, Manchuria and the Primorye were populated by the people of Puyō (Chin Fuyu) to whom Koreans trace their origins. This kingdom of the Puyō people was centered on the basin of the Sungari River. Puyō's historical existence is indicated today by the city named "Fuyu," north of Zhangchun city in Jilin Province. A branch kingdom of Puyō, Koguryō (B.C. 37-A.D. 668), arose north of the middle stream of the Yalu River. By subjugating various Manchurian peoples, including Puyō, Qidan, Xienbei, and Mohe, Koguryō at the peak of her power, dominated a vast territory stretching from the central Korean Peninsula to the Sungari River and from the Liaodong Peninsula to the Primorye. Koguryō's rule over such vast stretches of Manchuria and the Primorye provided a historical justification for the Korean claim of historical jurisdiction over those regions.

Although there has been scholarly controversy concerning the ethnicity of its ruling class, Parhae (699-926, Chin. Bohai) rose in this region and claimed itself as the successor to Koguryō. Parhae extended its dominance to the mouth of the Amur River, in addition to most of the territory held by Koguryō. With the defeat of Parhae by the Qidan in 926, however, Manchuria and the Primorye were lost as a "homeland" for the Korean people and their political domain shrank to the Korean Peninsula.

Koryō ruled the Korean Peninsula from 918 till 1392, claiming to be the successor to Koguryō. Although some Koryō kings pursued an expansionist policy, seeking to recover the former territory of Koguryō, Koryō's northern border remained below a line stretching from the mouth of the Yalu River to the present Wonsan Bay, including the southern part of today's Southern Hamgyōng Province. It was King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) who established six garrison settlements (*yukchin*) in the Tumen River region and four frontier districts (*sagun*) along the Yalu River with the purpose of consolidating the northern frontier against intrusions by the Nuzhen. From that time on, the Yalu-Tumen line has remained Korea's northern border.

After the Manchus established their rule in China, the Qing Government

prohibited any migration into Manchuria in order to protect and preserve its homeland. Responding to the policy of the Qing Government, the Korean Government strictly punished persons who committed the crime of crossing the river (*wolgangjoe*). Watchful border guards implemented this policy, even imposing the death penalty.¹ However, Korean peasants continued to sneak into and cultivate border regions in Manchuria in spite of the harsh laws and border controls of the two countries.² A small number of Korean peasants usually crossed the border in the morning to farm during the daytime and returned in the evening — a practice known as “one-day return cultivation” (*ilgwi kyŏngjak*).³

From the early 19th century, the Qing Government gradually lost control of its border and the Chosŏn dynasty also began to have serious domestic problems. As Korea’s tax system was mismanaged and abused, the discontented peasants increasingly revolted against the government. In the Hong Kyŏng-nae Rebellion of 1811, dissident local *yangban*, disgruntled with the dynasty’s policy of discrimination against the people of P’yŏngan Province succeeded in mobilizing the peasants. The northern border region below the Yalu River was in turmoil for some months. Thereafter, there were many rebellions and the rural turbulence culminated in 1862 in the uprising in Chinju in southern Korea. Unable to bear this hardship, Korean peasants increasingly migrated into the Primorye and Manchuria by crossing the border.

3. Korean Emigration to the Russian Far East before the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations (1863-1884)

Koreans first had contact with Russians in the middle of the seventeenth century when the Manchus asked the Korean Government to dispatch military troops against Russians in the Amur region. The Korean Government twice dispatched military forces of 150 soldiers in 1654 and 200 soldiers in 1658. The Korean soldiers equipped with “bird-shaped firearms (*choch’ong*)” similar to those used by

1 Dŏn’shun’ Pak (Pak Chin-sun), “Koreiskaia emigratsiia v Rossiia” [Korean Emigration to Russia], *Zhizn’ Natsionalostei*, 18 April 1920 2, Kye Pong-u, *Kkum sok-ŭi kkum* [A Dream in a Dream], ms (Kzyl Orda, kazakstan, 1944), vol 1, 163

2 Ko Sŭng-je, *Hanguk iminsa yŏngu* [Studies on History of Korean Emigration] (Seoul Changmungak, 1973), 17

3 Hyŏn Kyu-hwan, *Hanguk yuiminsa* [A History of Korean Wanderers and Emigrants] (Seoul Ŏmungak, 1976), vol 1, 135

Japanese at the time of the Hideyoshi invasion, contributed to frustrating Russian territorial ambitions.⁴ Koreans call these brief encounters with the Russians the “Nasŏn Chŏngbŏl” (Expedition against Russia).

Since then, it was almost two hundred years before Koreans and Russians had another encounter. In 1854, Russian admiral E.V. Putiatin visited the Wonsan Bay in northeastern Korea, hoping for trade and treaty, but had no result. Four years later, when China was at war with England and France, Russia obtained the upper Amur River from the weakened Qing Government in 1858. Lands east of the Ussuri River followed in 1860. Russia now shared the Tumen River as a border line with Korea. During the period shortly after incorporating the Primorye, a few thousand natives, Chinese, and Russian pioneers lived in this area together with the Ussuri Cossacks in the Pos’et Bay, which formed part of the Amur Cossack Host in 1858.⁵

During the time, a few unmarried Koreans went to Vladivostok and other southern Ussurisk regions for summertime works in ports, fortress, and road construction. In 1863, about sixty Koreans from thirteen North Hamgyŏng Province families settled without permission of the Russian authorities on the government lands in the valley of Tizinkhe River, five *versta* (a little more than 5 km) north from Pos’et beside Novogorod Bay. These Koreans were considered as the first permanent Korean emigrants to Russia.⁶ These Koreans appealed to the Russian Lieutenant Rezanov to allow them to settle in the Tizinkhe region and requested a dispatch of at least five soldiers to protect them from Manchu bandits, presumably *honghuzi* (Kor. *honghojŏk* which means “red bearded bandits”). Russian authorities not only allowed the Koreans to cultivate these lands, but also provided seeds and foodstuffs.⁷

The first group of Korean immigrants founded a village, which the Military-Governor of the Primorye Province named after the Russian Lieutenant Rezanov, who had reported first to the Military-Governor about the new first Korean

4. *Ibid*, 776-777.

5 Edward D Sokol, “Ussuri Cossack Host,” in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed Joseph L Wiczynski (Academic International Press, 1978), vol 41, 135, Haruki Wada, “Koreans in the Soviet Far East, 1917-1937,” in *Koreans in the Soviet Union*, ed Dae-sook Suh (Honolulu Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1987), 25

6 V V Grave, *Kitaiisy, Koreitsy i Iapontsy v Priamur’e* [Chinese, Koreans and Japanese in the Priamur] (St Petersburg V F Grishbaum, 1912), 128

7 Boris Dmitrievich Pak, *Koreitsy v Rossuskoj imperii (Dal’nevostochnyi period)* [Koreans in the Russian Empire (Far Eastern Period)] (Moscow Mezhdunarodnyi Tsentr Koreevedennia Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, 1983), 19-20

immigrants on November 30, 1863.⁸ In order to protect their village from attack of the *honghuzi*, these immigrants organized a private arsenal (*sap'oyöng*). Wanting to have more Koreans, twenty-five members of the arsenal secretly entered the six garrison settlements in Korea and gathered those Koreans who wanted to emigrate to Russia. Riding on more than sixty ox carts and thirty horses, this group succeeded in crossing the border after an armed conflict with the local soldiers of Kyönghäng.⁹ In 1865, three local Russian officials with more than ten soldiers and an Korean interpreter, Ch'oe Un-bo, visited the local office in Kyönghäng and requested permission for commercial trade, but local Korean officials stubbornly refused.¹⁰

The news of these first Korean immigrants spread infectiously among Korean peasants in the border regions of North Hamgyöng Province and triggered the flow of Korean peasants to the Pos'et region. The number of Korean emigrants to southern Ussurisk increased annually in subsequent years.¹¹ Avoiding exploitation by corrupt and suppressive Korean Government officials and the famine which resulted from repeated poor harvests, Korean peasants dared to emigrate to Ussurisk risking the death penalty promulgated by the Korean Government.¹² During the period from 1863 to 1869, about 1,400 Koreans settled in southern Ussurisk.¹³ In addition to Tizinkhe, Korean settlements later arose in Ianchikhe, Sidimi, Adimi, Chapigou, Krabbe and Fuduvai along the rivers of Ianchikhe, Adimi, Sidimi Rivers in southern Ussurisk *Krae*.¹⁴

As a result of consecutive poor harvests from 1866 to 1869, northern Korea experienced an unprecedentedly severe famine. Poor communications and horrible

8 Boris Pak, 19-20

9 Twibabo (Kye Pong-u), "Aryöng silgi (1)" [Real Record of (Koreans) in Russian Territory] *Tongnip Sinmun*, 1 March 1920, 8 In the conflict, a soldier was killed and a old woman and a girl were arrested

10 Twibabo, "Aryöng silgi (1)," *Tongnip Sinmun*, 1 March 1920, 8 Ch'oe Un-bo was one of the two Koreans who had led the first group of Korean farmers to Tizinkhe in 1863

11. Grave, 129, *Sinhan Munbo*, 9 June 1909, 1

12 The Korean Government decapitated four of the border-crossing criminals and displayed their heads to the public two times in 1864 and 1867 See Hyön, 777

13 Japanese Government, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Archives in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs* (hereafter cited as AJMFA), MT1148, 4. According to Grave, 165 families settled in Pos'et region See Grave, 128

14 Semen Davidovich Anosov, *Koreitsy v Ussuriskom Krae* [Koreans in the Ussurisk Region] (Khabarovsk and Vladivostok Knizhnoe Delo, 1928), 9

administrative mismanagement by the government aggravated the situation. Although there are no exact statistics, it is believed that as many as 500,000 persons died from hunger. Seeking relief from this painful situation, a large number of Korean families migrated to Manchuria and the Primorye.¹⁵ Kyŏngwon and Kyŏnghŭng, two frontier towns on the southern side of the Tumen River became almost deserted counties. The number of peasants who risked their lives by crossing the river to Chientao and the Ussurisk regions drastically increased.¹⁶

The first mass emigration of the Koreans to Ussurisk began in 1869. That year, Korean farmers in the border regions of northern Korea, particularly in the six garrison settlements, experienced such an “unprecedented, terrible draught caused by a long-standing duststorm, that there was not a grain to be gathered in the fields.”¹⁷ During the six months from June to December 1869, about 6,500 Koreans emigrated to the Tizinkhe region.¹⁸ Among these people, 4,500 Koreans arrived at Tizinkhe at the beginning of December. Among those impoverished Koreans, 300-400 families brought a few of cattle and a small amount of food, but the remaining 700 families came with nothing.¹⁹ The scarcely populated wild land was also suffering from a bad harvest.²⁰ The Koreans who had settled earlier in Tizinkhe could not fully provide enough food for the new immigrants, who outnumbered established settlers by five to one. Hundreds of people starved to death everyday. Fewer than half survived, thanks to grain provided by the Russian authorities.²¹ Koreans in Manchuria and Russia later called the famine in 1869, “*Kisa hyungnyŏn*” (“famine in the year of *kisa*”) and the mass crossing in 1870, “*Kyŏngo togang*” (“river-crossing in the year of *kyŏngo*”). Contemporary records describe horrible scenes of people wandering in hunger, roadways scattered with corpses, and even incidents of cannibalism.²²

Troubled with the unanticipated influx of so many starving Korean immigrants, the Military-Governor of the Priamur, I.V. Furugel'm (1865-1871), dispatched Trubetskoi to Kyŏnghŭng and concluded an agreement with its magistrate of

15 Din'shun' Pak, 2

16 Twibabo, “Aryŏng silgi (1),” *Tongnip Sinmun*, 1 March 1920, 8

17 Twibabo, “Aryŏng silgi (1),” *Tongnip Sinmun*, 1 March 1920, 8

18 AJMFA, MT1148, 5

19 Boris pak, 30

20 J F Bishop (Isabella L. Bird), *Korea & Her Neighbors: A Narrative of Travel, with an Account of the Recent Vicissitudes and Present Position of the Country* (London: John Murray, 1898), vol. 2, 14

21 Ch'oe Pong-jun, “Palganhanŭn mal” [Words for Publishing], *Haejo Sinmun*, 26 February 1908, 2

22 Yun Chŏng-hi, “Kando kaech'ŏksa,” *Hangukhak Yŏngu* 3 (March 1991) 14, Kye Pong-u, 141

Kyōnghūng concerning the return of the immigrants to Korea. Both Russian and Korean local authorities agreed to facilitate their return, but the Korean immigrants in Tızinhke refused to follow Furugel'm's order for Koreans without means for survival to leave their Russian settlements. The Koreans announced that they would rather die from starvation in Russian territory than return to Korea. They also said they did not believe the promise of the magistrate of Kyōnghūng. In this situation, Furugel'm decided to allow the 6,500 Korean immigrants to settle on Russian territory, at the same time taking measures to provide for their sustenance.²³

The stubborn attitude of these Korean immigrants does not seem to have been the only key factor in changing local Russian policies. More importantly, it was the conclusion of Furugel'm that the Korean immigrants in southern Ussurisk would be of substantial benefit to the Russian population "providing good and cheap laborers."²⁴ He therefore proceeded to utilize the Korean immigrants in colonizing and developing southern Ussurisk. First of all, Furugel'm mobilized them to work at the construction of military facilities in Novokievsk and the dock in Vladivostok port, as well as roads throughout the Daubikhe region. Korean settlers in Razdol'noe and Astrakhan were ordered to supply firewood for steamers floating in the Ussuri and Suifen rivers and lake Khanka.²⁵ At the same time, Furugel'm relocated a large number of recently arrived Korean immigrants to the valleys of the Suifen, Shufan, and Lef rivers originating from lake Khanka, and later even to the valley of the Suchan river in the south-eastern part of Primorye Province.²⁶

By the order of N.P. Smelnikov, Governor-General of Eastern Siberia who had travelled to inspect the Korean settlement in southern Ussurisk in 1870, the local Russian authorities of Priamur province relocated 431 Koreans from 103 families in the Pos'et area to Amur Province. A new Korean village was called Blagoslovennoe (Korean name, Samanri) at the mouth of the Samara River, a tributary of the Amur River, 547 *versts* (about 547 Km) from Blagoveshchensk. The Russian Government spent 16,570 rubles for the relocation of those Koreans. According to the Migration Promotion Law of 1861, those Koreans were forever exempted from the poll tax, and for twenty years from the land tax; they obtained Russian citizenship and 100 *desiatins* of land (one *desiantin* is about 2.7 acres) per household.²⁷

23. Syn Khva Kim, *Ocherki po istorii Sovetskikh Koreitsev* [Essays on the History of Soviet Koreans] (Alma Ata Nauka, 1965), 29-30, Boris Pak, 32-33

24 Boris Pak, 34

25 AJMFA, TM1148, 5-6, Syn Khva Kim, 30, Boris Pak, 30

26 Anosov, 9, Boris Pak, 44

Table 1. Governor-General and Commander of the Primur *Krai* Army

A N Korf	1884-1893
S M Dukhovskoi	1893-1898
N I Grodekov'	1898-1902
D I Subbotich'	1902-1903
N P Linevich'	1903-1904
R V Khreshchatitskii	1904-1905
P F Unterberger	1905-1910
N L Gontatt	1910-1917

Source Unterberger, *Primorskaiia Oblast'*, 1856-1898 gg. [Primorye Oblast, 1856-1898] (St Petersburg V F Kirshbauma, 1990), Appendix, 12, unterberger, *Primursku Krai, 1906-1910 gg* [Primur Krai, 1906-1910] (St Petersburg V F Kirshbauma, 1912), 37-38

The Russian Government's relocation of Korean immigrants to regions far from the frontier region had already begun in 1867²⁸ This policy clearly reflected the uneasiness of local Russian authorities regarding the settlement of so many Koreans near the Korean frontier.²⁹ As a result of the relocation policy, all 3,473 Koreans founded 13 Korean villages in the southern Ussurisk *Krai* (5 in Suifen district, 6 in Khanka district and 2 in Suchan district) in 1872 Korean settlements in southern Ussurisk *Krai* continued to increase through the 1870s, and in 1878, 6,142 Koreans were living in 20 villages (9 in Suifen district, 8 in Khanka district and 3 in Suchan district).³⁰

As we saw, the Russian authorities hospitably accepted the Korean immigrants in southern Ussurisk by providing food, seeds, cattle and lands. Although the local Russian authorities felt uncomfortable with the starving Korean immigrants, their strong wish to colonize the Ussurisk *Krai* led them to accept emigrés from Korea with sympathy. It was unrealistic for the Russian authorities to hope for

27 Grave, 129, AJMFA, MT1148, 6-7, Anosov, 9, Kim Se-yong, "Söbaengnia-üi Chosönnin hwaldong" [The Activities of Koreans in Siberia], *Samchölli* October 1930, 3, Boris Pak, 39, Syn Khva Kim, 31 Because of the expense, this experiment was not repeated later See Anosov, 9

28 Grave, 129

29 Boris Pak, 29

30 Boris Pak, 44, 47-48. Koreans named geographic places in the Far East and Siberia using Korean characters similar to the Russian pronunciation or borrowed Chinese names For example, Tizinkhe Chisinhö, Pos'et Yöñch'u, Vladivostok Haesamwi, Suifen Ch'up'ung or Songwangnyöng, Suchan Such'öng, Khabarovsk Hwabalp'o, Blagoslovennoe Samanri, Blagoveshchensk Bulgaemisk, Chita Chökt'ap, Tomsk Toumch'i etc

colonization of the newly-obtained and sparsely populated territory by the Russian settlers³¹ Transportation difficulties, lack of facilities necessary for settlement, severe climate, remoteness from central Russia also discouraged the migration of Russians to the Far East. The Russian Government's effort to induce Russian settlers to the Far East had not led to satisfactory results. Even the majority of the new migrants who crossed the Urals preferred to settle in other parts of Siberia, instead of moving further east³²

As we can see in Table 2, the number of Russian settlers in Ussurisk *Krai* was even smaller than that in the Amur province. Furthermore, the rate of the Russian migration to the Ussuri Krai dropped sharply from 1871, obviously influenced by the "Manza War" in 1868,³³ when the *honghuzi* attacked Russian settlements.³⁴ As of 1882, the number of Korean settlers equalled 10.9% of the whole population in the Primorye *Oblast* and outnumbered that of the ethnic Russian settlers (see Table 3).

Koreans proved themselves to be much more efficient farmers than Russians. Koreans diligently cultivated the vast undeveloped land which Russian cossacks and peasant settlers leased to them.³⁵ Russian cossacks and migrants obtained

Table 2. Russian migration to the Priamur

Period	Increase of Peasant Migrants					
	Amur (1)		Primorye (2)		Priamur (1) + (2)	
	Period	Yearly	Period	Year	Period	Year
1859-1882	8,709	363	5,705	238	14,414	601
1883-1899	24,089	1,417	45,196	2,659	69,285	4,076
1900-1908	42,106	4,678	130,356	14,484	172,462	19,161
1859-1908	74,904	1,498	181,257	3,625	256,161	5,123

Source Derber Petr Iakovlevich and Sher M L , *Ocherki Khazaistvennoi zhizni Dal'nego Vostoka* [Essays on Agricultural Life of the Far East] (Moscow and Leningrad Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1927), 30

31 Dn'shun' pak, 2, AJMFA, MT1148, 3-4

32 Andrew Malozemoff, *Russian Far Eastern Policy 1881-1904 With Special Emphasis on the Cause of the Russo-Japanese War* (New York Octagon Books, 1977), 1-10

33 Anosov, 5-6

34 John J Stephan, *The Russian Far East A History* (Stanford Stanford UP, 1994), 73; Malozemoff,

Table 3. Population in the Primorye: Koreans and Russians, 1882-1908

Year	Korean			Russian	Total
	Russian	Alien	Total		
1882	—	10,137 (10 9)	10,137 (10 9)	8,385 (9 0)	92,708 (100 0)
1892	12,940 (78 1)	3,624 (21 9)	16,564 (11 2) (100 0)	57,000 (38 6)	147,517 (100 0)
1902	16,140 (49 8)	16,270 (50 2)	32,410 (10 4) (100 0)	66,320 (21 2)	312,541 (100 0)
1908	16,190 (35 7)	29,207 (64 3)	45,397 (8 6) (100 0)	383,083 (72 9)	525,353 (100 0)

Source V V Grave, *Kitatsy, Koreitsy i Iapontsy v Priamur'e* [Chinese, Koreans and Japanese in the Priamur] (St Petersburg V F Grishbaum, 1912), 5, 129-130

foodstuffs, cheap labor, and agricultural skills from Koreans. In short, Koreans played a major role in the economic growth of the Primorye.³⁶ In this context, it was natural for the local Russian authorities to welcome Korean immigrants to Ussurisk Krai.

4. Korean Emigration to Russia under Diplomatic Relations (1884-1905)

In the 1880s, for the purpose of remedying its weak position in the Far East, in contrast to the growing colonization and military presence of China in Manchuria, the Russian government began to implement some active policies based on the principle of "Russia for the Russians."³⁷ First, in order to populate the Ussurisk Krai, the Russian Government issued an edict in 1882 prohibiting all but Russian

35 The Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty, *A Handbook of Siberia and Arctic Russia* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1914), vol 1, 210

36 Anosov, 7

37 Malozemoff, 22-26

subjects from acquiring land in Siberia. The Governor-General would lease land to foreigners only in exceptional circumstances.³⁸ For the effective administration of the Far East, the Russian Government in 1884 separated Za-Baikal, Amur, and Primorye and Sakhalin Island from the governor-generalship of Eastern Siberia and put them under the newly created Priamur Governor-General centered in Khabarovsk.³⁹

The Russian Government experimented with financing the transportation of Russian migrants from Odessa to the Far East by means of the Russian Volunteer Fleet beginning in 1879. In 1882 the first party of 250 families was transported to Vladivostok at government cost.⁴⁰ In order to attract migrants from the southern Russian provinces to Ussurisk *Krai*, the government established the South Ussuri Resettlement Law under the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, Dmitry Anuchin. In addition to land-allotment (fifteen *desiatins* per person, with a maximum of 100 *desiatin* per household), the law granted various privileges such as tax exemption for five years, food supplies for eighteen months, construction materials and agricultural tools to the migrants.⁴¹

The growth of Russian colonization thus increased after 1883. As Table 2 indicates, during the first 24 years from 1859 to 1882, migration proceeded slowly, mainly to the Amur. However, during the next seventeen years (1883-1899), the colonization increased almost seven times faster than during the previous period. In

Table 4. Population in the Primorye (January 1, 1898)

	Rus	Indig	Kor	Chin	Jap	Other	Total
Urban Area	31,887	74	1,626	14,935	1,242	526	50,290
Rural Area	97,059	44,631	21,653	14,349	488	54	178,234
Total	128,946	44,705	23,279	29,284	1,730	580	288,524

Rus Russians, Indig Indigenous Non-Russians, Kor Korean, Chin Chinese,

Jap Japanese, Other Other Foreigners

Source P F Unterberger, *Primorskaja Oblast', 1856-1898 gg*, Appendix 1-a

38 The Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, 211

39 P F. Unterberger, *Primorskaja Oblast', 1856-1898 gg* [*Primore Oblast, 1856-1898*] (St Petersburg V F Kirshbauma, 1900), 265

40 The Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, 204-205; Malozemoff, 13; Stephan, 65

41 Stephan, 65, Anosov, 6

particular, the number of migrants to the Primorye became twice as large as that to the Amur, which is explained by arrivals by sea.⁴² The Russian population in 1882, 8,385 was only 9% of the total population in the Primorye and was less than that of the Koreans. After 10 years, it leaped to 57,000 in 1892, composing 38.6% of the entire Primorye population, becoming the largest single ethnic group. At the beginning of 1898, The Russian population was the largest ethnic group in all parts of the Primorye region (see Table 4), and continuously increased thanks to supportive government policies. In 1908, it reached 383,083, 72.9% of the entire population.⁴³

In 1886, the first Governor-General of the Priamur, Baron A.N. Korf (1884-1893) convened a conference of governors and other high officials in Khabarovsk to discuss the question of Korean and Chinese settlers in the Priamur. The conference decided to expel the Chinese immigrants living more than fifty *versts* from the Chinese border.⁴⁴ After the conference, the Russian authorities took restrictive measures against Koreans.⁴⁵ For example, when the frontier between Manchuria and the southern Ussurisk *Krai* was agreed on by Russia and China in 1886, a Korean village called Nasōndong and located near the mouth of the Tumen River became to Chinese territory, and Russian police destroyed it by force.⁴⁶

On November 22, 1886, after conferring with the Governor-General of the Priamur, the Russian Government promulgated a law which allowed the Minister of Internal Affairs to relocate Koreans to the interior regions far from border areas. This policy, however, could not be enforced for two reasons: 1) relocation of Koreans was too expensive; 2) it might have caused difficulties in food supply for Russian military and government officials. Accordingly, Baron Korf decided to allow Koreans to stay in the Pos'et region.⁴⁷

The Russian Government addressed issues of Korean immigration through diplomacy as well. Twenty-five years after Korea and Russia had shared the border, diplomatic relations with Korea were formalized when the two countries signed a

42 Derber Petr Iakovlevich and Sher M.L., *Ocherki Khazaistvennoi zhizni Dal'nego Vostoka* [Essays on Agricultural Life of the Far East] (Moscow and Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel'stvo, 1927), 30

43 Grave, 129-130.

44 Malozemoff, 25.

45 Anosov, 10

46. "Kangdong swinhae" [Fifty Years (of Koreans) in the Primorye], *Hanin Sinbo*, 23 September 1917, 3. All the Koreans were opposed to the order of Russian authorities to 2,600 Koreans from 270 households were immediately relocated to uncultivated lands in the Taubikhe region.

47 AJMFA, MT1148,12

“Treaty of Friendship and Commerce” on July 7, 1884. Together with the Korean Government’s removal of the ban on border-crossing in the previous year, the treaty made it much more convenient for Koreans to cross the Tumen River into Russian territory.⁴⁸

After conclusion of this treaty, local Russian authorities also allowed local self-rule for Koreans in Ussurisk. In 1884, local Russian authorities appointed Ch’oe Chae-hyŏng (Petr Semenovich) as the first Korean headman (Kor. *tohŏn* or *pijikkae*), a kind of magistrate, in Pos’et where the majority of the Korean immigrants had settled.⁴⁹ The headman was in charge of collecting taxes, enforcing orders of the Russian authorities, minor legal decisions, and police activities. Below the headman were unofficial village district leaders called *p’ungjon* (custom leader) or *noya* (elderman). *P’ungjon* were usually elected in rural areas and *noya* in urban areas by several unofficial village leaders called *p’ungsok* (village custom leaders). Headmen, *p’ungjon* and *noya* were good at the Russian and Chinese languages, and usually mediated in affairs with foreigners.⁵¹

Soon after the establishment of diplomatic relations, the Russian Government, seriously concerned about Korean immigration, attempted to resolve the issue through diplomatic negotiations. The first Russian ambassador to Korea, Karl. I. Weber, who arrived in Seoul in October, 1885, immediately started negotiations of the rules governing commercial intercourse on the Russo-Korean immigration and promoting naturalization, Weber proposed to grant rights equivalent to those of other Russian subjects to Koreans who had immigrated to Russia before the 1884 Treaty. President of the Board of Foreign Affairs of Korea, Kim Yun-sik agreed and promised to issue an order to local Korean authorities in the frontier region. However, hesitating to allow the Koreans in Russia to become Russian citizens, the Korean Government did not document the agreement either in the order to its local authorities in the frontier region or in the convention on frontier trade at the Tumen River, which was signed between Russia and Korea on August 20, 1888.⁵² The

48 “Kangdong swinhae,” *Hann Sinbo*, 23 September 1917, 3

49 “Kangdong swinhae,” *Hann Sinbo*, 23 September 1917, 3, 30 September 1917, 3 According to a Japanese report, 8,514 of the total Korean population of 13,880 were living in the Pos’et region See AJMFA, MT1148, 17

50 Twibabo, “Aryŏng silgi (8),” *Tongnip Sinmun*, 25 March 1920, 1, Bishop, vol 1, 15

51 Twibabo, “Aryŏng silgi (8),” *Tongnip Sinmun*, 25 March 1920, 1, Hwang Uk, “Chaeoe kak chubang sanghwang Sojaha chubang chŏnghwang” [Situation of Every Region Abroad: Sojaha Region], *Tongnip Sinmun*, 4 April 1923, 4

52 Boris Park, 72-74 An English translation of the Regulations can be seen in Great Britain Foreign

convention of 1888 included the opening of Kyŏnghŭng to Russia; any Korean without a Russian passport was not allowed to emigrate to Russia.⁵³

Although Russia and Korea agreed that Koreans who had emigrated to Russia before 1884 must obtain Russian citizenship, local Russian authorities did not put the agreement into practice immediately after the conclusion of the convention of 1888. Priamur Governor-General, Baron Korf at first, considered Koreans politically useless for the colonization of the Ussurik *Krai* and accordingly did not hurry to grant citizenship to those who had emigrated before the 1884 Treaty.⁵⁴ P.F. Unterberger (1888-1897), Primorye Military-Governor, was also “a decisive opponent to the acceptance of the Koreans to Russian citizenship, worrying that the position of the Koreans would be durable once they were given the land allotment.”⁵⁵ Baron Korf and General Unterberger clearly considered it advantageous to keep the status of Koreans uncertain in order to expel “unfavorable elements” from among Koreans, to promote Russification of the Koreans, and to collect taxes from the Koreans who came before 1884 as other Koreans and Chinese of non-Russian subjects.⁵⁶

In 1890, however, the strong Chinese policy toward Koreans in Chientao, by which Koreans were either forced to obtain Chinese citizenship for landownership or expelled, clearly influenced local Russian authorities in the Far East.⁵⁷ Baron Korf issued an order prepared by General Unterberger on July 21, 1891. According to the decree, all Koreans living in Russia fell into three categories.⁵⁸ The first category identified Koreans who had already settled and were farming in Russia before the treaty of 1884. They were promised Russian citizenship and 15 *desiatins* (405 acres) of land with an obligation not to rent to transient Koreans. The second category covered Koreans who had settled after 1884. They were given two years to liquidate their businesses. During this two year grace period, they had to follow the natural and monetary duties of the first category. After two years, however, they would be treated like Koreans of the third category, Koreans who came temporarily to Russia as foreigners and they were required to hold passports issued both by the Korean and Russian governments.⁵⁹

Office ed., *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol LXXIX (1887-1888), London, 634-641

53 Great Britain Foreign Office, 636

54 Anosov, 10, Boris Park, 78

55 Anosov, 11

56 Grave, 131-132

57 The Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, 211

58 Grave, 131, Boris Park, 76

The negative attitudes of the local Russian authorities such as Baron Korf and General Unterberger towards Koreans culminated in the 1891 decree by which the landownership of foreigners was prohibited and the land allotment of 100 *desiatins* was allowed only to Russians.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the conference which Baron Korf convened between governors and representatives of the local businesses in 1893 resolved that Koreans were “unnecessary” to the Ussurisk *Krai*.⁶¹

Baron Korf died in 1893 leaving the enforcement of his order to his successors, S.M. Dukhovskoi (1893-1898) and N.I. Grodekov (1898-1902), both of whom had radically different views on the Korean question.⁶² Unlike his predecessor, Governor-General Dukhovskoi was an advocate of liberal policies toward Korean immigrants: 1) utilization of the Koreans for the colonization of the Ussurisk *Krai*; 2) welcoming them to Russian citizenship with allotments of land; 3) and Russification.⁶³ Russian authorities investigated population and the number of the households in September 1895 for Koreans in the Primorye. For the first time, about 1,500 families among those belonging to the first category obtained Russian citizenship by oath in 1896.⁶⁴ They received land allotments of fifteen *desiatins* per household and like other Russian subjects were exempted from the poll tax and land tax for twenty years.⁶⁵ General Dukhovskoi extended the term of the stay of the Koreans who immigrated after 1884 (second category) and ordered a review of their rights to obtain Russian citizenship.⁶⁶

Continuing the policies of Dukhovskoi, General Grodekovo went even further. In 1898, he accepted Koreans of the first category who were not yet naturalized as

59 Grave, 131, Anosov, 9-10, AJMFA, MT1148, 7-10. Many records and studies incorrectly wrote that the rule for the three well-known categories regarding Korean migrants in Russia was agreed upon between Russia and Korea in the Treaty of 1884. See Hyön, 779-780, AJMFA, MT1148, 7-10, The Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, 211

60 *Taedong Kongbo*, 24 March 1909, 3

61 Boris Pak, 78-79

62 Grave, 132

63 Grave, 132, Dm'shun' Pak, 2, Anosov, 10

64 Cho'e Pong-jun, 2, “Kangdong swinhae,” *Hann Sinbo*, 30 September 1917, 3; *Taedong Kongbo*, 20 March 1909, 3. According to the census of 1895, number of the Koreans in the Primorye was as follows: first category—11,311; second category—2,400, third category—3,000. See Boris Pak, 83 and Wada, 27

65 AJMFA, MT1148, 10, Anosov, 10. A male Russian received 100 *desiatins* per male until 1901 when the Russian government reduced the allotment of land to 15 *desiatins* per male. See *Taedong Kongbo*, 24 March 1909, 3

66 Grave, 132, AJMFA, MT1148, 14, Anosov, 10

Russian subjects and promised to give Russian citizenship even to the Koreans of the second category if they continued to settle in Russia for more than 5 years.⁶⁷ According to this order, Koreans of the second category were encouraged in 1898-1899 to migrate and to rent government lands located deep in the interior. As a result, new Korean villages arose in the northern part of the Primorye along the Iman, Khora, and Kiya Rivers between Khabarovsk and Nikol'sk as well as along the Amur River. Within five years, these Koreans became Russian subjects.⁶⁸

In general, thanks to the policies of Dukhovskoi and Grodekovo, the number of the new Korean immigrants steadily increased. The Korean population in the Primorye doubled from 16,564 to 32,410 during the period from 1892 to 1902, mainly due to the increase in newcomers (see Table 3). At the beginning of 1898, Koreans composed the fourth largest ethnic group after Russians, indigenous peoples, and Chinese. Eighty-six percent of the Koreans had settled in the southern Ussurisk *Krai*, where they composed about 20% of the entire population, the second largest ethnic group after the Russians (see Table 4).

Korean immigrants who received Russian citizenship and land allotments during the period from 1895 to 1901 enjoyed equal rights with the Russians. After this period, in fact, the Russian Government never allotted land to Koreans.⁶⁹ Together with Koreans who were relocated by the Russian authorities to the Samara River valley, Blagoslovennoe village (1871) and the Taubikhe region (1886), they were very wealthy. They received Russian educations, and their life-style was almost the same as that of Russian settlers.⁷⁰

These early-naturalized Koreans came to be called *wonhoin* (元戸人 or 原戸人 old settlers), in comparison with *yōhoin* (餘戸人 new settlers) or *yuhoin* (流戸人 drifting settlers) who were not naturalized people, and mainly farmed for the cossacks or the *wonhoin* Koreans.⁷¹ Also, there were temporary laborers, called *oep'umjari* (wage-earners) who came to Russia for wages and returned to their homes after making money. The *wonhoin* usually rented their land called *wonhoji*

67 Anosov, 10

68 Grave, 132, AJMFA, MT1148, 17, Anosov, 10

69 AJMFA, MT1148, 19-20

70 Kim Se-yong, 3

71 "*Wonhoin*" and "*yōhoin (yuhoin)*" seem to have been borrowed from the Russian words, *starozhily* (long-time settlers) and *Novosely* (new settler). According to a new law decreed on June 22, 1900, the Russian government abolished the allotment of 100 *desiatins* for Russian migrator and after 1901, 15 *desiatins* of land were allotted to Russian males. These new types of Russian settlers were called *novosely*. See Anosov, 7, Wada, 28, Syn Khva Kim, 44

(元戶地 or 原戶地, land of the *wonhoin*) to the *yōhoin* (*yuhoin*) or hired *oep'unjari* as workers.⁷² The *wonhoin* lived in their own villages called *wonhoch'on* (元戶村 or 原戶村, village of the *wonhoin*)⁷³ which were separated from the villages of the *yōhoin* Koreans, as Mrs. Bishop, who had visited the Korean villages in southern Ussurisk in 1897, described vividly in detail, were good examples of the successful transformation of Korean immigrants from “starving folk [who] fled from famine” into “energetic, thriving, peasant farmers.”⁷⁵

Among the *wonhoin* was a group of the most wealthy Koreans who successfully accumulated wealth by providing military supplies such as beef or constructing military facilities for the Russian armies. These Korean *podriadchik* (contractors) were good at the Russian language and usually hired thousands of Korean and Chinese workers for businesses contracted with the local Russian authorities in which they made money by exploiting the margin of their terms. One or two wealthy Korean *podriadchik* already appeared early in the 1880s, but it was late in the 1890s that a couple of successful Korean *podriadchiks* came to get more business opportunities in projects related to the construction of the Trans-Siberian and Eastern Chinese Railroads and increased Russian military activities during the Boxer Rebellion and the Russo-Japanese War.⁷⁶

From the second half of the 1890s, with their enhanced legal status as Russian subjects and improved economic position in Russia, some of the *wonhoin* began to increase their role as leaders of the Ussurisk Koreans in their new and old countries,

72 Kye Pong-u, 166, “Chosŏn-oeesŏu Chosŏnm sanghwang ilban,” [General Situation of Koreans outside Korea] *Sindonga*, February 1967, 483. The *yōhoin* paid 40-60% of the harvest to landowners, the same as Korean tenants in Korea, but the fertile land and land availability provided better lives than in Korea. See Kim Se-yong, 3-4.

73 KHM, “Noryŏng Chosŏnm nongch'on chŏnggyŏng-ŭi kŏmsŏk [Present and Past of the Situation of Korean Agricultural Villages in Russian Territory], *Kaebŏk* 61 (July 1925) 100.

74 Pak Yŏng-gap, “Aryŏng Osori Such'ŏng yangnon (2)” [Brief Review of Suchan in Ussurisk, Russian Territory] *Sanhan Munbo*, 20 Juny 1910, 3, Ch'i Kŏn, “Na ŭi ilgŭi (2)” [My Diary], *Hann Shunbo*, 13 January 1918, 3, Kang Ho-yŏ, “Such'ŏng Ŭibyŏngdae-ŭi yŏnhŏk” [The History of the Partisan Unit in Suchan], in *Nŭrgŭn ppalachusan dŭi ŭi hoesangŭi* [Recollections of the Old Partisans], ed. Yi In-sŏp, ms. (1964-1965), 16.

75 Bishop, vol 2, 4-10, 15-19, 137.

76. “Kangdong swinhae,” *Hann Sinbo*, 23 September 1917, 3, 30 September 1917, 3, 7 October 1917, 3, *Sanhan Munbo*, 11 July 1918, 4, Twibabo, “Aryŏng silgi (5),” *Tongnip Ch'ae Tu-Sŏng in Pos'et*, Mun Ch'ang-bŏm in Nikol'sk-Ussurisk, Ch'oe Pong-jun and Kim Pyŏng-hak in Vladivostok, Kim Tu-sŏ, Chŏn T'ae-guk, and Yi In-baek in Khabarovsk.

Russia and Korea After Queen Min was brutally murdered by the Japanese in August 1895, King Kojong escaped to the Russian legation in Seoul in February 1896 (*Agwan P'ach'ŏn*) The new pro-Russian cabinet of Korea Government, many Koreans were recruited from regions such as Pos'et and Suifen as interpreters for the consulate officials and military instructors Russia dispatched to Korea. Some of them were fortunately appointed government officials of Korea.⁷⁷ In 1896, Ch'oe Chae-hyŏng, the first district headman of Korean communities in the Pos'et area, was dispatched, together with Kim To-il, to St Petersburg as a representative of the Koreans in Russia at the coronation ceremony for Russian Tsar Nicholas II.⁷⁸

Immediately after the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, restrictive policies on Chinese and Korean immigrants were suggested again. A special committee was established with the director of mining as its chairman. Sentiment in favor of expelling Chinese laborers from gold mines in the Far East was strong in the committee, but the feeling against Korean laborers was not. The committee decided to expel Chinese from the gold mines, but it encouraged Korean immigration to the Russian Far East and Russification of them.⁷⁹

5. Korean Immigrants in Russia during the Protectorate and Colonial Rule Period.

a. Russian Policies on Korean Immigrants

As we saw above, local Russian authorities basically welcomed Korean emigration to the sparsely populated Ussurisk *Krai* soon after its acquisition from Qing China, although initially Russians were perplexed by its increasing volume. As the number of Russian emigrants from European Russia to Ussurisk *Krai* and other parts of Siberia increased. However, restrictions on Chinese and Korean emigration were frequently suggested. The urgent need to colonize the region, to use Koreans as cheap and capable laborers for the gold mines and supply food for the Russians in the Primorye by cultivating the poor quality agricultural land in the Primorye all made restriction on Koreans unpopular.⁸⁰ The rapid increase of

77 "Kandong swinhae," *Hann Sinbo*, 30 September 1917, 3. All 52 Koreans went to Seoul as interpreters for Russians. Among them, Kim Hong-yuk was a well-known figure who started his career as an interpreter for the Russian Consulate and later became the Minister of the Privy Council.

78 "Kandong swinhae," *Hann Sinbo*, 30 September 1917, 3.

79 AJMFA, MT1148, 17-19, 28.

80 *Ibid.*, 28.

Russian migration to the Far East then created a new situation. As we can see in Table 2, the rate of Russian migration during the period from 1900 to 1908 surpassed that of the previous period by more than four and a half times. Three times more Russians migrated to the Primorye than to the Amur, related to the opening of the Za-Baikal railroad in 1900, and later in 1902, of the Chinese Eastern Railroad, which had facilitated the migration.⁸¹ The Russian migration to the Priamur continued to increase from 1909 to 1914 with annually almost one and a half times more than that of the previous period—27,135 persons compared to 19,161 persons during the peirod from 1900 to 1908.⁸²

In this situation, many Russians felt that it was necessary to expel foreigners in order to protect Russians. Support for employing only Russians and expelling the yellow foreigners, mainly Chinese and Korean laborers in the Priamur regions, grew after November 1908, when the conservative third Duma was established, from the

Table 5. Korean Population in the Primorye, 1906-1923

	Russian-Koreans (1)	Foreign-Koreans (2)	Total (1) + (2)	Whole Population
1882a	—	10,137	10,137	92,708*
1892a	12,940	3,624	16,564	147,517*
1902a	16,140	16,270	32,410	312,541*
1906b	16,195	17,434	34,399	377,129*
1907b	16,007	29,907	45,914	503,191
1908b	16,190	29,307	45,497	562,755
1909b	14,799	36,755	51,554	523,361
1910	17,080	36,996	54,076	523,840b
1911	17,476	39,813	57,280	
1912	16,263	43,452	59,715	
1913	19,277	38,163	57,440	
1914	20,109	44,200	64,309	
1923	34,559	72,258	106,817	

Source: Semen Davidovich Anosov, *Koreitsy v Ussuriskom Krae* [Korean in the Ussurisk Krai] (Khabarovsk and Vladivostok: Knizhnoe Delo, 1928), 27, 29

a: Grave, 129-130

b: Unterberger, *Priamursku Krai, 1906-1910gg*, Appendix, 2-3

* Grave, 19-130

81 Derber and Sher, 30-31

82 Ibid. The number of the Russian migrants to Priamur from 1909 to 1914 were as follows: 1909—37,081, 1910—39,903, 1911—20,894, 1912—20,658, 1913—18,200, 1914—26,076

Russian central government to the local officials in the Far East.⁸³

It was P. F. Unterberger who represented the Opinion of “Russia for the Russians” in the Far East. In his first book, *Primorskaiia Oblast’ 1856-1898* [Primorye Oblast, 1856-1898] published in 1900, two years after his resignation from the military-governorship of the Primorye (1888-1897), Unterberger concluded that Koreans “clarified to us their uselessness as colonizing elements in parts of the Primorye Oblast,” and “were entirely alien to us [Russians] in all respects.⁸⁴ General Unterberger’ skepticism on Korean immigrants as “unreliable element” might have influenced the local Russian authorities in the 1900s. It is noteworthy that after the governor-generalship of Grodekovo (1898-1902), the Russian Government hesitated to allow Koreans to become Russian citizens, although a land allotment of fifteen *desiatins* was promised according to the decree of June 22, 1900. We can confirm this in Table 5 by the fact that the number of naturalized Koreans did not substantially increase at all until 1913, when Governor-General Gondatti allowed Koreans to obtain Russian citizenship, but with no land allotment.

Under the governor-generalship of General Unterberger (1905-1910), the Russian Government initiated a campaign against immigration of Koreans to Russia. During his tenure, Unterberger represented himself as an advocate of the theories of “Russia for the pure Russians”—to protect Russian laborers and peasants in the Far East—and of the “Yellow Peril,” assuming that yellow races would invade the Maritime Province and then Siberia. In his report of 1908 to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Unterberger identified the Koreans as those who would be “an extraordinarily favorable foundation for broad organization of espionage by our enemies” in case of war with Japanese or Chinese.⁸⁵ Again in a 1910 talk with V. V. Grave, while criticizing his predecessors who had believed that the uninhabited Ussurisk *Krai* must be settled, even if by the Koreans, Unterberger threatened to take harsh measures against Koreans as well as against the Chinese and Japanese, and to gradually oust them from the Ussurisk *Krai*.⁸⁶

With the support of popular opinion both in center and in the Far East advocating restriction on Chinese and Korean immigration, the Russian Government promulgated a law prohibiting Koreans and Chinese from working in the Priamur

83 AJMFA, MT1148, 30-32

84 Unterberger, *Primorskaiia Oblast’ 1856-1898* [Primorye Oblast, 1856-1898] (St. Petersburg V F Kirshbauma, 1900), 114-115 See also Anosov, 12, Grave, 135, Wada, 29

85 Anosov, 12, Grave, 134-135, Wada, 29

86 Anosov, 13, Grave, 136

on June 14, 1909.⁸⁷ According to the law, non-naturalized Koreans were prohibited from settling in the area of public lands, contracting public delivery and working at the public expense.⁸⁸ Worried about the imminent firing and expulsion of Koreans working at gold mines, Korean immigrants began a petition to the Russian Government. A delegation representing 50,000 Koreans living in the Russian Far East went to St Petersburg and turned in the petition signed by Korean workers to the Ministry of Internal affairs, and visited members of the Duma.⁸⁹ Korean representatives said that if the Russian Government allowed Koreans to stay, they would adopt the Russian Orthodox religion, perform military service and other duties, and would not ask any help from the government, and they would build facilities needed for allotted lands by investing their own private property.⁹⁰ Despite the appeal, the Russian Government passed the law on July 4, 1910.⁹¹

The law placed an economic burden on the Russian gold miners who benefitted from Korean workers.⁹² The Russian Government, soon recognized the problem caused by expelling Koreans from the workplaces. The appointment of N.L. Gondatti (1911-1917) as the new Governor-General of Priamur reflected that change of mood in the Russian Government. Gondatti had served as the Director of the South Ussuri Resettlement Office (1899-1902) and had recently headed the Amur Expedition (1909-1910).⁹³ The Expedition's favorable and more realistic opinion on the Korean immigrants was well articulated in its report by V V Grave to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, *Kitaitsy, Koreitsy i Iapontsy v Priamur'* [Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese in the Priamur] (1912). Gondatti and his predecessor, Unterberger were well-known "representatives of the two different points of view on the Korean question."⁹⁴ Gondatti continued the policy of Governor-Generals Dukhovskoi and Grodekovo. During his tenure, Governor-General Gondatti was very sympathetic with the Koreans and accordingly welcomed by the Koreans in the Russian Far East as the "patron of the Koreans."⁹⁵

87 *Sinhan Minbo*, 9 June 1909, 1, AJMFA, MT1148, 32

88 Din'shun' Pak, 2

89 AJMFA, MT1148, 33, 58

90 AJMFA, MT1148, 76

91. AJMFA, MT1148, 148, G A Tkachev, "Immigratsna na Dal'nem Vostoke Rossii v 20-e-30e gody" [Immigration in the Russian Far East in the 1920-30s], Unpublished paper (1994), 1

92 AJMFA, MT1148, 66-67

93 Stephan, 318

94 Anosov, 10

95 Gondatti told Japanese Consul-General Ōtori Fujitarō in Vladivostok on October 31, 1911

Governor-General Gondatti attended the conference which was held in St Petersburg on March 20, 1911, to discuss the question of colonization of the Far East. The conference discussed not only encouraging Russian migration to the Far East, but also the appeal of the gold miners concerning non-naturalized Korean laborers. Instead of allowing the non-naturalized Koreans to work at gold mines, the conference decided to welcome Korean applications for Russian citizenship.⁹⁶ The conference also authorized Gondatti, pending final approval of the Tsar, to allow Koreans who applied for Russian citizenship to work at gold mines. Gondatti accepted Koreans' application for Russian citizenship to work at gold mines.⁹⁷ At the same time, officials of the office of naturalization in Vladivostok were dispatched to various regions to investigate the situation of Korean settlers and to encourage non-naturalized Koreans to apply for citizenship.⁹⁸ The Korean laborers were permitted to obtain Russian citizenship without land allotments,⁹⁹ and accordingly could work at gold mines in various regions.

On March 23, 1911, the Russian Government finally decided to abolish the nominal law prohibiting Koreans from working at gold mines.¹⁰⁰ The cabinet meeting held on May 4, 1911 confirmed those decisions made at the conference on the Far East.¹⁰¹ The adoption of the policy encouraging naturalization and the appointment of Gondatti as the Governor-General of the Priamur seem to have been closely related to the Japanese annexation of Korea in August 1910. The Russian Government must have understood that the existence of a number of non-naturalized Koreans would provide room for Japanese interference in the Korean affairs of Russia. The Russian Government rejected the claim of the Japanese Government that Koreans in Russia had become Japanese subjects after Japan's annexation of Korea, and that the Koreans did not have the right to discard Japanese citizenship by obtaining the citizenship of another country.¹⁰² The Japanese

"Originally, Koreans are mild people and good peasants. In addition, there are extremely few crimes. In comparison, there are many criminals among the Chinese. I will expel Chinese laborers and will recruit Koreans instead, and will soon provide Koreans with lands near gold mines." See AJMFA, MT1148, 194-197.

96. AJMFA, MT1148, 123-124

97. Ibid., 127-128

98. Ibid., 127-128, 162-163

99. Ibid., 126-127

100. Ibid., 148

101. Ibid., 143-146

102. Responding to the inquiries of the Japanese Consul-General in Vladivostok, the Russian

Government succeeded in enforcing this claim later during the Siberian Intervention (1918-1922), but this firm policy of the Russian Government made the position of Koreans naturalized in Russia fundamentally different from that of the Koreans in China, particularly in Chientao where Chinese authorities were not successful in rejecting the Japanese claims.

However, the situation of non-naturalized Koreans was quite different. Although the Russian Government clarified that it would consider Koreans as Korean subjects, not as Japanese subjects, the Secret Declaration of June 1, 1911, and more importantly, the increasing rapprochement between Russia and Japan, made the legal position of non-naturalized Koreans very insecure.¹⁰³ In this context, Korean nationalists in the Priamur, particularly members of the Kwonŏphoe (Work Promotion Association), a legal and public Korean nationalist organization based in Vladivostok, organized a campaign for the naturalization of the Koreans as the Korean nationalists did in Chientao. The Koreans who obtained Russian citizenship thanks to this campaign during the period of Gondatti were called “Gondatti products.” In terms of economic status and political attitude, they were by and large quite different from the *wonhoin*, who had obtained Russian citizenship earlier during the governor-generalships of Dukhovskoi and Grodekovo.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, for the benefits of Russia, the Russian authorities needed to strengthen their control over non-naturalized Koreans and Chinese who did not have passports (*billet*). On November 27, 1911, the Russian police of Vladivostok arrested 24 Koreans without passports, released twelve and expelled the other twelve to Korea. Three hundred Chinese were also arrested and among them sixty-six were expelled to China.¹⁰⁵ Gondatti ordered the local officials to expel non-naturalized Koreans from the Pos’et immigration district, an area from Pos’et area to the north of the Tumen River (below Mongugai village) where only naturalized

Governor-General Office of the Priamur, in October of 1912, replied, “After the annexation, there is no revision or abolishment in laws with regard to the Koreans.” See AJMFA, MT1148, 215-216 and Teryuyuki Hara, “The Korean Movement in the Russian Maritime Province, 1905-1922,” in *Koreans in the Soviet Union*, 5

103 Hara, 5

104 Ivan Gozhenskii, “Uchastie Koreiskii emigrantsii v revoliutsionnom dvizhenii naDal’nem Vostoke” [The Participation of the Koreans in the Revolutionary Movement in the Far East], in *Revolutsua na Dal’em Vostoke*, ed. Kommissiia po Istorii Oktiabryskoi Revoliutsii i R K P (Moscow and Petrograd Gosudarstvennoe Izdatel’stvo, 1923), vol 1, 359

105 AJMFA, MT1148, 207-208

Koreans were allowed to work.¹⁰⁶ In July, 1912, Gondatti also ordered the expulsion of all yellow people in Egelselid in Vladvostok and the employment of only Russian workers after August.¹⁰⁷

b. Korean Immigrants in the Primorye after 1905

As Japan established the Residency-General in Korea and increased its repressive control over Korea after its victory in the Russo-Japanese War, a new type of mass Korean emigration occurred. Economic penetration of the Japanese into agricultural lands with the political and legal support of the Japanese Residency-General in Korea also accelerated the emigration of Koreans to Manchuria and the Primorye. Although illegal, Japanese were purchasing fertile lands in the name of Koreans around the time of the Russo-Japanese War. After the conclusion of the so-called Protectorate Treaty in 1905, the Residency-General gradually removed the political and legal obstacles to Japanese acquisition of land anywhere in Korea. The Oriental Development Company, a government-financed agricultural company which was established in December 1908 after the model of colonial companies such as the Dutch and the English East India Company, bought fertile lands concentrated in Chölla, Kyöngsang and Hwanghae Provinces. More importantly, the number of Japanese emigrants to Korea increased by the encouragement of the Oriental Development Company.¹⁰⁸

In addition to peasants, the increasing number of anti-Japanese *üibyöng* (Righteous Army) and intellectual activists, escaping the suppression of the Japanese military, moved to Manchuria and Primorye. In particular, the so-called "Great Suppression in Southern Korea" (*Namhan Taet'oböl*) by the Japanese military in October of 1909 caused the mass exile of *üibyöng* fighters to these sanctuaries.¹⁰⁹ Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 accelerated this trend of

106. *Ibid*, 192-193. Though the appeals of the Korean nationalist organization, the Kwonöphoe, the Russian authorities stopped expelling the Koreans in the Pos'et emigration area until after the Koreans finished the harvest that year. See *Kwonöp Sinmun*, 21 July 1912, 3.

107. *Kwonöp Sinmun*, 4 August 1912, 3.

108. Pak Kyöng-sik, *Nippon Teikokushügi no Chösen shihai* [The Rule of Japanese Imperialism in Korea] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1973), vol. 1, 57-59. According to Chong-sik Lee, the number of Japanese in Korea was as follows: 1905 40,460, 1910 171,543, 1918 336,812. See Chong-sik Lee, *The Politics of Korean Nationalism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U of California, 1965), 95.

109. A Japanese report recorded that all 17,779 anti-Japanese *üibyöng* fighters were killed, 3,706 were injured and 2,139 were arrested by the Japanese army during the period from 1906 to the end of 1909. See Pak Kyöng-sik, 166.

Korean emigration to Russia A number of politically-oriented patriots, who were dissatisfied with Japanese dominance in Korea after the Russo-Japanese War, concluded that it was no longer possible to continue their anti-Japanese activities within Korea The Korean emigrants chose Russian territory as a proper base for their anti-Japanese activities because the Russian Far East was geographically adjacent to their homeland and more importantly, they hope that people and officials of Russia, having been defeated by Japan, would be sympathetic with the anti-Japanese aspirations of the Korean patriots

Participation of a number of the Koreans in Ussurisk on the Russian side during the Russo-Japanese War obviously inspired pro-Russian feelings among the Korean patriots. Koreans in Ussurisk *Krai* participated in transportation of military supplies for the Russian army Koreans, mostly *wonhoin* such as Kim In-su, Kim To-il, Kim Snag-hŏn, Yu Chin-yul, Yun Il-byŏng, Ku Tŏk-sŏng, Hwang Pyŏng-gil, and Ŏm In-sŏp, accompanied Russians as interpreters when Russian military troops entered Hamgyŏng Provinces. Well-known Korean *podriadchiks*, Ch'oe Pong-jun and Han Ik-sŏng, made big money by providing supplies to the Russian troops. Most of these Koreans became the leaders of anti-Japanese activities in Russia.¹¹⁰

During the period from 1906 to 1912, the Korean population in the Primorye increased by 74% from 34,399 to 59,715, mainly due to a 150% increase in the number of non-naturalized Koreans, from 17,434 to 43,452. The number of non-naturalized Koreans would be much larger if we include the unreported Koreans who did not have passports, which was estimated to be 30% of the entire Korean population.¹¹¹ Accordingly, it was estimated that the unofficial number of the Korean population in the Ussurisk *Krai* in 1910 was 80,000¹¹² or more than 100,000, a larger number than official statistics.¹¹³ Very small number of Koreans were also in Amur and Za-Baikal regions—in 1910, 1,538 in Amur and 378 in Za-Baikal.¹¹⁴ During World War I, the Korean population temporarily decreased because of the migration of Koreans to Manchuria in order to escape the depression caused by the war, and mobilization by the Russian Government¹¹⁵ Thousands of Korean workers also migrated to the Ural areas and European Russian regions.

110 "Kangdong swinhae," *Hann Sinbo*, 7 October 1917, 3

111 *Ibid.*, 22-24.

112 Kim Se-yong, 3

113 Din 'shun' Pak, 2

114 Boris Pak, 101-105

115 "Chosŏn-oeseŏn Chosŏnin sanghwang ilban," 474-475, 481

According to the Japanese report, at the end of 1917 there were more than 7,000 Koreans mostly workers in European Russia.¹¹⁶

The land survey carried out from August 1912 to November 1918 caused many Korean peasants to lose their lands. For those who remained on the land, tenancy and various new taxes on the tenants increased the economic burden.¹¹⁷ For these reasons, Korean farmers increasingly left their homeland for Manchuria and the Primorye. This trend continued during the early period of the Japanese colonial rule of Korea.

6. Regional Backgrounds of the Korean Emigrants in the Primorye

We do not have any statistics about the composition of the Korean population in the Primorye according to their native origins, but the majority of the total emigrants to North Chientao as well as to the Primorye were from Hamgyŏng Provinces, particularly from North Hamgyŏng Province. During the period shortly after Japan's annexation of Korea from September 1910 to December 1911, among 28,816 of total new emigrants, the new emigrants from North Hamgyŏng Province

Table 6. New Korean Emigration (Sep 1910-Dec 1911)

	N HG	S.HG	N PA	S PA	Other	Total
North Chientao	17,253 (97)	402	8	25	65	17,753
West Chientao	5,546 (75)	102	1,166	64	508	7,386
Primorye	2,967 (89)	329	9	10	11	3,326
Others	314 (89)	2	1	2	32	351
Total	26,080 (91)	835	1,184	101		28,816

N North Chientao, W West Chientao, O Other Regions (mainly, Primorye), T Total, HG Hamgyŏng Provinces, PA P'yŏngan Provinces, HH Hwanghae Province, KS Kyŏngsang Provinces, CL Chŏlla Provinces

Source Japanese Government-General Office of Korea (Chōsen Sōtokufu), Department of Social Affairs, *Manshū kyū Shūberia chihō ni okeru Chōsenjin jiyō* [Situation of Koreans in Manchuria and Siberia] (Seoul 1923), 11-14, Hyŏn Kyu-hwan, *Hanguk yuminsa* [A History of Korean Wanderers and Emigrants] (Seoul Ōmungak, 1976), vol 1, 166-168

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 478

¹¹⁷ Pak Kyŏng-sik, 92-99

Table 7. New Emigration after the Japanese Annexation of Korea, 1910-1918

	HG	PA	HH	KG	CC	KW	KS	CL	TOTAL
N	61,144 (89 0)	3,505 (5 1)	774 (1 1)	233 (0 3)	174 (0 2)	1,201 (1 7)	1,016 (1.5)	42 (0.0)	68,729 (100 0)
W	13,557 (20 5)	26,926 (40 8)	582 (0 9)	363 (0 5)	462 (0 7)	4,094 (6 2)	20,047 (30 4)	19 (0 0)	66,050 (100.0)
O	19,040 (71 7)	5,371 (20 2)	252 (0 9)	452 (1.7)	115 (0 4)	279 (1 1)	794 (3 0)	238 (0 9)	26,541 (100.0)
T	94,281 (58 4)	35,792 (22 2)	1,608 (1 0)	1,048 (0 6)	751 (0.5)	5,574 (3 5)	21,857 (13.5)	299 (0.2)	161,320 (100 0)

N North Chientao, W West Chientao, O Other Regions (mainly, Primorye), T Total, HG Hamgyŏng Provinces, PA P'yŏngan Provinces, HH Hwanghae Province, KS Kyŏngsang Provinces, CL Chŏlla Provinces

Source Japanese Government-General Office of Korea (Chōsen Sōtokufu), Department of Social Affairs, *Manshū kyū Shiberia chihō ni okeru Chōsenjin jiyō* [Situation of Koreans in Manchuria and Siberia] (Seoul 1923), 11-14, Hyŏn Kyu-hwan, *Hanguk yumsa* [A History of Korean Wanderers and Emigrants] (Seoul Ōmungak, 1976), vol 1, 166-168

(89%), West Chientao (75%) (see Table 6)

This trend basically continued during the early period of the Japanese colonial rule. As we can see in Table 7, during the period from 1910 to 1918, shortly before the outbreak of the March First Movement, the number of new emigrants from Hamgyŏng Provinces to North Chientao (61,144) and the Primorye (19,040) constituted about 90% and 72% of the total emigrants to those regions. Accordingly, people from Hamgyŏng Provinces maintained their overwhelming majority among the Korean settlers in the Primorye in the 1910s as during the previous years. Despite the increase of emigrants from other provinces such as P'yŏngan Provinces and Kyŏngsang Provinces in the late 1910s, this trend continued in the 1920s.

7. Conclusion

The Russian Revolution in 1917 and the March First Movement in Korea in 1919 induced a number of Koreans to leave Korea and Manchuria for the Russian Far East. Thousands of Koreans, for the most part recently armed Korean partisans, came to the Priamur region from Manchuria to escape indiscriminate Japanese military reprisals against the Korean communities in October 1920.

After 1923, however, the consolidation of Soviet power in Siberia, stabilized the number of the Koreans in the Russian Far East. According to the 1926 census, the Korean population amounted to 168,009, half of whom were naturalized Russian citizens, equalling 9.7% of the whole population in the Russian Far East.¹¹⁸ No noticeable immigration of the Koreans from outside to the Russian Far East occurred during the Soviet period. Shortly before their forced relocation to Central Asia in 1937, according to G. A. Tkachev, the number of Koreans in the Russian Far East varied from 160,000 to 180,000.¹¹⁹

GLOSSARY

Agwan P'ach'ŏn	俄館播遷	ilgwi kyŏngjak	日歸耕作
Ch'ae Tu-sŏng	蔡斗星	Kangwŏn Province	江原道
Chientao	間島, 壘島	kapcha	甲子
Chinju	晉州	Kim In-su	金仁洙
Chisinhŏ	地新墟	Kim Pyŏng-hak	金秉學
choch'ong	烏統	Kim Sang-hŏn	金相憲
Ch'oe Chae-hyŏng	崔在亨	Kum To-il	金道一
Ch'oe Pong-jun	崔鳳俊	Kim Tu-sŏ	金斗瑞
Ch'oe Un-bo	崔運寶	Kim Yun-sik	金允植
Chŏkt'ap	赤塔	King Kojong	高宗
Chŏlla Provinces	全羅道	King Sejong	世宗
Chŏn T'ae-guk	全泰國	Kisa Hyungnyŏn	己巳凶年
Chosŏn	朝鮮	Ku Tŏk-sŏng	具德成
Ch'ungch'ŏng Provinces	忠清道	Kwonŏphoe	勸業會
Ch'up'ung	秋豐	Kyŏnggi Province	京畿道
Haeoe	海外	Kyŏnggo Togang	庚午渡江
Haesamwi	海蔘威	Koguryŏ	高句麗
Hamgyŏng Provinces	咸慶道	Koryŏ	高麗
Han Ik-sŏng	韓益星	Kyŏnghŭng	慶興
honghuzi (honghojŏk)	紅鬍賊	Kyŏngsang Provinces	慶尙道
Hong Kyŏng-rae Rebellion	洪景來亂	Kyŏngwon	慶原
Hwabalp'o	花發浦	Liaodong Peninsula	遼東半島
Hwang Pyŏng-gil	黃秉吉	Manchus	滿洲族
Hwanghae Province	黃海道	Mohe	慕容
		Mongols	蒙古族

Mun Ch'ang-bŏm	文昌範	tohŏn	都憲
Musan	茂山	Tumen River	豆滿江
Naeji	內地	ũibyŏng	義兵
Namhan Taet'obŏl	南韓大討伐	West Chientao	西間島, 西壘島
Nasŏn Chŏngbŏl	羅禪征伐	wolgangjoe	越江罪
Nasŏndong	羅鮮洞	Wondong	遠東
North Chientao	北間島, 北壘島	wonhoch'on	元戶村, 原戶村
noya	老爺	wonhoin	元戶人, 原戶人
Nuzhen	女眞	wonhoji	元戶地, 原戶地
Ŏm In-sŏp	嚴仁變	Wonsan Bay	元山灣
Oriental Development Company	東洋拓植株式會社	Xienbei	鮮卑
Parhae	渤海	Yalu River	鴨綠江
Puyŏ	夫餘	Yang Ŭng-bŏm	梁應範
p'ungjon	風尊	yangban	兩班
p'ungsok	風俗	Yi In-baek	李仁伯
P'yŏngan Provinces	平安道	yŏhoch'on	餘戶村
Qidan	契丹	yŏhoin	餘戶人
Qing	清	Yŏnch'u	煙秋
Queen Min	閔妃	Yu Chun-yul	兪鎮律
sagun	四郡	yuhoch'on	流戶村
sap'oyŏng	私砲營	yuhoin	流戶人
Songwangnyŏng	松王嶺	yukchin	六鎮
Such'ŏng	水清	Yun Il-byŏng	尹日炳