

Competition and Cooperation between the Japanese Government-General of Korea and Korean Society over the Issue of Vagrant Lepers

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Abstract | Research on vagrant groups in colonial Korea has focused on the agency of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. Koreans as the ruled subjects have been objects of study, but they have primarily been portrayed within the simple scheme of Koreans as exploited and the Japanese as oppressors, or within a unidirectional frame of Korean victims being mobilized within the project of Japanese modernity, with the Japanese discourse of imperialism and modernization expanded to cover Korea. However, if we situate Korean society as a passive actor, we risk overlooking the dynamic relationship that existed between colonial Korean society and the Government-General. While there was certainly antipathy towards Japan within Korean society, there was also active acceptance of Japanese development, and its basis in modern systems of knowledge. Ideas regarding the contagiousness of leprosy based on the theory of germs spread especially quickly and resulted in the emergence of a new phenomenon in colonial Korea. Following the decision of the Government-General to initiate a policy of mandatory quarantine for vagrant lepers and the establishment of the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital, the number of leprosy patients in cities in southern Korea actually increased and the disease began spreading throughout the country. This new scientific knowledge and the prevalence of encounters with lepers in daily life led to increasing stigmatization and discrimination towards lepers, and consensus emerged within Korean society that the only solution to the problem of vagrant lepers was mandatory quarantine. As a result, Korean society strongly demanded the Government-General, which had been rather passive due to budget considerations, resolve the leprosy problem and even organized their own active responses, such as establishing private groups to deal with vagrant lepers, when the Government-General was slow to respond. To keep pace with the demands of Korean society, the Government-General expanded the facilities for quarantining lepers. Although the Government-General and Korean society perceived the urgency of the problem differently, they shared the same prejudiced perception of vagrant lepers. This study thus emphasizes the dynamic

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relationship between the Government-General and Korean society related to the issue of vagrant lepers in Korea and argues that the stigmatization and discrimination experienced by vagrants and lepers were not unilaterally imposed by the state but were the product of cooperation between the state and Korean society.

Keywords | Japanese Government-General of Korea, colonial Korean society, leprosy control, vagrant lepers, stigmatization/discrimination, mandatory quarantine

Introduction

Sociological and historical interest in issues surrounding “vagrant groups” in Korea has recently been increasing (Han Kwi-yŏng 1997; Yun Su-jong 2002; So Hyŏn-suk 2007, 2015; Yi Sang-nok 2011; Yu Sŏn-yŏng 2011; Ye Chi-suk 2014, 2015; Chŏng Su-nam 2015; Pak Hong-gŭn 2014; Ch’u Chi-hyŏn 2018). “Vagrant groups,” who are understood to be those with no fixed residence or occupation and who roam haphazardly through urban space, include a variety of people. These vagrants were long considered dangerous and a group requiring of control as they presented problems for sanitation and public order. In particular, rather than being concerned about why or how vagrant groups concentrated in cities or about the situations they faced while in cities, they were otherized as a “social evil” and considered a “problem” that should be addressed (Ch’u Chi-hyŏn 2018). The process of otherizing vagrants, who collectively may be considered a paradigmatic “other” in Korea, has only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. A representative study on this issue would be that of Yu Sŏn-yŏng (2011) who argues that the emergence of vagrants on the Korean Peninsula was a product of the racist and imperialist processes of Japanese colonization. To justify their control of Korea, the Japanese branded the Korean ruling class as immoral and lazy, and in this light, they stigmatized and suppressed those who engaged in only self-serving leisure activities as a symbol of Korean inferiority and barbarism (Ye Chi-suk 2014). From this perspective, controlling vagrants was justified as necessary for educating and civilizing Korea. This colonial notion of the problematic nature of vagrancy slowly spread and became diversified. Various groups that were considered to be a social problem were stigmatized and discriminated against as “vagrants” and became targets of state control (Ye Chi-suk 2015). That is, even though the emergence of vagrant groups was a modern phenomenon which occurred during the process of colonial modernization, they were also increasingly perceived as hinderances to modernization and, thus, had to be eliminated.

Existing studies, from this perspective, have a tendency to define vagrant groups according to these notions of political control and unidirectionally juxtapose them with Japanese imperialism. Such research questions how vagrant groups were regulated and formulated according to political power and focus on how they were controlled. These studies have made an important contribution by demonstrating it was not the inherent characteristics of people classified into these groups but the fact that vagrants were objects of control which produced them. However, by focusing on the rulers who defined vagrant groups as the main protagonists, these studies have obscured the activities and responsibility of those within wider society who confronted these groups in their daily lives and produced and reproduced the stigmatization and discrimination faced by vagrants. In this article, “society” does not connote the notion of “civil society” that we typically think about today, but rather a more general idea of society based on the populace itself. This idea of Korean society can be considered as distinct from the rule of the Japanese Government-General of Korea (hereinafter GGK) and was made up of independent subjects who were also simultaneously political actors grounded in their own interests. Colonial period Korean society at this time was mainly comprised of Koreans but also included Japanese residents in Korea. This is because while Koreans and Japanese residents in Korea typically had different interests, they had remarkably similar attitudes when it came to social issues such as vagrant lepers.

One study that stands out, in contrast to the research which emphasizes the role of the Japanese authorities, is that on “juvenile delinquents” during the colonial era (So Hyön-suk 2015). This work demonstrates that for the colonial powers “juvenile delinquents” were seen as those who were in need of rehabilitation to cultivate “loyal citizens,” while within wider Korean society they were considered as those in need of rehabilitation to make a healthy “nation.” However, by creating a dichotomous division between the two bodies of the GGK and Korean society, this study has a limit in that it overlooks the cooperation that took place between the two parties. In this context of cooperation between state and populace, Foucault’s concept of “governmentality” may be a useful theoretical resource, in that it allows for the visualization of society’s role and responsibility in submitting to the rule of governance, a crucial participatory role which is both recognized but also obscured. Foucault uses the concept of governmentality to explain the workings of power and the processes of subjectivation. In his framework, power does not unilaterally function upon subjects through a top-down process, but forms a discursive field based on forms of shared “rational” knowledge. And it is through this discursive field that the objects and scope of power, as well as the tools of power, are determined. More

importantly, it is in this discursive field that the main agent, which will wield power and actively and autonomously engage in governance, is formed. Through this process, subjectivized and sovereign individuals actively serve and reproduce the realization of power based on particular shared forms of rationality.

When viewed relative to the Foucauldian perspective of governmentality, the research on the stigmatization of and discrimination against vagrant groups needs to explain not only the function of the supposedly unilateral power of the rulers, but also how the discursive field based on rational knowledge about vagrants is formed, and how society, which is the sum of various agents and individuals, reproduces and strengthens the stigmatization of and discrimination against vagrants within that discursive field. This article, through such a critical approach and through the concept of governmentality, seeks to illuminate the “collusion” between state and society in forming and perpetuating the otherization of and discrimination towards vagrant groups.

Research on vagrant groups during the colonial era has not given much attention to vagrant lepers. For example, Ye Chi-suk (2014, 2015) argues that the term vagrant groups at first included a variety of different people, but as time passed it came to connote those of the lowest economic class. However, during the colonial era, it was actually vagrant lepers who constituted the largest sanitation and public order problem for cities. Kim Mi-jöng (2012) mentions vagrant lepers in her study of the GGK’s leprosy policies during the 1930s and 1940s, but, because the research focus is on the Korean Leprosy Prevention Decree (*Chosön Na Yebangnyöng*) and the resultant situation on Sorok Island, she could not address in detail the situation of vagrant lepers in Korean society nor the role of society relative to this problem. Sö Ki-jae (2017) criticizes the segregated healthcare system of the Japanese empire in Korea which distinguished between the colonial ruling class and the (Korean) victims of exploitation by examining the mass mobilization aspects of the imperial healthcare system as regards leprosy. He argues that the discourse of hate targeting those with leprosy created by the colonial healthcare system was internalized by the Korean people. However, as described in this article, Korean society and the health authorities would sometimes conflict with each other but would also sometimes work together on the vagrant leper problem. Moreover, in some instances elements of Korean society were more active than the GGK in excluding vagrant lepers from the public arena. In this regard, the case of vagrant lepers may be the clearest example of an historically overlooked major actor within Korean society, and of the collusion and shared perceptions of the rulers and the ruled.

Research on vagrant lepers has also studied the role of modern systems of knowledge, including scientific and medical knowledge, in the formation of

shared perceptions among those within the Japanese colonial authorities and wider Korean society. Chōng Kūn-sik (2011, 264) defines the relationship between public health authorities, in the form of public health inspectors, and knowledge as a “union of the microscope and sword.” This concept reveals how modern medicine, which was made possible via a scientific understanding of bacteria, was accepted by the colonized and resulted in the justification of the use of colonial power to fight the spread of disease via the “sword.” This article seeks to build upon this concept by showing the efforts made by society to improve sanitation in the cities after actively accepting the idea of the danger of germs, while at the same time it highlights that Korean society in its own effort to modernize was sometimes more active than public health authorities in using violence against lepers.

The scope of this research includes the period between 1916 and 1945 and focuses on vagrant lepers in colonial Korea and the responses to them by colonial period Korean society and the Japanese colonial government. The Sorok Island Jahye Hospital was established in 1916, and the Japanese colonial authorities, based on the “Case on Accommodating Vagrant Lepers” (*Raikanja shūyō ni kansuru ken*) issued by the GGK, began sending vagrant lepers who were “those wandering the streets and markets and suspected of spreading disease” to the facility in 1917. Then in 1935, following the promulgation of the Korean Leprosy Prevention Decree, not only vagrant lepers but all those with the disease were forced into quarantine. Between 1917 and 1935, the Japanese colonial government established the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital and expelled or quarantined vagrant lepers, but the role of Korean society in publicly prohibiting lepers was even greater during this period. Korean society, which considered leprosy a serious problem in cities, demanded the GGK solve the vagrant leper problem, and social perceptions about vagrant lepers were formed through daily interaction. Korean society’s experience with vagrant lepers and the construction of their perceptions about such would later impact their ideas about the threat of all vagrant groups. It is from this perspective that this article examines and analyzes the vagrant lepers of colonial Korea and the responses of society and the Japanese colonial authorities to them during the period of 1917 to 1945.

First, however, a brief explanation of the terminology “lepers” and “leprosy” is needed. Following the publication of the compilation *Principles and Practice of Eastern Medicine* (*Tongūi bogam* 1613), leprosy was officially referred to as “*taep’ungch’ang*” or “*nach’ang*,” but with the annexation of Korea in 1910 it began to be referred to as “*nabyōng*” in accordance with Japanese medical and legal practices. The term “*nabyōng*” continued to be officially used after liberation, and it was not until the year 2000 that concern for the rights of people with the

disease led to the official name being changed to “Hansen’s disease” (*Hansenbyöng*). During the Chosön Dynasty, the disease and patients were called *mundong/mundung*, but during the colonial era the typical phrase used in society was *mundongbyöng/mundungbyöng* for the disease while patients were called *mundongi/mundungi*. Patients who suffered from the disease were referred to as *taep’ungchangin* (lepers) during the Chosön Dynasty, then to as *nahwanja* during the colonial era, and now they are called *Hansenbyöng hwanja* (patients with Hansen’s disease). Both those with Hansen’s disease and those who have finished treatment but still experience stigmatization and discrimination given their medical history are referred to as those affected by Hansen’s disease. However, although the terms used today are Hansen’s disease and patients with Hansen’s disease, this article uses the terms leprosy (*nabyöng*) and lepers (*nahwanja*) as they offer close historical English language parallels to the terms used officially by the Japanese colonial government.

The Emergence and Spread of Vagrant Lepers as an Urban Issue during the Colonial Era

It is commonly assumed that during the Chosön Dynasty, before 1910, because the visible effects of leprosy caused discomfort and unpleasantness to the healthy people around them, lepers were chased out of their homes and society, lived together out of sight from people, and survived by begging (Kal Süng-chö 1960). However, except for some fifteenth-century records from Cheju Island which indicate that lepers were banished and quarantined,¹ there are no historical records on the banishing or quarantining of those afflicted by leprosy within the Korean historical archives. Indeed, a report written by James Cantlie (1897) entitled “Report on the Conditions Under which Leprosy Occurs in China, Indo-China, Malaya, The Archipelago, and Oceania: Complied Chiefly during 1894” indicates that there were hardly any vagrant lepers in Korea. A survey on the leprosy situation in Chosön covering the cities of Pusan, Wönsan, and Seoul conducted by five missionary doctors and British officials found that in 1894, compared with other countries, leprosy was not a severe problem, and that lepers lived with their families and did not experience restrictions to their freedom of movement. However, in the case of slaves (*nobi*), there are records that indicate they sometimes became beggars and wandered through villages. Chöng Kün-sik (1997, 10-14) therefore argues that during the pre-modern era

1. Vol. 110 of *Sejong sillok* (1445, November 6).

lepers (*mundungi*) were not considered “social others,” but the disease of leprosy was effectively stigmatized by Western missionaries and, following the spread of Christianity, there was a growth in perceptions of leprosy as divine punishment. Moreover, Horace Newton Allen (1885, 222), who had a hand in founding the first western hospital in Korea known as Chejungwön, found that lepers who travelled from far away to receive treatment at Chejungwön in Seoul had received passes from local officials for their travel. Considering that travel was not very free during the Chosön Dynasty era, it is therefore difficult to conclude that vagrant lepers as a group existed before the colonial era.

The Japanese effort to control leprosy in Korea began in earnest in April 1910 with the arrival of Yamane Masatsugu, a politician who had led the effort to implement a policy of mandatory quarantine for lepers and drafted the Bill on Leprosy Prevention (*Rai Yobōhō*). He was appointed as an advisor to the GGK’s health department (Chöng Kün-sik 1997, 15). Yamane conducted an inspection of the leprosy situation in Korea in 1911 (Kuriü Rakusen’en Kanja Jichikai 1993). Based on this experience, he published an article on “founding a hospital for lepers” in the second volume of the journal of the Korean Medical Association (Chösen Igakkai) in 1912, and published another article in 1913 on sanitation and sanitation policy in Korea (Kungnip Sorokto Pyöngwön 2017, 31). Around the same time in November 1913, the founder and chairperson of the Leprosy Mission, Wellesley Cosley Bailey, visited Pusan, Kwangju, and Taegu before visiting Seoul and urged the colonial health authorities to begin a leprosy program. However, Bailey suggested establishing several small leper homes rather than a single large facility (Wilson 1914, 164). In 1913, the GGK, based on the results of a survey which found over 3,000 leprosy patients with visually identifiable symptoms, recognized the need for an organized response (Ogushi 1921). Moreover, Yamane, the advisor to the colonial health department, argued in October of that year for the quarantining of lepers (Yamane 1913). The Governor-General Terauchi Masatake then established plans to accommodate lepers by using funds from the Chesaengwön, and ordered that Yoshiga Eijirō, the director of the Government-General Hospital, select a site for the facility. Following this, Decree No. 7 of the Governor-General of Korea issued on February 24, 1916 established the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital, and Arikawa Tōru was appointed as the first director (Kungnip Sorokto Pyöngwön 2017, 35).

The GGK, based on the Case on Accommodating Vagrant Lepers, sent an order to the police departments of all provinces to commit all vagrant lepers who were “suspected of spreading disease as they wandered the streets and markets” (Kungnip Sorokto Pyöngwön 2017, 38-39). That is, the first targets of forced quarantine were those perceived as “vagrant” persons suffering from

leprosy by the GGK and who were likely to spread the disease. Thus, in Korea the forced quarantine of lepers began in 1917 and beginning in the early 1920s efforts were concentrated on those wandering the streets and marketplaces of the southern cities of Kwangju, Pusan, and Taegu. *The Daily News (Maeil sinbo)* on March 13, 1922 ran an article entitled “Astonishing Leper Village Discovered in Kyōngju-gun” with the following passage:

Leprosy is a difficult problem in Korea as it is a fast-spreading disease which is difficult to cure, making the discovery of a leper village in Kyōngju startling. When a community doctor from Kyōngju-gun organized a traveling clinic, officials were appalled when they stumbled upon a village in which forty households who were all infected with leprosy had gathered together. If the forty households of the village all contained lepers, we may assume that a majority of the residents of this village were infected. Accordingly, the sanitation problem not only in Kyōngbuk-do but all of Korea should not be taken lightly, and the police chief of Kyōngbuk-do is currently studying measures to rid the region of the problem. (“Kagyōng hal nabyōng chōllak” 1922)

This article first points out two perceived characteristics of leprosy: that it is difficult to cure and that it spreads fast. That is, in 1922, the media constantly reported that leprosy was an infectious disease caused by bacteria, and that it was highly contagious and spread quickly. However, chaulmoogra oil had already begun to be used as a treatment for leprosy in the late 1910s following its introduction by western missionaries and the GGK was using it. Yet any mention of this medicine had yet to appear, and the above article is characterized by the traditional perception of leprosy as a disease which is difficult to treat. Based on this perception, the article goes on to assert that because about forty households were found to be infected with this supposedly incurable disease in Kyōngju-gun, this was not just a problem for Kyōngbuk-do but all of Korea. Moreover, the article’s title, “Astonishing Leper Village Discovered in Kyōngju-gun” utilizes provocative language which characterizes all lepers as a dangerous group.

The early 1920s was also a period during which the public fear of lepers began to spread. *The Daily News* published an article entitled “Strange Rumors in Tamyang, Uproar about Thousands of Lepers Roaming Around” on June 17, 1922 which introduces readers to rumors circulating in Tamyang. The rumor was that 400 or 4,000 lepers who received treatment at the Kwangju Leper Hospital could no longer be accommodated there, so they were sent from the hospital and dropped off at Changsōng Station near Tamyang. A similar rumor spread around Kanggyōng during the same period. On July 1, 1922, the *Daily News* published an article which spread the groundless rumor that 1,000 lepers

were invading Kanggyŏng (“Nahwanja chŏn-myŏng” 1922). Both articles were centered on lepers and leprosy hospitals in cities, and both reported that lepers could not be accommodated in the hospitals by the health authorities and were thus sent out from the cities. However, this was completely false. These rumors were a part of the phenomenon emerging in Korea centered on lepers and leprosy clinics in cities.²

At this time, lepers were concentrated in the southern cities of Kwangju, Taegu, and Pusan, and since medical facilities could not accommodate all lepers who wanted treatment, the patients that could not be accommodated became a wider social problem. These unaccommodated patients created a variety of perceived and real issues in cities. A July 11, 1922 article in the *Daily News* entitled “Leper Commits Arson” introduced an incident of arson committed by “the most frightening and hideous” leper (“Nabyŏngja ūi panghwa” 1922). This leper, who lived by “wandering and begging,” started a fire in a village in Yŏngam-gun and while people were putting out the fire, the leper entered another house to rob it before being caught. In October 1923, another article speaks of a “leper who begged in various places” that raped a married woman in Talsŏng-gun (“Taedamhan nabyŏngja” 1923). In short, starting in 1922 and throughout the colonial era, a list of articles about the various social ills caused by vagrant lepers appeared in newspapers across Korea.

The problem was compounded by the fact that so many lepers had gathered in cities. For example, the people of Masan in June 1924 held a citizens’ meeting to discuss various problems including moving the red-light district and prison and formed an executive committee. This committee decided to discuss these issues with each government office under the GGK, and first brought up the issue of lepers with the police chief. The committee demanded that the police chief “handle the lepers as their reckless behavior in the city was intolerable” (“Masan sŏjang ūi pŏgŏn” 1924). A July 1924 article in the *Daily News* described how the number of lepers seeking to be admitted to the leprosy hospital in Taegu was much more than its capacity, and as a result the lepers who were refused admittance to the clinic were wandering the streets of the city (“Taegu e nabyŏngja yuksongnaejip” 1924). The *Daily News* also reported in November 1924 that the number of lepers in Seoul was consistently rising (“Kyŏngsŏng sijung e nabyŏng kŏrin chŏmjŭng” 1924). According to this article, “the reason

2. Leprosy clinics were built in Kamman-ri, Seo-myŏn, Tongnae-gun, Kyŏngsangnam-do in 1909 by Charles H. Irvin who was a Northern Presbyterian Church missionary, in Ppongsŏl-ri, Hyochŏn-myŏn, Kwangju-gun, Chŏllanam-do in February 1911 by Robert M. Wilson who was the Director of the Kwangju National Hospital, and in Taegu in March 1913 by Presbyterian missionary A.G. Flecher in March 1913.

that there are so many leprosy patients in the city is that because everybody hates the disease, so the patients leave their hometowns and they head towards Seoul where no one knew about their infection, and that the patients leave their hometowns after hearing about clinics at Severance Hospital and the Government-General Hospital.” However, the hospitals in Seoul refused to treat the lepers and the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital was also already filled to capacity so there was effectively nowhere to send them. The problem then was that the lepers who went to Seoul had no way to make a living and ended up begging and wandering the city. They even sought jobs at job placement agencies. However, because they were “extremely dangerous” given the possibility they may “spread disease,” they were unable to find work and were forced into panhandling to survive.

The concentration of lepers in cities came to the fore as a serious urban issue in 1927. In June 1927, the people of Masan began to panic due to the large local increase in lepers (“Nabyöng hwanja parho ro” 1927), and around the same time a similar situation arose in Pusan with a large group of lepers wandering the city and demanding money from residents.³ A similar problem was witnessed in Kimhae as well.⁴ In 1928, the rise of lepers in urban areas also spread to Taegu and Chönnam.⁵ What had to that point mainly been a problem for the southern part of the Korean Peninsula, slowly began to spread north in 1930. In October 1930, a group of begging lepers was spotted in Ch’unchön-üp where they had never been seen before as they had been chased out of southern cities and had made their way north.⁶ In 1932, a group of lepers emerged in Kangnüng where they began roaming the streets and demanding money.⁷ Groups of lepers continued to slowly move north, and in 1936 they were not only found in Chörwön, Kangwön-do,⁸ but also in the countryside of P’yöngannam-do and even Hamgyöngnam-do.⁹ By 1940, they were even wandering around Yöngil (Yanji).¹⁰ Before Korea was annexed by Japan, leprosy had been a disease mainly limited

3. “Pusan chibang e nabyöng hwanja” (1927); “Nabyöngja wichip Pusanjin” (1927); “Chaktang ch’ulmol hanün Pusan” (1928).

4. “Nabyöng hwanja ch’imip üro” (1927).

5. “Chönyömsöng ül kihwa ro” (1928); “Nabyöng hwanja chöchi e tu’öng” (1928); “Taegu nabyöng hwanja kohyang üro” (1928); “Chönnam kwannae e nabyöng” (1928).

6. “Ch’unchön e mundungi” (1930).

7. “Sanja sumyöngghan Kangnüng enün” (1932); “Kangnüng ümnae paehoe hanün” (1934).

8. “Chörwön e mundungi sodong” (1936).

9. “P’yöngnam esödo mundungi sodong” (1936); “Hamnamdo nae e mundungi” 1936; “Hamnam üi nabyöng hwanja” (1936).

10. “Yöngil nabyöng hwanja sibi-myöng” (1940).

to the south of the Korean Peninsula in Kyöngsang-do and Chölla-do and had spread to Ch'ungchöng-do and the southern parts of Kangwön-do, but was not a disease that could be found in northern Kyönggi-do or Kangwön-do nor anywhere in the far north of the country. But by the 1930s lepers could be found in P'yöngan-do, Hamgyöng-do and even Yöngil. Moreover, while lepers had originally been concentrated in large cities or regions with large populations, beginning in 1932 they could be found in smaller cities or regions with *ŭp* or *myön* designation. In May 1932, lepers crowded into the city of Yechön,¹¹ in the October of the same year they were found in Ŭisöng,¹² and then in March 1933 in Haenam.¹³

What then is behind the congregation of lepers in cities beginning in the 1920s? First, leprosy patients strongly believed that leprosy hospitals could cure their leprosy. In the 1920s, lepers began congregating in the southern cities of Kwangju, Pusan, and Taegu where western missionaries set up leprosy hospitals in the 1910s. As rumors spread that the clinics established by western missionaries could treat leprosy, lepers began making their way towards these cities. Those who tried traditional eastern medicine yet continued to suffer from the disease or those who could not even afford to try these ineffective traditional treatments found their way to the western missionaries' clinics for treatment. Lepers who had seen the effectiveness of western medicine in curing other diseases and healing wounds believed that western techniques could also treat their leprosy. Moreover, since the western missionaries were providing treatment for free, even the poor hoped to be treated. According to the 1886 *First Annual Report of the Korean Government Hospital, Seoul, Korea* (Allen and Heron 1886) and "Dr. H. N. Allen's Report on the Health of Seoul" (Allen 1885), both written by Horace Newton Allen, lepers would travel great distances to Seoul for treatment. Later around 1910, lepers began flooding into the leprosy clinics established in Pusan, Kwangju, and Taegu. At this time, lepers were not leaving their homes and wandering the country because social stigmatization or discrimination had driven them to do so, but because they sought the benefits of western medicine. They mostly gathered around leprosy clinics, but others went to different public hospitals and the Government-General Hospital. And many found their way to Severance Hospital in Seoul. However, western leprosy clinics had limited capacity due to budget restrictions making it impossible for them to accommodate all the patients who came, and those who were not able

11. "Yechön sinae e nabyöng" (1932).

12. "Ŭisöng e nabyöngja manyön" (1932).

13. "Nabyöng hwanja ka chaktae hae" (1933).

to be admitted to the hospitals and clinics therefore began wandering the streets of these cities.

Second, with the start of the forced quarantine policy of 1917, many more lepers became vagrants as they were driven away due to gradually increasing discrimination in the 1920s. Despite not having been the targets of stigmatization during the nineteenth century Chosŏn Dynasty, the crackdown and forced quarantine of lepers beginning in 1917 led to increasing discrimination. Notwithstanding the police crackdown on vagrant lepers, the prejudiced targeting of lepers only resulted in even more becoming vagrants. That is, the perception of leprosy as a disease that was highly contagious acted as a direct social pressure on lepers, and this resulted in stigmatization and discrimination. As a result, lepers left their homes and villages and gravitated towards the cities to receive treatment. Meanwhile, due to the colonial exploitation of Korean agriculture, poor peasants from the countryside also began to move to the cities along with lepers (Ye Chi-suk 2015, 79). This likely meant that lepers suffered from the dual stresses of their disease and difficulty in surviving economically given the large number of rural residents moving to the cities due to economic pressures in the countryside.

A third reason for the increasing number of vagrant lepers is that the established economic activity of lepers was gradually restricted to prevent the spread of the disease. The Decree on the Prevention of Contagious Diseases (*Chŏnyŏmbyŏng Yebangnyŏng*) (GGK Decree No. 2) promulgated on June 5, 1915 did not restrict patients with contagious diseases from engaging in economic activity, but instead Article 10 stated that “items which have been or suspected of having been contaminated with the germs of an infectious disease cannot be used, exchanged, moved, abandoned, or cleansed without proper permission.” That is, items which could spread disease because they had been contaminated with germs may be restricted. Moreover, Clause 2 of Article 8 of the Decree on the Prevention of Contagious Diseases (GGK Decree No. 3), which was revised in February 1924 and went into effect on June 1, 1928, stated that “those with infectious diseases cannot work in businesses which may facilitate the spread of disease.” In other words, colonial law made it possible to restrict the economic activity of infectious disease patients. Although the Decree on the Prevention of Contagious Diseases only targeted acute infectious diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever, lepers were also affected by this decree because common people perceived that things touched by sick persons could spread disease. While the public was told that leprosy was spread by coming in to contact with a specific type of bacteria (*M. leprae*), they were not informed about exactly how the bacteria was spread. Ignorance about how the disease spread led to excessive

restrictions on lepers, and they were not allowed to engage in various types of economic activity such as producing or selling vegetables and alcohol. A considerable number of lepers were, therefore, unable to take part in productive economic activities, and lepers among the lower classes experienced serious difficulties in their financial situations. Since they were unable to contribute in economically, lepers among the poorer classes felt that their very existence had become a burden to their families, and many decided to leave on their own. These three reasons can generally explain why, regardless of the GGK's policy of forcible quarantines and crackdowns, vagrant lepers continued to concentrate in the cities and why they gradually began to migrate north and into rural areas.

The Social Issuization of Vagrant Lepers

It was not until the early twentieth century that the theory of germs and bacteria, which had first started to circulate in the country at the end of the nineteenth century, was taken as a matter of fact by Korean society (Sin Tong-wŏn 2013; Pak Yun-jae 2017). By the 1920s, Korean society came to understand that leprosy was caused by bacteria and perceived that lepers were the medium of the disease's spread. At the same time, the perception began to spread that lepers had to be treated by controlling the bacteria which caused leprosy and that this treatment was only possible in modern hospitals. As a result, lepers began to congregate in cities to receive treatment, while at the same time lepers began moving to the city, willingly or not, as they were excluded from society in an effort to prevent further spread of the disease. However, urban residents of colonial Korea did not take kindly to the lepers entering the cities. They were perceived as a serious urban problem, particularly in terms of sanitation, and lepers, who could only survive through begging in cities, were stigmatized as a threat in terms of social safety. With this problematizing of lepers, urban residents sought to expel them from the cities. In an editorial published by the Korean newspaper *East Asia Daily (Tonga ilbo)* on July 26, 1923 entitled the "Careless Attitude of the Authorities towards Lepers and Morphine Addicts," the author criticized the colonial authorities' sloppy response to controlling lepers in the following manner:

The individual suffering caused by becoming infected and being relegated to idleness and the national loss are not only improper but also shameful in a humanitarian sense when we consider the modern development of medicine because leprosy is a disease which could be eradicated, if not solely through the use of modern medicine, but through the provision of relief facilities. ... The

indifference towards this horrible evil is not only creating a problem for the people's health but should also absolutely be considered a humanitarian issue as well. ("Nabyöngja wa mohi chungdokcha" 1923)

According to the above article, Korean society understood the problem of leprosy to be a civilizational problem in the early 1920s, and to grow from an uncivilized to a civilized country Korea had to solve the problem of leprosy. The editorial argues that to build a civilized country the GGK must actively quarantine lepers and eradicate this "evil." Another article in the *East Asia Daily* on January 15, 1927 entitled "Thoughts on Hygiene and Institutions" made a similar argument:

Disease is divine punishment for those who do not live in a scientific manner, and catching an infectious disease is a great shame. It is not an exaggeration to say that if a country contains an infectious disease, that is the greatest shame of the people of that country. Given that we are unfortunately a country with an infectious disease, we must gather our strength to eradicate all infectious diseases from Korea by fully equipping ourselves with research institutes on disease, preventative infrastructure, treatment facilities, and an institute to promote consciousness about hygiene. ("Wisaeng sasang kwa kigwan" 1927)

In other words, because disease, especially infectious disease, was considered an obstacle on the path towards becoming a civilized country, all infectious diseases needed to be eradicated. Urban residents did not conceal their anxiety and animosity towards lepers. As a result, there was a startling rise in articles about lepers committing suicide beginning in 1926. In August 1926, a thirty-two-year-old woman committed suicide in Tongnae-gun,¹⁴ and in November of the same year, a leper committed suicide by jumping in front of an oncoming train.¹⁵ In the following years, many more lepers suffering from social stigmatization and discrimination committed suicide. Moreover, other lepers were murdered by family members.¹⁶ Hate towards lepers was even aggressively displayed towards those who displayed symptoms similar to those of leprosy. In 1928, a person with sparse eyebrows was mistaken for a leper and beaten by a group of people, and in 1936 a child who was scarred from burns was killed because of suspected leprosy.¹⁷ The media also did not tolerate lepers having

14. "Nabyöng yöja chasal" (1926).

15. "Nabyöng hwanja üi chöolto chasal" (1926).

16. "Ch'aa ka changsöng hamyön" (1916); "Nabyöng e köllin könhö" (1930); "Nabyöng ch'inchök ül" (1931); "Nabyöngja üi hyölichöng" (1932); "Mundongbyöng köllin ttal toksal han" (1933).

17. "Sinpudae e konbong i hyönsin" (1928); "Hwasang tanghan ai nabyöng" (1936).

jobs in the city. For instance, in 1926, the principal of Ilshin Women's School in Pusan, Wi Tae-sŏ,¹⁸ hired a leper to work in the dormitory and school building, but received complaints from the students' parents and was also criticized in the media.¹⁹

Korean society, having perceived that the congregating of lepers in cities was a problem separate from direct individual discrimination against lepers, sought out the action of the GGK, particularly the authorities on sanitation and the police, as a means to address the problem. Beginning in 1924, urban residents who lived in cities where lepers were gathering demanded that the GGK and the relevant authorities deal with them. Meanwhile, Japanese residents in Korea also began requesting that the government address the issue of vagrant lepers as well. On August 23, 1927, the Pusan Chamber of Commerce of the Japanese residents in Korea held an urgent meeting of its Social Division and discussed the increasing number of lepers in Pusan.²⁰ It was decided that a letter would be sent to the governor of Kyōngsangnam-do demanding that the lepers be forcibly removed to an appropriate uninhabited island. Following the meeting, the representative of the group, Wada Jun, visited the governor to petition for regulation of the lepers. The governor expressed agreement and promised to take strict action.²¹

Around the same time, the Chamber of Commerce in Taegu also requested the provincial police take action regarding the lepers in the city and this demand was met by action through policy. Meanwhile, on November 12, 1927, the Pusan job placement agency held a conference to present research on social enterprise in Pusan and presented detailed plans on the means to deal with lepers.²² This meeting resulted in the following resolutions: first, organizations from all over Korea should rally together to eradicate leprosy; and second, the leprosy clinic being run by the American missionary James McKenzie should be provided with public funding as well as expanded and moved outside the city. On March 17, 1930, the Kyōngnam Miryang Residents Committee held an executive committee meeting at which several issues were considered including candidates for the provincial council election, an increase in electricity costs, issues with the post office, city improvements, and dealing with lepers.²³ On July 25, 1930,

18. Wi Tae-sŏ is the Korean name of an Australian female missionary named M. Withers.

19. "Pusanjin Ilsin Yōgyosaeng ūi" (1926).

20. "Raibyō kanja o kyōseiteki" (1927).

21. "Nabyōng hwanja kuch'ukch'æk" (1927).

22. "Nabyōng kaesŏn ūl kyōrūi" (1927).

23. "Miryang Tonginhoe imsihoe chunbi" (1930).

Ishihara Kenzaburō, a member of the Kyōngsangnam-do Provincial Council, visited the Pusan Chamber of Commerce and requested a meeting of the organization's Social Division to discuss the issue of dealing with lepers.²⁴ It was decided that, since they were a danger to public health and were a great threat in an economic sense, vagrant lepers were a problem that could no longer be overlooked. As a result, the following resolutions were discussed and agreed upon a July 28 meeting of the Social Division:

First, a strong request will be made to the government for the thorough arrest of vagrant lepers as their increasing loitering in the city and poor behavior of using their hideous appearance as a weapon is causing damage to the Chōnja,²⁵ food, and the Pup'yōngjōng markets; second, since it is impossible for the Chamber to directly deal with these issues given its institutional nature, requests will be made to the provincial and municipal authorities; and third, the Chamber in cooperation with the municipal council will file a joint petition to the governor.²⁶

On March 11, 1932, the *Central Daily* (*Chungang ilbo*) published an article entitled "The Leper Advocacy League of the Leper Village in Tongnae" describing in detail the formation and situation of the "leper village" in Pusan ("Tongnae ūi mundongi ch'ŏn" 1932). At the time, about 330 lepers were subsisting through begging in the village. The non-infected residents of the village felt the existence of the lepers was a threat to public health and safety. The 330 lepers had formed a group and were wandering the city visiting houses to beg, and this was viewed as a relatively frightening development by the residents. In particular, interaction with the lepers was perceived as dangerous by the residents as they worried about the spread of the disease through "germs."²⁷ Although the path of transmission is not entirely understood, the common understanding today is that leprosy requires sustained exposure to spread between people, but certainly at the time people feared that any contact with lepers would result in them becoming infected. For example, in a 1930 article in the *East Asia Daily* entitled "Dialogue during a Tour of Korea's Main Cities," Cho U-je, the head of the farmers' association, in Chinju stated the following:

There is no end to the hygiene problem. If you give a coin to a leper, then that same coin is later given to a child, there is no way to guarantee that bacteria is not still adhered to the coin. But if you give money to a small child, they may put it in

24. "Nabyōng hwanja kūnbon chōngni" (1930).

25. This is presumably Masan Dried Fish Market (Masan Chōnja Panmae Sijang).

26. "Nabyōng hwanja suyong pangbōp" (1930).

27. "Pulssanghan nabyōng hwanja musōun" (1931).

their mouth. So, when you think about it like that the threat is extremely real.²⁸

Also, during this meeting, Pak Ch'an-byŏng, a representative from Sunchŏn, also pointed out that the threat of leprosy spreading was high because lepers were entering homes. This article shows that the community leaders of Korea perceived lepers to be a serious problem and thought that the authorities or society had to solve this problem. An editorial in the *East Asia Daily* published on May 24, 1925 with the title "Another Editorial on Lepers and Facilities" emphasized the urgent need to prevent the spread of leprosy.²⁹ The problem of lepers panhandling was that it created the possibility of bacteria spreading as the act of begging brought lepers and healthy people into contact.³⁰

Beginning in the 1920s, a particular idea was generated in the minds of urban residents through the public discourse. This was that the ordinary act of begging committed by lepers, who were likely to spread disease, was brought about because of the leprosy clinics where lepers sought treatment for their ailments, which paradoxically were meant to prevent the spread of the disease. In other words, leprosy clinics, which had been established to prevent the spread of leprosy, were actually causing an increase in panhandling lepers and increasing the likelihood leprosy would spread by concentrating lepers in the confines of the city. In short, leprosy clinics were perceived to be increasing the chances of the disease spreading.

Following this line of reasoning the main solution to the problem, as far as the urban residents were concerned, was to have the urban leprosy clinics moved. This argument to relocate leprosy clinics outside of cities first appeared in an article in the newspaper *Times Daily* (*Sidae ilbo*) published on July 26, 1925 entitled "Move the Leprosy Clinics" ("Nabyŏngwŏn ūl ijŏn hara" 1925). This editorial introduces a leprosy clinic in Kwangju and describes the lepers who have gathered around the clinic as having "filled the streets of Kwangju with a kind of uneasiness and fear." In the conclusion, the author notes his approval and thanks to the leprosy clinic, but because the clinic is managed in an extremely inconsistent and unhygienic manner, he appeals to the operator of the clinic to move it to an uninhabited island or somewhere similar where people do not live. From this point Leprosy clinics were consistently described as creating sanitation problems in cities, and as a result there were continuous

28. "Chuyo tosi sunhoe chwadam (47)" (1930).

29. "Tasi nabyŏngja wa" (1925).

30. "Moksŏk pulbu ūi karyŏnhan" (1926); "Raibyŏ kanja o kyŏseiteki" (1927); "Chŏnyŏmsŏng ūl kihwa ro" (1928); "Sasŏl, nabyŏng hwanja chŏngni" (1930).

efforts to have the clinics moved out of urban locales. Such arguments to move clinics out of cities were voiced continuously at the above-described urgent meeting of the Social Division of the Pusan Chamber of Commerce in 1927, at the meeting of the Taegu Chamber of Commerce, and within other public dialogues throughout the country.³¹

The social pressure applied to leprosy clinics resulted in the decision in 1927 to move the leprosy clinic founded in February 1911 in Hyoch'ŏn-myŏn, Kwangju-gun, Ch'ŏllanam-do to Yŏsu.³² The people of Kwangju demanded that Robert M. Wilson, the head of the leprosy clinic, move it because they believed that in the summer, as the clinic is located upstream of the Kwangju River, lepers contaminated the waters of the River, and in the winter, they increasingly wandered the streets of the city. Their demands resulted in the decision to move the clinic to Yulchon-myŏn, Yŏsu-gun, Ch'ŏllanam-do. To facilitate the move, 22,000 won was raised—15,000 won from the national treasury, 4,000 won in local government subsidies, and 3,000 won in donations from local residents—and donations from abroad were received to purchase 40,000 *p'yŏng* of land on the Yŏsu Peninsula, a move which raised the clinics capacity from 600 to 900 patients.³³ While the leprosy clinic in Kwangju was moved due to social pressure, it was not so easy to move the leprosy clinics in Pusan and Taegu. Moreover, after moving to the Yŏsu area, the leprosy clinic again faced demands to move from the residents of Sunch'ŏn and Yŏsu, calls that persisted throughout the colonial era.³⁴

Urban residents not only wanted the leprosy clinics taken out of the cities, but they also wanted the wandering and begging lepers removed. To this end, urban residents actively made their voices heard by consistently submitting petitions and requests to the colonial government for crackdowns on lepers, and their expulsion from the locale. An early example of such demands was the request by the people of Masan in 1924 to the head of the police, urging that he disallow lepers on the streets of the city.³⁵ Reports also appeared in the media demanding that the colonial government take some action to protect urban sanitation.³⁶ As described above, the people of Korea felt that controlling leprosy

31. "Raibyŏ kanja o kyŏseiteki" (1927); "Chŏkki e innŭn nabyŏngwŏn" (1927); "Nabyŏng hwanja kuch'ukch'ae" (1927); "Nabyŏng kaesŏn ŭl kyŏrŭi" (1927); "Chuyo tosi sunhoe chwadam (117)" (1931); "Ijŏn ŭn kosa tŏuk hwakchang" (1932).

32. "Kwanju raibyŏin o iyoiyo" (1927).

33. "Yŏsu pando e taegyumo" (1927).

34. "Chuyo tosi sunhoe chwadam (117)" (1931); "Ijŏn ŭn kosa tŏuk hwakchang" (1932).

35. "Masan sŏjang ŭi pŏgŏn" (1924).

36. "Tasi nabyŏngja wa" (1925).

was a natural objective for a modern country, and citing the thorough control of the disease in the West and in Japan, strongly demanded the GGK crackdown on lepers.

The passive response by the GGK to the issue of dealing with lepers resulted in active measures by those within wider Korean society. Protestant nationalist elites felt that Korean society was facing a crisis given the colonial government's passive leprosy policies. Specifically, this group considered it a shame that while western missionaries had set up three leprosy clinics and the GGK had founded the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital, Koreans had not built any facilities for lepers. To address this, the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy (Chosŏn Nabyŏng Kŭnjŏlch'ae Yŏng'uhoe) was founded on September 24, 1931 with the goal of developing more facilities to accommodate lepers.³⁷ This organization is recorded as having various names. At first it was known as the Korean Association for Assisting Lepers (Chosŏn Nabyŏng Hwanja Kujehoe), then later as the Korean Research Association for Assisting Lepers (Chosŏn Nabyŏng Hwanja Kuje Yŏng'uhoe), and then finally as the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy. The names Research Association for Assisting Lepers and Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy connote very different aims for the organization. The reason for the change seems to be related to a change in the main participants of the organization. Minister Ch'oe Hŭng-jong when he first established this organization along with the Patient Mutual Assistance Association at the leprosy clinic in Yŏsu outlined the objective of the groups as providing relief measures to patients. But later it seems the objective of the organization transitioned from helping patients to eradicating leprosy, as ordinary community leaders began to form a larger portion of the group's membership. However, the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy included not only the eradication of leprosy in its organizational mission but also the aim to help lepers.

The first project of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy was to raise roughly 1,000 won to send about twenty lepers residing in the Seoul-area to the leprosy clinic in Yŏsu. To this end, the organization held an emergency general meeting on January 19, 1932 at the Seoul Central Christian Youth Association (Kyŏngsŏng Chungang Kidok Ch'ŏngnyŏn Hoegwan) to elevate Paek Kwan-su, Kim Byŏng-no, and Ch'oe Hŭng-jong to the executive committee, following which it was decided to hold a fund-raising campaign.³⁸

37. "Nabyŏng hwanja kuje" (1931); "Sahoe yuji ūi palgi" (1931); "Nabyŏng Kujehoe wiwŏnhoe kaech'ŏe" (1931); "Toch'ŏ e pyŏnggyun chŏnp'a han'un" (1931); "Yun Ch'i-ho ssi ka sŏlsŏn ibaek-wŏn" (1932); "Ch'ŏn-wŏn man isŭmyŏn" (1932); "Nabyŏng Kŭnjŏlhoe changjŏng" (1932).

38. "Ch'ŏn-wŏn man isŭmyŏn" (1932); "Yun Ch'i-ho ssi ka sŏlsŏn ibaek-wŏn" (1932).

During this meeting, the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy also introduced and discussed the work of Dr. Archibald Grey Fletcher at the Taegu leprosy clinic entitled “A Proposal for Eradicating Leprosy throughout Korea within Twenty Years,” which was based on plans for eradicating leprosy in Kyōngbuk within twenty years, and decided to conduct further research on the subject.³⁹ The organization began publicizing themselves and their activities by printing thousands of copies of their organization’s prospectus and distributing them everywhere.⁴⁰

The ultimate goal of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy was to, as described above, establish leprosy facilities run by Koreans and to then have lepers involuntarily quarantined in these facilities. To achieve this goal, the organization began receiving donations from various sources. The list of private donors in May 1932 included Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige (monetary gift), Minister of State for Political Affairs Imaida Kiyonori (monetary gift), Minister Han I-wang (monetary gift), Officer Nishiki Sankei of the Police’s Sanitation Department (monetary gift), Song Pon-sōng (monetary gift), Yun Ch’i-ho (200 won), Katō Keizaburō (monetary gift), Pak Yōng-chōl (monetary gift), Kim Yōn-su (100 won), Tongil Bank (100 won), and another anonymous donor (50 won).⁴¹ As shown by the personal donations of the Governor-General, the Minister of State for Political Affairs, and other government officials, the GGK supported this organization. The prospect of private organizations independently raising funds to establish facilities for lepers would have been attractive to the GGK as they were unable to actively deal with the leprosy issue due to shortfalls in their own budget despite the increased demands from the Korean public for a response. However, by the end of 1932, the GGK began to effectively dismiss the activities of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy (Kungnip Sorokto Pyōngwōn 2017, 90-91).

The GGK, which had been failing for years to address the leper issue, saw the Protestant Korean elite as a threat because they were trying to solve this problem and they were showing they had the capacity to do so. The Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy was trying to control the lepers on their own by collaborating with the western missionaries who had established leprosy clinics in Taegu, Pusan, and Yōsu rather than with the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital. This became another reason for the GGK to control and disrupt the activities of the Korean elite. Because Korean society had been demanding

39. “Kūnjōran tōūi” (1932).

40. “Nabyōng Kūnjōlhoe changjōng” (1932).

41. “Nabyōng hwanja ege tongjōnggūm” (1932).

that the GGK resolve the highly contentious issue of vagrant lepers, if the Korean nationalist elite and western missionaries were able to collaborate to solve the problem it would threaten the legitimacy of Japanese rule. The GGK therefore sought to disrupt the activities of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy by refusing to allow fund raising activities necessary for the organization's projects, and on June 3, 1932 the organization decided to dissolve itself and most of the prominent members were incorporated into an organization established by the GGK (Taehan Na Kwalli Hyöphoe 1988, 83-84; "Yösu Pyöngwön ki'a chibang e" 1932).

Response of the Government-General of Korea Health Authorities and the Results of Their Efforts

However, cracking down on, exiling, or quarantining lepers remained a financial problem for the colonial authorities, and this issue was not a priority in comparison to the other various pressing projects critical for maintaining control of Korea. Because of this, the colonial authorities had been quite passive through the early 1930s in responding to demands from Korean society to control lepers. When the people of Masan approached the police chief about dealing with various sanitation issues such as the lepers and pollution from factories, the police chief provoked outrage among Koreans after telling them to deal with the lepers themselves and that pollution and other sanitation problems were not an issue, stating "if you were Westerners I might intervene but what does it have to do with you Koreans?"⁴² According to an article entitled "General Supervision Rules" published in the *East Asia Daily* in 1925, there were, based on a survey carried out by the GGK, about 4,300 leprosy patients in Korea that year and a further investigation may reveal there to be many more. The article also acknowledged that due to financial concerns it was not possible to set up enough facilities to prevent further spread of the disease.⁴³ The idea of accommodating lepers in Korea was also proposed during the June 1927 "Fourth General Meeting of All Public Officials in Korea," but no decision was made.⁴⁴ The *East Asia Daily* and the another Korean newspaper the *Foreign-Domestic Daily* (*Chungoe ilbo*) both reported on the reason the General Meeting of All

42. "Masan söjang üi pögön" (1924).

43. "Chönggam hunsi such'ik" (1925).

44. "Kongjikcha taehoe hyöbüi sahang" (1927); "Kongjikcha taehoe kyönggwa" (1927).

Public Officials in Korea could not reach a decision on controlling lepers.⁴⁵ This was stated as being that while in Japan the health authorities in the Home Office had provided a budget in 1928 for eradicating leprosy, and resolved to establish residential facilities for influential persons with leprosy in addition to the internment camps for vagrant lepers, the budget in Korea only provided the subsidies for the three leprosy clinics run by western missionaries. Moreover, there were not enough resources to accommodate the nearly 20,000 lepers in Korea and thus there were no measures the government could take at the moment.⁴⁶ While in Japan, there was a legal basis for quarantining lepers following the 1907 “Case on Leprosy Prevention” (*Rai Yobō ni Kansuru Ken*), in Korea the health authorities themselves could only discuss quarantine because of the financial shortfalls and could not establish a legal basis.

Discussions on constructing facilities to accommodate lepers were held during the March 1928 meeting of the Kyōngsangbuk-do Council, but no decision was made.⁴⁷ However, plans were made in earnest to accommodate lepers in May 1928.⁴⁸ Due to letters and petitions flowing in from throughout Korea, the GGK made plans to invest 46,000 won over the course of three years in the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital to increase its capacity from 250 patients, as of late 1927, to 750 patients as well as to hire two more doctors and ten more nurses.⁴⁹ Despite having been founded in 1916 and starting to accept patients in 1917, the capacity of the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital was less than the leprosy clinics run by western missionaries. When it was opened in 1917 it could accommodate 100 patients, its capacity was increased to 125 patients in 1924, and then to 250 in 1925. The decision to construct extra facilities and increase capacity to 450 persons was made in 1928, and this was increased to 750 patients in 1929. It was not until this expansion in 1929 that the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital became larger than those in Taegu and Pusan.

However, the expansion of the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital’s capacity did not

45. “Kujech’aek i chōnhyō ōpnūn” (1927); “Kujech’aek ōpnūn iman ūi” (1927).

46. In this article, the number of lepers in the previous independent Chosŏn era is cited at 20,000, but this is just an estimate. According to a survey by the GGK in 1925, the number of confirmed lepers in all of Korea was only 4,300. However, lepers did not typically reveal themselves and there would have been more lepers who had not yet developed symptoms, meaning the actual number of lepers likely would have been much higher than this figure. However, an estimate in 1930 put the number of lepers at 13,000, so the estimate of 20,000 lepers in the period prior to colonialization seems considerably exaggerated.

47. “Chōehu yangil kan cheūi” (1928).

48. “Raibyō kanja o sarani gohyaku” (1928); “Raibyō kanja o sarani shūyō” (1928).

49. “Raikan ni-hyaku mei” (1928).

solve the problem of lepers concentrating in cities. In 1928, the British Leprosy Mission cut its funding to the leprosy clinic in Pusan resulting in the clinic having no choice but to force 110 patients to leave.⁵⁰ To prevent this Kyöngsangnam-do Provincial Government made an urgent request to the GGK for additional funding, but in the end many patients were forced out of the clinic. As a result, the number of patients accommodated by the Pusan clinic declined from 725 in 1928 to 649 in 1929, and the seventy-six patients forced to leave likely ended up wandering the streets of Pusan. A survey conducted by the GGK in 1929 found that there were 5,355 lepers who were not in clinics.⁵¹ Among those not in hospitals, 1,443 were found to be vagrants, 1,237 were in danger of becoming vagrants, and 2,675 had enough assets to provide for themselves.

In this way, the only way to expand the facilities for accommodating lepers was to have a significant influx of funding. As described above, 46,000 won was required to provide the facilities and medical staff needed to accommodate an extra 500 lepers. However, with the number of leprosy patients only increasing, providing facilities for an extra 500 patients was never going to facilitate the forced quarantine of all lepers. Despite the increased capacity of medical facilities, the number of vagrant lepers was continuing to increase, and the lepers were continuously moving northward and from large cities into smaller cities and rural areas as mentioned above. Because of this, methods for controlling vagrant lepers in cities did not only consist of quarantining lepers in clinics, but also forcing them to return to their homes. In the 1920s, vagrant lepers were periodically cracked down upon and sent to the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital.⁵² However, towards the end of the 1920s, many lepers congregating in cities were sent back to their homes because the number of lepers had increased well beyond the capacity of the leprosy clinics. For example, according to a June 17, 1928 article in the *East Asia Daily*, locals and the police were distressed by the number of vagrant lepers, so, even though it was only a stopgap, the lepers were rounded up and sent back to their hometowns.⁵³ Such measures to send lepers back to their homes was a natural response to the fact that quarantine facilities were at capacity.⁵⁴ But because sending lepers home was not a permanent solution, the lepers that returned home often found their way back to the streets of

50. "Kyöngbi pujok ūro" (1928).

51. "Nangnyu nabyöng hwanja wa" (1929).

52. "Nabyöng hwanja isong" (1922); "Pusan nabyöng hwanja Sorokto" (1927); "Pumin ül wihyöp hanün" (1928); "Sorokto Pyöngwön e nabyöng" (1928); "Sorokto e ponael nabyöngja" (1928).

53. "Nabyöng hwanja chöch'i e tu'ong" (1928); "Taegu nabyöng hwanja kohyang ūro" (1928).

54. "Nabyöngja paegyö-myöng" (1929).

the cities.

Not only this but sending lepers back to their homes created other problems. Many were upset when the Pusan police in April 1930 sent vagrant lepers back to their hometown of Taegu on a train. The Taegu police complained adamantly to the Pusan police, saying that they had sent these problematic lepers to their jurisdiction without notice, and promptly sent the lepers back to Pusan.⁵⁵ In September of the same year, the cities of P'ohang and Kyōngju were also involved in an incident in which each city sent lepers to the other.⁵⁶ Such incidents were such big social issues that created headline stories in many newspapers, and they highlight how difficult it was for the authorities to control lepers, and how sensitive an issue this was to the police.

However, the founding of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy in 1931 brought about a direct change in the GGK's leprosy policy. As described above, the GGK initially favored the leprosy initiatives of Korean organizations, but by 1932 the GGK felt threatened by the fact that Korean groups were addressing issues that the GGK could not solve itself and had the organization dissolved. In place of the Korean organization, the GGK established a foundation named the Korean Leprosy Prevention Association. The founding of the Korean Leprosy Prevention Association by the GGK was partially due to the threat the colonial authorities perceived from the activities of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy (*Taehan Na Kwalli Hyōphoe* 1988, 85; *Kungnip Sorokto Pyōngwōn* 2017, 93). However, the establishment of this foundation cannot be explained by this factor alone. First, it should be understood in connection with leprosy policy in Japan and the promulgation of the "Lifetime Quarantine" policy. In 1907, the Case on Leprosy Prevention was enacted and beginning in 1909 all vagrant lepers were to be forced to quarantine. Forced quarantine was then expanded to cover all lepers in 1931 with the passing of the "Leprosy Prevention Law". In other words, in the 1930s as the government of Japan transitioned to a more authoritarian militaristic system, this law established the principle of absolute quarantine for lepers. Moreover, in Taiwan the Losheng Sanatorium was constructed in December 1930, and in November of the same year the first national quarantine facility for lepers was opened in Nagashima, Japan.

In this way, the early 1930s was a period in which policies for controlling leprosy in Japan and its colonies were strengthened and transitioned towards a

55. "Taegu e tae chaenan" (1930); "Munje ūi nahwanja kyōlguk" (1930); "Yang sō kan kuyōk ssaum" (1930); "Pusan nabyōng hwanja rūl Taegu" (1930); "Wōnjōkchi ka Kyōngbuk irago" (1930).

56. "Kuoē ch'ukch'ul wiju ūi nabyōng" (1930).

policy of absolute quarantine (Chǒng Kūn-sik 1997, 17-18). Fujino Yutaka saw the strengthening of leprosy policy in colonial Korea as a measure to protect the Japanese empire's troops who had just entered Manchuria (Kungnip Sorokto Pyǒngwǒn 2017, 93). In other words, the leprosy policy was strengthened so that Korea, which was a stepping stone for the invasion of Manchuria, would be a place that was innocuous to the bodies of Japanese soldiers. When viewed from these multiple perspectives, the founding of the Korean Leprosy Prevention Association by the GGK in 1932 was done in the midst of the Japanese empire's move towards expansionist statist militarism and the establishment of absolute quarantine for leprosy patients everywhere and done to support the multiple objectives of supporting the invasion of Manchuria, holding the Korean elite in check, and solving a serious social issue to justify colonial rule.

The Korean Leprosy Prevention Association was advocated for by Governor-General Ugaki Kazushige, Minister of State for Political Affairs Imaida Kiyonori, and the Director of the Police Sanitation Department Nishiki Sankei, and on December 23, 1932, the Minister of State for Political Affairs, the Director of the Police, the Head of the Sanitation Department, and the Director of Academic Affairs, etc. attended the organization's opening ceremony and the charter for the organization was issued days later on December 27 (Chosǒn Na Yebang Hyǒphoe 1933). The organization's mission was to raise funds for expanding quarantine facilities for leprosy patients. Their fundraising activities were successful and by the end of 1933 they had raised more money than their initial goal. After raising more money than expected, the GGK revised their plans for expanding quarantine facilities by increasing the capacity by 1,000 extra patients to a total capacity of 3,000 patients.⁵⁷ While the funds were nominally donated by individuals, in reality the money was coercively given. The *Daily News* regularly reported on donation amounts, but actually this money was being deducted from the salaries of government officials and average people, students, and even prisoners were being forced to donate (Chosǒn Na Yebang Hyǒphoe 1933, 97). As a result, the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital was to undergo a third round of expansion and its capacity was to be expanded to over 6,000 patients. Moreover, as the first round of expanded facilities were being constructed, the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital was redesignated on September 14, 1934 from being supervised by the local government to being a leprosy sanitorium under the

57. The decision to increase this capacity from 2,000 to 3,000 was a result of a survey conducted by the GGK in February 1933. The survey found that there was a total of 12,242 lepers in all of Korea, and among them 2,464 were vagrant lepers. Therefore the decision to increase capacity was made with the objective of being able to accommodate all vagrant lepers (Taehan Na Kwalli Hyǒphoe 1988, 89).

direct administration of the GGK following Imperial Order 260 entitled Government-General of Korea Control of Leprosy Sanitoriums. On September 29, 1934, Government-General of Korea Order 98 renamed the Sorok Island Jahye Hospital to the Sorok Island Rehabilitation Facility. And following the change of administration from the local government to the GGK, the number of doctors and staff at the facility gradually increased.

Also, on April 20, 1935, Regulation No. 4 Korean Leprosy Prevention Decree was enacted. Based on this decree, the policy to control leprosy in Korea transitioned from being focused on vagrant lepers to regulating that all leprosy patients were to be quarantined for life. This decree was modeled on the 1931 Japanese Law on Leprosy Prevention in containing a policy on the absolute quarantine of lepers. The power of detention and the power to punish patients who had violated rules was also granted to the director of the Sorok Island Rehabilitation Facility to make it easier to control patients. The Korean Leprosy Prevention Decree made it possible to restrict lepers from having any sort of social life. Article 3 of the decree outlawed lepers from working in any position which may result in the spread of disease (through germs), and restricted lepers from entering public venues that contained numerous people such as markets and theaters. Finally, it made the sale or acceptance of any item that lepers touched illegal. In other words, this decree made it impossible for lepers to conduct any economic activity or beg in places in which many people gathered. Violators of Article 3 in particular, according to Article 11, were subject to a fine of less than 100 won, giving the law strong legal force. With this, lepers were effectively disqualified as members of society, leaving them with only two choices: either be quarantined in a leprosy facility or, if one had a family with the economic means, hide at home.

The capacity of the Sorok Island Rehabilitation Facility continued to expand with the third round of construction, and upon completion in 1940 the facility could house 6,136 patients. Compared with a capacity of 735 in 1929, the facility had expanded to hold an additional 5,401 persons in just eleven years. If the number of patients at the Sorok Island facility and those at the leprosy clinics run by western missionaries are combined, we may estimate that about 8,000 leprosy patients were being accommodated in 1940. This figure is much larger than the 5,355 leprosy patients the GGK estimated were unable to be housed in quarantine facilities in 1929, meaning that by this time the vagrant leper problem would have largely been alleviated. As described above, the vagrant leper problem in colonial Korea was perceived to have been a serious issue. However, the GGK did not actively address the problem due to budget concerns, and this led Korean society to actively take matters into their own hands. Yet, in the end,

both the GGK and Korean society believed that the only solution to the leprosy problem was mandatory quarantine.

Conclusion

It was not until western medical knowledge, particularly the theory of bacteria as pathogens, that Koreans realized that acute infectious diseases such as smallpox and cholera which killed so many were caused by germs. Following this discovery of bacteria via the microscope, infectious diseases, which were once thought to be spread by uncontrollable spirits, were brought into the domain of human science and people were able to control the spread of such illnesses. In particular, the discovery of the fact that humans or animals may be the vehicle through which disease spread led to people believing that controlling the movement of people would also result in controlling the spread of diseases. Naturally there were efforts to improve the unsanitary conditions which were a fertile ground for bacteria to grow but controlling the movement of people was much more cost effective compared to improving dirty living conditions, constructing water supply systems, maintaining a supply of clean drinking water, building sewer systems, and devising systems to process human waste and garbage. Especially outside of Japan in the colonies, the military budget needed to maintain public order was more urgent, regulating concerns such as sanitation to a secondary priority. As a result, focus was given to minimizing costs and solving sanitation problems as simply as possible by controlling people who were, or suspected of being, vehicles for the spread of disease by relying on the police rather than investing in building a more hygienic environment. A quarantine system for incoming vessels from foreign lands was devised to prevent the spread of cholera and other diseases, smallpox vaccinations were made mandatory, and when concerns arose about the spread of infectious diseases, a quarantine line was established to prevent the movement of people, and patients were sent to isolated hospitals and kept away from others. In short, stopping the spread of infectious diseases meant controlling the movement of people. Modern health theories of infectious diseases centered on the idea of germs were actively accepted by Korean society without question. However, in the absence of effective treatment systems, the colonial medical system was focused on prevention more than treatment, and this roused antipathy among Koreans who became sick, and within their families. Many ran away rather than being sent to isolated sanitoriums. However, the colonial system for controlling infectious diseases which was grounded in germ theory firmly imprinted the threat posed by germs

in the minds of the Korean people.

Diseases like tuberculosis and leprosy which are chronic and prevalent among the poor are infectious diseases but quite different from acute infectious diseases. Leprosy in particular is not very contagious and since the spread of the disease is affected by the nutritional and immune conditions of the infected person, the spread may be prevented by improving the nutrition and hygiene of society through economic and social development. However, to Koreans, who were living with the colonial authorities' infectious disease management policies which were based on germ theory and subject to policing by the colonial health authorities, and who had accepted the civilizing knowledge of modern medicine, the disease of leprosy was not considered something that could be controlled by improving the socio-economic conditions of sufferers. Rather it was considered a disease that could be controlled only by expelling and quarantining lepers as they were the vehicle of the disease's spread. Moreover, to the urban residents of Korea who were living in the space of modern cities, vagrant lepers who lived in groups in makeshift structures and survived by begging were considered a threat to not only to sanitation but also public order, resulting in the social stigmatization of such individuals, and the questioning of the need to tolerate their existence. At the same time, leprosy aroused a sense of shame in the Korean people as it was considered a disease endemic to uncivilized countries. This shame was similar to that witnessed in Japan where leprosy remained very prevalent despite its virtual eradication in the West. Leprosy and lepers were both a threat to public order and sanitation and a symbol of the inferiority of any society in which it was common. Differently from the reaction in Japan, the GGK in colonial Korea hesitated to take active measures to deal with lepers due to budget shortfalls, and instead members of Korean society were the first to act to solve the leper problem. Beginning in the early 1920s, Korean society made a social issue of the vagrant lepers and created a discourse that painted vagrant lepers as a threat to public order and sanitation. This was followed by demands to the health authorities to deal with vagrant lepers. Despite this active response by members of Korean society, the GGK only passively sought to control vagrant lepers due to budget shortfalls. As a result, Korean society organized itself to deal with vagrant lepers by quarantining them in leprosy clinics and forming organizations such as the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy.

However, the discourse and activities of Korean society, which were grounded in the perceptions shared with the GGK about infectious diseases and those who were sick, unfolded in a manner completely different from the original goal. The stigmatization of lepers, who were perceived as being the

same as the germs themselves, brought about unintended results as more people became infected and spread throughout the entire Korean Peninsula after having been relatively contained in a few southern cities. If the history of leprosy in Korea during the colonial era does not take into consideration the role of Korean society and is limited to explaining the activities of the GGK and western missionaries aimed at solving the leprosy problem, then the wider interaction among various agents in colonial society that surrounded the issue of infectious disease will be overlooked. And, in fact, this view renders Korean society to a passive position when in reality it was more active in addressing the leprosy issue than the colonial authorities. Moreover, such a perspective erroneously places the blame for the stigmatization and discrimination faced by vagrant lepers on the soft target of the Japanese Empire and overlooks the responsibility of the active agents within Korean society. The prejudiced perceptions of vagrant lepers persisted after liberation and were embodied in the leprosy policies used by the South Korean government. In this respect, from a post-colonial perspective there remains a need to study the issue of the shared perception of vagrant lepers across colonial Korean society being reflected in South Korean policy after liberation.

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- “Nabyöng kaesön ül kyörüi, Pusan Sahoe Yön’guhoe esö” [Pusan Social Research Council resolves to improve leprosy]. 1927. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], November 17.
- “Sinpudae e konbong i hyönsin, changga kattaga pulüi pongbyön, nunssöp i chöktago mundungi ro mora tchokko chindansö kajigo on köt ül tto mopsi ttaeryö” [A groom is beaten with a stick and thrown out, branded as a leper for having sparse eyebrows, after returning with a doctor’s note he is severely beaten again, victim filing a complaint]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], January 25.
- “Chöehu yangil kan cheüi han kak p’yöngüiwön üi hüimang” [The hope expressed by each councilor over the last two days]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], March 2.
- “Chaktang ch’ulmol hanün Pusan nabyönggun” [The frequent emergence of leper gangs in Pusan]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], April 21.
- “Pumin ül wihyöp hanün Pusan nabyöng hwanja, yöro kaji ro munje ka manhün chung e Chönnam pangmyön üro isong kyölchöng” [Lepers threatening citizens in Pusan, decision made to send them towards Chönnam amid a host of problems]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], April 21.
- “Chönnam kwannae e nabyöng hwanja chipchung” [Leprosy patients crowd in Chönnam]. 1928. *Chungoe ilbo* [Foreign-domestic daily], April 27.
- “Raibyö kanja o sarani gohyaku mei, shüyösuru Sorokuto, honnendo wa yonman rokusen en de” [46,000 yen to go to Sorok Island this year to accommodate an

- extra 500 leprosy patients]. 1928. *Chōsen shinbun* [Korea newspaper], May 13.
- “Chōnyōmsōng ūl kihwa ro hamburo wihyōp, kōkchōng kkōri nabyōng hwanja Taegu-bu e sabaek-myōng” [Reckless threat from infection, concern about 400 lepers in Taegu]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], June 10.
- “Nabyōng hwanja chōch'i e tu'ōng, Taegu-sō esōn wōnjōkchi ro hwansong, kūnjōl pangch'im i iltae munje” [Headache from dealing with lepers, sending lepers back to their homes from Taegu, eradication policy is a major problem]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], June 17.
- “Taegu nabyōng hwanja kohyang ūro ch'usong nabyōngwōn edo manwōn Taegu-sō esō tanhaeng” [Sending Taegu's leprosy patients back home, leprosy clinics full, Taegu police executing orders]. 1928. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], June 19.
- “Raibyō kanja o sarani shūyō suru, Sōtokufu no yosan keijō” [More lepers to be accommodated, Government-General appropriates funds]. 1928. *Chōsen shinbun* [Korea newspaper], August 9.
- “Sorokto Pyōngwōn e nabyōng hwanja susong chōnbu 130-myōng ūl” [Entire 130 lepers to be sent to Sorok Island Hospital]. 1928. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], August 10.
- “Sorokto e ponael nabyōngja Taegu sō osip-myōng” [50 lepers in Taegu to be sent to Sorok Island]. 1928. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], October 19.
- “Raikan ni-hyaku mei Sorokuto e, kansei kaisei de sarani shūyōsu” [200 lepers to Sorok Island, more to be accommodated following revision to control regulations]. 1928. *Chōsen shinbun* [Korea newspaper], September 1.
- “Kyōngbi pujok ūro nabyōngja suyongnan ton i ōpsōsō suyong hal su ōpta Kyōngnam tangguk ūi k'ūn tu'ōng” [Big headache for Kyōngnam authorities as there is not enough money to accommodate lepers]. 1928. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], October 19.
- “Nangnyu nabyōng hwanja wa pujokhan siryo kigwan” [Syringocoele and leprosy patients and insufficient treatment institutions]. 1929. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], July 4.
- “Nabyōngja paegyō-myōng hyangni no kuch'uk” [About 100 lepers being sent back to their hometowns]. 1929. *Chungoe ilbo* [Foreign-domestic daily], September 21.
- “Miryang Tonginhoe imsihoe chunbi” [Preparations underway for extraordinary meeting of the Miryang Residents Council]. 1930. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], March 13.
- “Taegu e tae chaenan nabyōngja kun sodong, Pusan kyōngch'al esō tamō on kkadak, Pusan kyōngch'al molsangsik yōch'a” [Large disturbance created by lepers in Taegu, Pusan police are the cause, Pusan police's lack of common sense]. 1930. *Chungoe ilbo* [Foreign-domestic daily], April 11.
- “Munje ūi nahwanja kyōlguk Pusan ūro yōksong” [Problematic lepers are returned to Pusan]. 1930. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], April 12.

- “Yang sŏ kan kuyŏk ssaum e tasu pyŏngja chint’oe yugok” [The dilemma of many patients in the fight between the police of two regions]. 1930. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], April 12.
- “Pusan nabyŏng hwanja rŭl Taegu ro susong, Pusan-sŏ esŏ chaba ponaen kŏt ūl algo hach’a kŭmji ūi hwalgŭk yŏnch’ul” [Pusan lepers transported to Taegu, melee ensues when it becomes known they were caught and sent by Pusan police]. 1930. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], April 12.
- “Wŏnjŏkchi ka Kyŏngbuk irago nabyŏng hwanja ka chach’ing Taegu ro ilburo ponaen kŏt ūn anida. Kyŏngnampuk Wisaeng kwajang t’ahyŏp” [Lepers said themselves that their hometown was Kyŏngbuk, were not sent to Taegu on purpose. Chief of Kyŏngnam Sanitation Department brings about a compromise]. 1930. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], April 13.
- “Nabyŏng hwanja kŭnbon chŏngni ro, Kyŏngnam 1-to nŭn yŏlchŏ pullŭng, suyongso hwakchang ūn tae kŭmmu” [Towards addressing the fundamental root of the lepers, focusing solely on Kyŏngnam will not solve problem, expanding accommodation extremely urgent]. 1930. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], July 29.
- “Sasŏl, nabyŏng hwanja chŏngni ūi yo” [Editorial: Demanding addressing the lepers]. 1930. *Chungoe ilbo* [Foreign-domestic daily], July 29.
- “Nabyŏng hwanja suyong pangbŏp Pusan Sangŭi ka kanggu sanginch’ik esŏ tyeŭi hoso tojisa e chinjŏngk’i rŭl kyŏlchŏng” [Pusan Chamber of Commerce considers a measure to accommodate lepers and, following traders’ proposal and demand, decides to submit a petition to the governor]. 1930. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], August 1.
- “Ch’unchŏn e mundungi” [Lepers in Ch’unchŏn]. 1930. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], October 26.
- “Nabyŏng e kŏllin kŏlchŏ rŭl sarhae, ch’arari chuginŭn kŏt i nakkettago pyŏngchŏ rŭl kang e tŏnjŏ” [Murder of a leper, man throws sick wife into a river believing it would be better if she were dead]. 1930. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], October 30.
- “Chuyo tosi sunhoe chwadam (47) che-10 Chinju p’yŏn (3)” [Dialogue during a tour of Korea’s main cities (47) No. 10 Chinju edition]. 1930. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], November 15.
- “Kuae ch’ukch’ul wiju ūi nabyŏng hwanja chŏch’i” [Dealing with lepers by banishing them]. 1930. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], December 14.
- “Nabyŏng ch’inchŏk ūl sosal han yangmyŏng” [Two relatives burned a leper to death]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], January 18.
- “Chuyo tosi sunhoe chwadam (117) che-24 Sunchŏn p’yŏn (chong)” [Dialogue during a tour of Korea’s main cities (117) No. 24 Sunchŏn edition]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], February 3.
- “Pulssanghan nabyŏng hwanja musŏun nabyŏng tokkyun” [Pitiful lepers, scary leprosy germs]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], September 10.

- “Nabyöng hwanja kujë” [Assisting leprosy patients]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], September 26.
- “Sahoe yuji üi palgi ro Nabyöng Kujë Yönguhoe” [Korean Research Association for Assisting Patients with Leprosy proposed by social-minded leaders]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], September 26.
- “Nabyöng Kujehoe wiwönhoe kaechöe” [Committee meeting of the Korean Research Association for Assisting Patients with Leprosy]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], September 30.
- “Tochö e pyönggyun chönp’a hanün nahwanja ka man p’alchön-in” [18,000 lepers are spreading the disease everywhere]. 1931. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], October 21.
- “Yun Ch’i-o ssi ka solsön ibaek-wön ül üiyön, ilban wiwön ün kamgyök puri hamyö sahoe tongjöng ül taemang” [Yun Ch’i-o sets an example with a two-hundred won contribution, other committee members are deeply moved and anticipate social compassion. 1932. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], January 21.
- “Chön-wön man issümyön kyöngni nün munan, chuje yönguhoe esö kwölgi hayö ilban yöron ül hwan’gi” [With Only 1,000 won quarantine is easy, Research Society rises up and arouses popular opinion]. 1932. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], January 21.
- “Künjöran töüi, 19-il Sangmu Wiwönhoe rül yölgo, kak pusö to kyölchöng” [Discussing eradication, the Standing Committee meets on the 19th, and each department also makes a decision]. 1932. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], January 21.
- “Nabyöng Künjölhoe changjöng kwa ch’wiji” [The regulations and purpose of the Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy]. 1932. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], January 26.
- “Sanja sumyöngghan Kangnüng enün nabyöng körin i wijip” [Swarm of lepers in scenic Kangnüng]. 1932. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], February 6.
- “Tongnae üi mundongi chön Nabyöngja Yönmaeng chech’ang” [The Leper Advocacy League of the leper village in Tongnae]. 1932. *Chungang ilbo* [Central daily], March 11.
- “Nabyöng hwanja ege tongjönggüm tapchi, tongjönggüm i türöogi sijak, Kujehoe insa hwaltong” [Flood of donations for lepers begins to flow, activities of the members of the Korean Association for Assisting Lepers]. 1932. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], May 8.
- “Yechön sinae e nabyöng körin unjip, 27-il ilche kömgö” [Group of lepers in Yechön all arrested at once on the 27th]. 1932. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], May 31.
- “Yösu Pyöngwön kit’a chibang e punae nahwanja isong, pumin üi taehyöbwidün munje haegyöl, Künjöi Yönguhoe nün haesan” [Lepers moved to Yösu Hospital, threat to residents relieved, Korean Research Association for Eradicating Leprosy dissolved]. 1932. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], June 24.
- “Nabyöngja üi hyölchöng, kü mo ga apsal” [A leper’s love for family crushed by the

- mother]. 1932. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], October 11.
- “Üisöng e nabyöngja manyön chumin üi uryö maksim” [The spread of lepers to Üisöng, residents concerned]. 1932. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], October 20.
- “Tjön ün kosa töuk hwakchang, ijön kyosöp chung üi Yösu Nabyöngwön” [Expanded, rather than moved, negotiations ongoing for Yösu Hospital move]. 1932. *Chungang ilbo* [Central daily], November 17.
- “Nabyöng hwanja ka chaktae hae kugöl, minsim ün kükto ro puran chung, Haenam tangguk üi chöch’i kidae” [Lepers form ranks and beg, public is extremely uncomfortable, awaiting response from Haenam authorities]. 1933. *Tonga ilbo* [East Asia daily], March 11.
- “Mundongbyöng köllin ttal toksal han pumo” [Parents poison daughter after she becomes infected with leprosy]. 1933. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], May 5.
- “Kangnüng ümnae paehoe hanün nabyöngja isong kyölchöng” [Decision made to send away lepers wandering Kangnüng-üp]. 1934. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], October 15.
- “Hwasang tanghan ai nabyöng hwanja rago oin t’asal han cha” [Child who suffered burns mistaken for a leper and murdered]. 1936. *Chosön chungang ilbo* [Korea central daily], May 4.
- “Chörwön e mundungi sodong” [Commotion over lepers in Chörwön]. 1936. *Chosön chungang ilbo* [Korea central daily], June 19.
- “P’yöngnam esödo mundungi sodong kyöngch’al üi yuön ch’wiché” [Police say they will control disturbance caused by lepers in P’yöngnam]. 1936. *Chosön chungang ilbo* [Korea central daily], July 9.
- “Hamnamdo nae e mundungi chüngga” [Number of lepers increases in Hamnam]. 1936. *Maeil sinbo* [Daily news], July 31.
- “Hamnam üi nabyöng hwanja kümnyön türösö chömjüng” [Number of lepers steadily increasing this year in Hamgyöngnam-do]. 1936. *Chosön chungang ilbo* [Korea central daily], July 31.
- “Yöng’il nabyöng hwanja sibi-myöng Chöllyöng yoyangso e susong” [Twelve lepers in Yanji sent to sanitorium in Chöllyöng]. 1940. *Mansön ilbo* [Manchuria-Korea daily], March 8.