Abstract

The 1940s and 1950s were a period of both great chaos and great change for the Jeju region. The April 3rd Incident of 1948 and the ensuing Korean War, beginning in 1950, were events that altered society greatly, but very little research has been done on how these events impacted residential architecture. Furthermore, as the related sources and materials from this period are somewhat lacking, there appears to be a need to systematically organize these sources and materials to help us better understand the impact of these events on residential architecture. This research aims to serve as a basis for the conservation and utilization of cultural assets by analyzing the historical sites related to the April 3rd Incident and the distribution of residential architecture from that period. The research was done through analyzing original source documents and by visiting relevant sites. First, for the original source documents, we selected newspaper articles from media organizations and periodicals from administrative organizations that what we deemed to be relatively objective and the most factual. Second, for the on-site visits, we surveyed some still-existing residential architecture and analyzed the testimonies of residents who lived in those areas. Analyses of residential architecture typically include design, space, material, composition and facilities, however our analysis focused primarily on design and space. Based on sources from the April 3rd Incident, we analyzed the residential architecture as being characterized by damage spatial distribution, especially in areas where the leaders of the suppression were concentrated. The regional distribution of lost villages, places of refuge, massacre sites, and fortresses designed primarily for defensive purposes was interesting, but we interpret it to be a reflection of the strategy of suppression by the punitive force. In addition, in order to rebuild the society after the Korean war of the 1950s, refugee camps were constructed and destroyed.
homes were rebuilt. With the exception of temporary fortress built primarily for defensive purposes, these were built with materials that were totally different from traditional Jeju architecture, such as cement and wood. The most interesting differences, however, were those of design and space composition. This research was limited by the fact that we did not analyze the specific years of completion or the size of the structures, and thus there still remains a need for a survey of diverse source materials and research.

key words: the April 3rd Incident, The Korean War, residential buildings, Jeju structures

I. Introduction

1. Backgrounds and Purpose

The 1940s and 1950s were a period of both great chaos and great change for the Jeju region. During this change of the society, various types of houses were constructed. Against this background, the necessity of reviewing ways to restore and utilize lost villages and living space during the Jeju April 3rd incident has been raised steadily. However, few studies on the change of the residential architecture on Jeju after big social changes such as the April 3rd Incident and the Korean War occurred after the liberation from the Japanese colonial ruling in 1945 have been conducted. Also, the related sources and materials from this period are scarce and not well compiled, raising the necessity of systematical research and compilation of the sources and materials on this issue. Furthermore, ways of appreciating and preserving those structures as historic and cultural assets should be considered. This study aims to collect basic data and materials during the period from 1945 to 1955 regarding the regional distribution of the remains and the characteristics of the residential buildings which are related to the Jeju April 3rd Incident for preserving and utilizing those remains and structures as cultural assets.

2. Methods

After more than 60 years, few remains and structures in those days exist now. It’s the same to the sources and documents at that time. Therefore, there is a limit as to what can be collected, and analyzed.

Thus, in this study, we analyzed the sources and documents between 1945 and 1955 and those found only on Jeju Island. Two approaches such as a literature review and field research were adopted for the study. For the literature review, we selected newspaper articles from media organizations and periodicals from administrative organizations that what we deemed to be relatively objective and the most factual. To put it concretely, we identified and analyzed the distribution and mutual relations of the remains through 「The remains of the Jeju April 3rd Incident I, II」 (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province/The Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, 2003), and 「A master plan for the management of Jeju April 3rd remains and the exhumation of the victims」 (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province/The Jeju 4.3 Research Institute, 2005). In addition, for collecting sources and documents for the residential architecture at the time, we identified it through sources and materials from 1945 to 1955 in 「Jeju Silrok (Annals of Jeju)」 (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, 1997), which is a source book of newspaper articles, and 「Jeju Island」, which was a periodical
published by the Jeju local government.

When we conducted the field research, first, we identified residential buildings through a literature review and then visited and measured remaining ones. We also interviewed local residents and collected and analyzed their testimonies. Analyses of residential architecture typically include design, space, material, composition and facilities, however our analysis focused primarily on design and space.

II. Data Analysis

1. The Distribution of the Major Jeju April 3rd Remains

The related remains of the Jeju April 3rd Incident lie scattered around the island, so it is necessary to take a systematic approach for preserving and utilizing those remains. According to "A master plan for the management of Jeju April 3rd remains and the exhumation of the victims", the distribution of the villages and remains of the Jeju April 3rd Incident by administrative district is as on Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1 The number of villages investigated

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Div</th>
<th>Jeju Eup</th>
<th>Jocheon Myeon</th>
<th>Gujwa Myeon</th>
<th>Aewol Myeon</th>
<th>Hallim Myeon</th>
<th>Hangyeon Myeon</th>
<th>Seogwi Myeon</th>
<th>Namwon Myeon</th>
<th>Pyoseon Myeon</th>
<th>Seongsan Myeon</th>
<th>Jungmun Myeon</th>
<th>Andeok Myeon</th>
<th>Daejeong Myeon</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. of Total Villages</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>162</td>
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<tr>
<td>No. of Villages</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>120</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(Source: "A master plan for the management of Jeju April 3rd remains and the exhumation of the victims", p.45)
### Table 2 The distribution of remains

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Div</th>
<th>Jeju-Eup</th>
<th>Jocheon Myeon</th>
<th>Gujwa Myeon</th>
<th>Aewol Myeon</th>
<th>Hallim Myeon</th>
<th>Hangyeon Myeon</th>
<th>Seogwi Myeon</th>
<th>Namwon Myeon</th>
<th>Pyoseon Myeon</th>
<th>Seongsan Myeon</th>
<th>Jungmun Myeon</th>
<th>Andeok Myeon</th>
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<td>Lost villages</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortresses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hideouts</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>Massacre sites</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>Concentration camp</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Post sites</td>
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<td>13</td>
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<td>Mass Graveyards of victims</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Historic sites</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>597</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: "A master plan for the management of Jeju April 3rd remains and the exhumation of the victims," p.45)

As shown on Table 1 and Table 2, the remains of the Jeju April 3rd Incident lie scattered around Jeju Island and the types of the remains are various. It seems impossible for the local government to manage and maintain all the remains but it is important for the local government to develop programs to systematically maintain and manage the remains which are relatively well preserved and have historical values. In this study, we aim to analyze the characteristics of the distribution of the remains focusing on lost villages, fortresses, hideouts, massacre sites, and post sites.

### 2. Historical significance of the distribution and spatial utilization of the remains of the Jeju April 3rd Incident

When we mark the remains of the April 3rd Incident on Table 2, which are investigated and listed in "The remains of the April 3rd Incident I (Jeju City, Bukjeju-Gun), and "The remains of the April 3rd Incident II (Seogwipo City, Namjeju-Gun), on the map using Arcview GIS (Picture 1), it can be clear that the remains are spread throughout both in the northern part and the southern part of the island. It shows us that, as is known, the April 3rd Incident occurred across Jeju Island on complicated and various aspects, not limited to certain areas, The distribution of the major remains such as lost villages, fortresses, hideouts, massacre sites, and post sites are as follows.
Picture 1 The distribution of the remains of the April 3rd Incident

1) Fortresses

From December 1948, village residents on Jeju were mobilized to build fortresses along the surroundings of villages in order to fend off attacks from the armed guerrillas and some of the fortresses still remain now. When we see the distribution of the fortresses, it is clear that they are distributed mainly in the Aewol-Eup and Hallim-Eup regions (see Picture 2). It is presumed that the armed guerrillas frequently attacked villages in those regions and clashes were frequent and many people died accordingly.

Picture 2 The distribution of the fortresses to fend off the armed guerrillas

2) Hideouts, Massacre sites, Post sites,

During the April 3rd Incident, people on Jeju Island were very unstable, sandwiched between the punitive forces and the armed guerrillas. They had to hide themselves in the mountain and caves, chased by both the punitive forces and the armed guerrillas. When we see the distributions of the hideouts, it is clear that the hideouts are distributed in the mid-mountainous areas and lie mainly in the eastern part of the island (see Picture 3). This might be related to the distribution of the fortresses mentioned earlier. The fortresses also lie in the mid-mountainous areas but they are distributed in the western part of the island relatively. In other words, people lived in the western part of the island didn’t need to hide themselves in the mountain or caves because they constructed the fortresses for that purpose. However, people in the eastern part of the island couldn’t secure enough facilities to protect themselves, so it is presumed that they used caves and oreums (small secondary volcanoes) for their hideouts which are relatively widely distributed in the eastern part of the island.

During the April 3rd Incident, both the punitive forces and the armed guerrillas massacred residents. With regard to the massacre sites, they are evenly distributed in the northern part and the southern part of the island. Especially, there are many massacre sites in the western areas and along the coastal regions (see Picture 4). Interestingly, the massacre sites nearly overlap the post sites where the punitive forces, the polic, and the Seobuk Cheongnyeondan (Northwest Youth Association) stationed (see Picture 4 and Picture 5). This can be interpreted as meaning that the massacres were carried out intensively in the areas where the punitive forces and the armed
guerrillas stationed and, especially, many residents who lived near the posts of the punitive forces were killed.

(그림 삽입)

(범례 번역: 은신처 → Hideout)

Picture 3. The distribution of the hideouts

(그림 삽입)

(범례 번역: 희생터 → Massacre site)

Picture 4 The distribution of the massacre sites

(그림 삽입)

(범례 번역: 주둔지 → Post site)

Picture 5 The distribution of the post sites

3. Analysis of structures in the 1940s and the 1950s

In the first part, we looked into the characteristics of the distribution patterns of the major remains related to the April 3rd Incident. As the society became gradually stabilized, residents on Jeju began to construct various buildings and structures regardless of their poor economic conditions. It is quite meaningful to analyze the characteristics of these buildings and structures regardless of their types and uses because they reflect the times and circumstances at the time. Analyses of residential architecture typically include design, space, material, composition and facilities, however, in this study, our analysis focuses primarily on design and space.

1) Fortresses

When the April 3rd Incident broke out, there were many changes in the residential lifestyle of Jeju people. Some villages became fortified due to frequent attacks by the armed guerrillas. In February 1949, in order to suppress the guerrillas more ejectively, residents in the mid–mountainous villages were ordered to leave their home and come down to seaside villages. In spring of 1949, as the operation against the armed guerrillas came close to an end, people from the mid–mountainous villages had to move to new settlements called “strategic villages.” These so-called strategic villages were built by residents who were mobilized compulsorily to accommodate and control the evacuees. Other purposes of the strategic villages are to black the connection between the


6) They were called ‘4.3 fortresses’ or ‘strategic villages.

7) After the evacuation order, more than 100 villages in the mid–mountainous area were destroyed. It is known that about 35,000 buildings from 15,000 families were damaged. Jeju Government (1997), "The Annals of Jeju", p.44.
residents and the guerrillas and track down sympathizers with the guerrillas. These villages were also called "construction villages," or "reconstruction villages."

The size of the remains of one strategic village located in Nakseong-Dong, Seonheul-Ri, Jocheon-Eup, Jeju City is 140m x 110m (see Picture 6) and has an almost square shape. It is presumed that other strategic villages had the similar shape but with different sizes. The construction work was carried out by assigning each division to each small group (called "ban") of residents and each head of bans were responsible for completing the construction work. Residents carried stones form the walls of burned houses or the field walls and built protective walls themselves (see Picture 7). They dug ditches (about 1m wide and 1.5m deep) by the protective walls and surrounded them with thornbush to block attacks from the armed guerrillas (see Picture 8). Regarding the layout of the strategic village in Seonheul-Ri, Jocheon-Eup, Jeju City, there were a front gate and a back gate and, inside the village, there were a police box, temporary houses, grazing land, a public lavatory, and guard posts. Below the guard posts, it is said that there was waiting space where residents waited for their turn to stand guard and in the upper part of the posts, there were lookout sheds.

2) Houses for refugees

8) Testimony from Kim Hyeong-jo (born in 1922, age 27 during the April 3rd Incident)
After the Korean War, "Project for Supporting Refugees in Turning to Farming" was conducted from 1955 to 1959 for five years. It is presumed that this project was not only for the war refugees but also refugees from the April 3rd Incident. The Jeju government planned the project and the central government supported it.

Houses were provided first for the refugees’ settlement and those houses were constructed such as "urban type" and "rural type" based on the conditions of local regions. One house in Bonggae-Dong which has existed up to this day is assumed to be a "urban type" one considering its design and interior space.

This house was designed to accommodate two families in one building and has a unique shape. Stone walls mark the boundary and a attached wall lies at the center of the premises. Each family had its own gate and the toilet was located outside of the house (see Picture 10 and Picture 11). Also, each family had its own yard and a vegetable garden. This means that the exterior space imitated the traditional residence of Jeju but there were modern elements in the interior space, the type of the roof, and the finishing materials, making the house quite modern at the time.

3) Welfare houses (Reconstruction houses)

After the Korean War ended and the cease-fire agreement was reached, from 1953 the Korean central government reconstructed damaged houses and began to build houses in earnest for the war refugees and those who defected from North Korea. Because many people defected from North Korea, the housing problem became serious.

The Ministry of Society of the time (equivalent to today’s Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs) led the project of building houses under the auspices of UNKRA (United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency). The ministry built welfare houses across the country and they were also called ‘reconstruction houses’. These kinds of houses were also built on Jeju for refugees who crowded into the island.

Little information on welfare houses on Jeju has been left. However, according to newspaper article of the time, it is presumed that about 20 houses were collectively constructed on a certain housing lot.

Only a few welfare houses remain until today. When we see the exterior of the welfare houses located in Samdo-1-Dong (see Picture 12), it is clear that they were collectively built on checkered housing lots unlike the traditional layout of Jeju houses. According to the results of the inspection of those welfare houses in Samdo-1-Dong, two types (29.75m² and 59.5m²) of houses were constructed (see Picture 13).

9) (1959, April 4), The Jeju Shinbo.
10) UNKRA is an assistance organization established by the UN resolution in December 1950 to help South Korea reconstruct the nation and revive its economy. The organization was dismantled in 1958.
11) (1959, February 13), The Jeju Shinbo
III. Conclusion

The 1940s and 1950s were a period of both great chaos and great change for Korea spanning the Japanese colonial ruling, the Korean War, and the modernization of the Korea society. Especially, the Jeju April 3rd Incident occurred in 1948 had done much psychological and material damage on the Jeju society.

This study mainly focuses on two points. At first, the study analyzed the characteristics of the distribution of the damage from the April 3rd Incident through utilizing the data and sources from the official fact-finding report of the incident. The study reconfirms the fact that residents in the mid-mountainous villages suffered much damage as it is known. The areas where the punitive forces stationed witnessed more damage than other areas, indicating the mutual relation between the two. The characteristics of the distribution of lost villages, hideouts, massacre sites, and fortresses show different patterns and we assume that this reflects how the punitive forces carried out their operations and how different local conditions of each region were.

Secondly, this study reviewed the characteristics of the structures and buildings such as fortresses, refugee houses, and welfare houses (reconstruction houses) which were constructed under the chaotic social situations after the April 3rd Incident and before and after the Korean War. Except for the fortresses which were built for defense, other structures were constructed using cement and wood which were very different from the traditional building materials on Jeju Island and also reflected modern aspects of residence such as pitched roofs and living rooms which the traditional Jeju buildings also lacked. Particularly, the welfare houses (construction houses) had bathrooms, toilets, and utility rooms inside the house and this reflected quite modern ways of residence of the time. However, these kinds of houses didn’t have a major influence on the modernization of the residential space on Jeju. They were just built out of the needs of time and society.

Many remains and houses of the Jeju April 3rd Incident have been damaged and torn down so far. This raises a question of finding proper ways of appreciating and preserving those historic remains and houses as cultural assets.

Especially, it is quite important to preserve those structures and utilize them in educating people on the tragic past and the value of peace in order to designate Jeju Island an “Island of World Peace” and fulfill its objectives. When we analyzed the characteristics of the distribution of the remains related to the April 3rd Incident, it turned out that lost villages, fortresses, hideouts lie scattered around the island and each structure gathers together. Therefore, it is needed to give positive consideration to developing those remains as memorial halls reflecting their characters and distribution patterns and utilizing them in educating people on the past history.

In addition, this study focused on the distribution of the remains and structures related to the April
3rd Incident but it has a limit of not being able to analyze them by year and size. Thus, collecting a variety of information and sources and conducting more thorough research are needed.

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