



# TRANSACTIONS

VOLUME LI 1976 SEOUL

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

### KOREA BRANCH

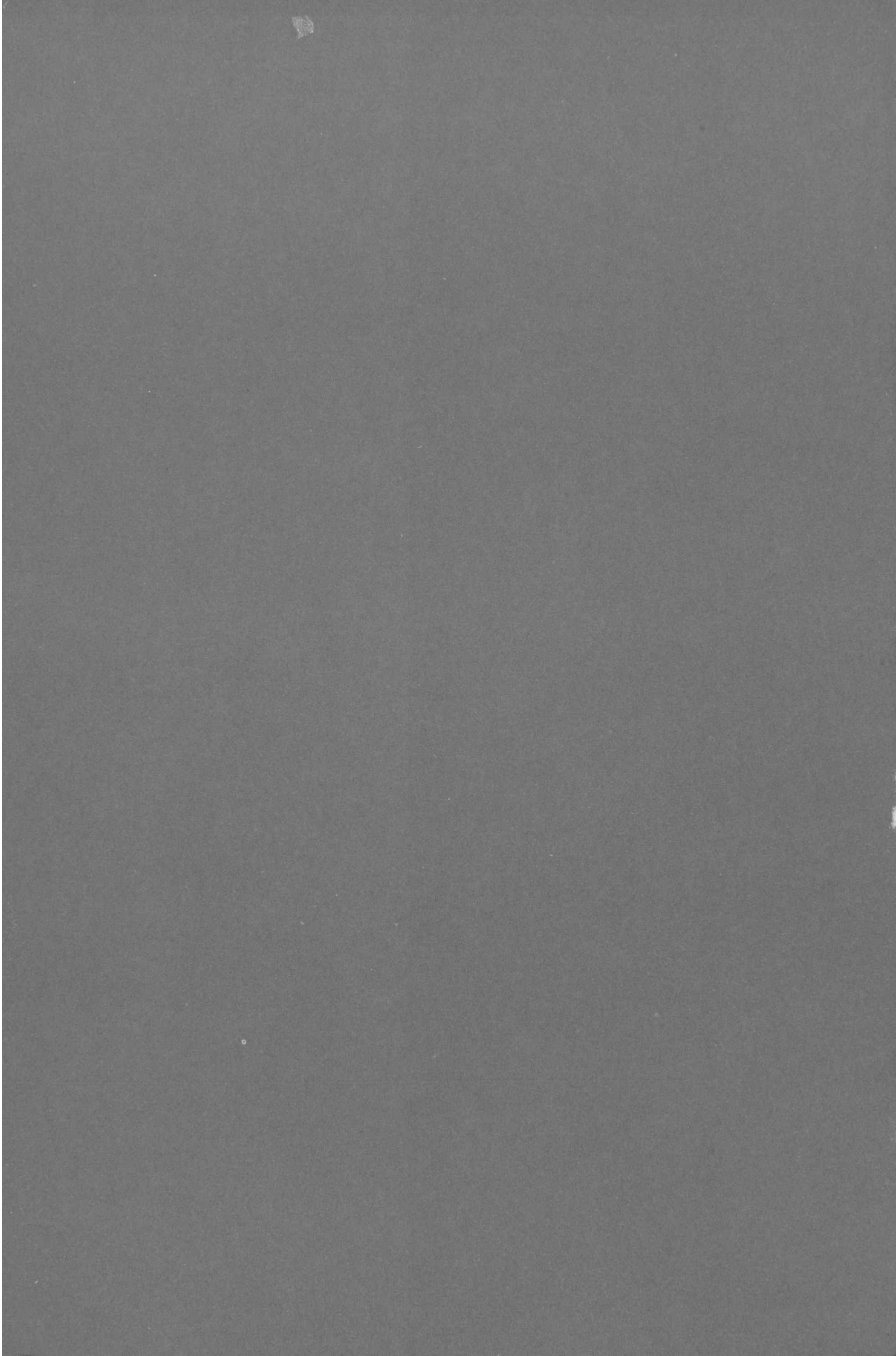
Journalism in Korea: a Short History of the Korean Press  
*by In-Hwan Oh and George Won*

The Postal History of Dynastic Korea

*by John T. Nugent*

Korean Literature in English: a Critical Bibliography

*by Horace H. Underwood*



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# TRANSACTIONS

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## Contents

- Journalism in Korea: a Short History of the  
Korean Press, *by In-Whan Oh and George Won* page 1
- The Postal System of Dynastic Korea, *by John T.  
Nugent* page 56
- Korean Literature in English: a Critical Bibliography,  
*by Horace H. Underwood* page 65
- Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society,  
Korea Branch, for 1976 page 116
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### The Contributors to This Issue:

In-Hwan Oh has his Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of Hawaii and is on the faculty of Yonsei University in Seoul; George Won has the Ph.D. in Sociology/Anthropology from Michigan State University and is on the faculty of the University of Hawaii.

John T. Nugent formerly served with the United States Navy in Korea and is a long-time philatelist.

Horace H. Underwood has the Ph. D. in English Literature from the State University of New York at Buffalo and is on the faculty of Yonsei University, Seoul.

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*Editor:* Edward R. Wright, Jr.

# Journalism in Korea: a Short History of the Korean Press\*

*By In-Whan Oh and George Won*

## PREFACE

Since their liberation from Japanese domination, the Korean people have been preoccupied with a strong desire to achieve economic and political viability. This strong drive is especially evidenced by the rapid growth of industries, the expansion of urban centers and the establishment of an elective government. All this vitality and desire for a place among independent nations has resulted in a reordering of the traditional value structure. An obvious change is the ever-increasing complexity of the division of labor. For example, a shift to an urban-industrial economy from basically a peasant agricultural economy has produced a shift in age and sex roles as well as a greater demand for new kinds of skills. A dramatic shift has appeared in the role of women from the traditional domestic roles to income producing activities outside of the household. In addition, the young are less seldom required to work and supplement the family income. In fact, there is a noticeable surge toward greater educational opportunities for the youths of Korea.

This desire for change obviously produces many challenges to

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\* Authors' Note: This article describes the press-related developments in Korea up to 1973. Since then, changes in the geopolitical situation of Korea have made Korean people perceive a heightened threat from outside. With this sense of a changed reality there are appearing concerted efforts among various segments of the nation, including the press, toward greater cooperation to help the country overcome this national crisis in its struggle for survival. The authors have chosen their own system of romanization.

those things traditional and well-established. And it is no less understandable that often-times the introduction of the "new" raises new moral questions. For example, the movement toward a more urban-type economy produced concomitantly a shift in the manner in which individuals control others' behavior and are controlled by others' reactions to their behavior. In other words, in earlier times, the dominant form of social control exercised in everyday life was in informal interpersonal exchange. However, the movement toward a more modern type urban society with its massive size and high density and heterogeneous population has necessitated a more formalistic type of relationship in daily exchange. Individuals are controlled less by close interpersonal ties and more by formal contractual types of agreement.

There seems to be tacit agreement that all this is good; that the improvements exhibited so far in the economy and the polity are sure signs of progress. This image of success or near success produces a self-fulfilling prophecy. The progress witnessed so far further supports the need for highly skilled and trained individuals in the various technical, physical and social sciences. The recognition among the masses that formal education is a value not only in terms of the esteem bestowed upon the educated as a privileged status but presently as a means of occupational mobility and, consequently, social mobility has resulted in an almost frantic dash to the gates of the school house among the populace, often placing a heavy burden upon educators and decision makers in education. Thus, the new demands of a changing society, though critical under normal conditions of culture lag, are met under less critical conditions.

The shift towards further complexity of functions implies the need for an improved communication system. Each new developing bureaucracy must solve this problem of communication to maintain internal cohesion as well as external relations. Overriding this system is the press, which occupies a strategic position in the total social

system. The press acts on and reacts to events taking place within the system and relays messages to the system from external events. In this generalized role conception, the press often shapes the social environment and itself is shaped by social forces surrounding it. All this goes to say, that in a developing country, the press plays an all-important role in the shaping of the total society.

However, the press itself is not free from certain restrictions imposed by the system and constraints imposed by its own limitations. The role of the government in relation to the press is always an intriguing question. No less interesting are the kinds of people who own and manage the press. Finally, the relationship between the journalists, the owners and the public somehow plays a large part in giving the press a particular image.

The development of a nation may be examined from various perspectives. The present study presents one perspective in terms of the development of the Korean press as it has related to political and social changes in Korea.

## **THE EARLY PRESS SYSTEM**

Something that might be called a forerunner of the present day commercial newspaper appeared in Korea in 1578. It was a daily publication subscribed to by both government officials and the general public. But after only several months existence it was closed down by order of the King.<sup>1</sup>

More than three centuries later the reformist circles in the Government felt it necessary to enlighten the people by providing relevant information during a period in which significant social and political changes were imminent. This was the period when the government of the Yi Dynasty under the pressure of Japanese and European gunboat diplomacy began to open the door of the Hermit Kingdom. Thus, in 1883, the Government started publishing a news

bulletin, the *Hansong Soonpo* three times a month. The language used was classical Chinese. This bulletin was reformist-oriented. The paper lasted only a year when late in 1884 its office was attacked and burned down by a mob instigated by the conservative "reactionaries".<sup>2</sup> Then, in 1886, this government bulletin was revived as a weekly called the *Hansong Chupo*. This official weekly used the Korean language mixed with classical Chinese. Two years later in 1886, this bulletin was also suspended when a conservative group took over control of the government.<sup>5</sup>

The appearance of the *Tongnip Shinmun* (The Independent) in 1896 was widely credited to have opened the era of modern Korean newspapers. The *Tongnip Shinmun* was run by a group of early nationalist-reform leaders. The pioneers actively engaged in operating this newspaper were either educated in the United States or at the American-sponsored schools in Korea. They believed in national sovereignty, civil rights, modernization of the country, and the watchdog role of the press. To make it a newspaper for all the people, the *Tongnip Shinmun* used the Korean alphabet to the total exclusion of classical Chinese characters. This was considered revolutionary by the contemporary intellectuals educated in classical Chinese.<sup>4</sup> This newspaper started out as a triweekly and soon became a daily in 1898. But the newspaper ceased publishing in 1899 when the political organization affiliated with the paper was banned under pressure from the conservative "reactionaries".<sup>5</sup>

Another group of early Korean journalists started a newspaper, the *Hwangsong Shinmun*, in 1898. They were also strongly nationalistic. But unlike the members of the *Tongnip Shinmun*, the journalists of the *Hwangsong Shinmun* were those traditionally educated in the Chinese classics. This group of journalists believed that the major function of the press was to enlighten the people and that the king should be an enlightened ruler. They believed in the power of an informed and enlightened people. Once this task was



accomplished, they believed that Korea could become stronger and be able to repulse the encroaching foreign colonial powers.<sup>6</sup>

These first Korean newspapers actually began to appear soon after Korea started its "open door" policy under pressure from the foreign powers: European nations, the United States of America, and partly Europeanized Japan. Around the turn of the century, when Japan began to assert its claim for hegemony over Korea, both the Western and the traditionally educated Korean journalists formed a common front against Japan's colonizing scheme.<sup>7</sup>

The third major Korean nationalist newspaper—the *Taehan Maeil Shinbo*—joined the front in 1904. The *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* was a joint Korean-British venture under a British correspondent to Korea, Ernest T. Bethell. The paper was very outspoken against Japan's scheme to annex Korea. The British-Japanese alliance at the time and the fact that this paper was registered under the name of a British citizen forced the Japanese to move cautiously in their attempt to suppress this open anti-Japanese view. After Japan made Korea its protectorate, the *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* was widely subscribed to by Koreans because its relentless anti-Japanese stance represented the sentiments of the people.<sup>6</sup>

The *Jekook Shinmun* was a fourth major Korean newspaper. It started publishing in 1898 and lasted on and off until 1910 when Japan annexed Korea. There were several other Korean nationalist newspapers in the early 20th century. Table 1 presents a developmental history of Korean newspapers including those of differing orientations. By using the criteria of location, ownership, and language, the newspapers published before the Japanese annexation of Korea 1910 are categorized into seven groups.

The first group of newspapers was Korean-run, in the Korean language, and nationalist oriented, originating in the capital city of Seoul. These are the major ones already discussed above.

The second group of newspapers was Korean-run, and in the

Table 1: The Development of Korean Newspapers Before 1945

| Location                             | Orientation                                     | 1900  | 1905 | 1910 | 1920  | 1930  | 1940                 | 1945   |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|------|------|---|---|----------------------|--------|
| S                                    | Korean-run                                      | Tongnip-SM* (1896) —*<br>Hwangsung-SM (1898)                                |      |      | Dong-A Ilbo (1920)  |   |                      |        |
|                                      | Korean-language<br>(Nationalist)                | Jekook-SM (1898)<br>Taehan-maeil-SB* (1904)<br>several others               |      |      | Sidae Ilbo —*<br>Chosun Ilbo (1924)   | Jungwae —*<br>(1926)<br>Jungang —*<br>(1931)<br>Chosun Jungang —* |                      |        |
|                                      | Korean-run<br>Korean-language<br>(Pro-Japanese) | Kungmin-SB (1906)<br>Taehan-SM (1907)<br>Taehan-ilil (1910)                 |      |      | Chosun Ilbo (1920)<br>Shisa-SM (1920) —*<br>Chosun Ilbo (1920)                          |   |                      |        |
| U                                    | Japanese-run<br>Korean-language                 | several others<br>Taedong-SB<br>(1904)<br>Hansung-SB<br>(1896)              |      |      |   |   |                      |        |
|                                      | Japanese-run<br>Japanese-language               | Kanjyo-Shinpo (1894)<br>several others                                      |      |      | Maeil-SB<br>(1910)<br>Organ of<br>Japanese<br>Colonial<br>Gov't<br>Keijo-nipo<br>(1910) |   |                      |        |
| P<br>R<br>O<br>V<br>I<br>N<br>C<br>E | Korean-run<br>Japanese-language                 | Kyungnam-IB<br>(1907)   |      |      |   |   |                      |        |
|                                      | Japanese-run<br>Korean-language                 | Chosun-ilil<br>(1907)   |      |      |   |   |                      |        |
|                                      | Japanese-run<br>Japanese-language               | 10 newspapers in present South Korea<br>7 newspapers in present North Korea |      |      |   |   | 5 papers<br>5 papers | *<br>* |

\* SM refers to Shinmun, SB to Shinbo, and IB to Ilbo.

# Sources used for this Table are: Jeun Choi, *Hankook Shinmun Sa* (History of Korean Newspapers), Ilhogak, Seoul, 1970; Kwan-u Choen, "Hankook Shinmun 80 Nyunui Baljachi: Haebang Iejeon" (Newspapers in Korea before the Liberation in 1945), *Hankook Shinmun Nyongam 1968* (Korean Press Yearbook 1968), Seoul, 1968, pp. 27-46; *Who's Who in the Korean Press*, Press Center of Korea, Seoul, 1971.

Korean language, but pro-Japanese oriented and originating in Seoul. As Japan's influence spread over Korea from its victorious wars against China and Russia, pro-Japanese Koreans formed a political organization called the "Ilchin Hoi". The members of the "Ilchin Hoi" started publishing their organ, the *Kungmin Shinbo*, in 1906. This newspaper soon began calling for the annexation of Korea by Japan. The second major pro-Japanese Korean newspaper was the *Taehan Shinmun*. This paper was formed in 1907 and served as a mouthpiece for the last prime minister of the Korean dynasty who had turned pro-Japanese.<sup>9</sup>

The third and fourth groups were the Japanese-run, Japanese language, and the Japanese-run, Korean language newspapers in Seoul. With the growth of Japanese influence Japanese settlers came to Korea. The Japanese diplomatic mission to Korea started publishing a Japanese language newspaper, the *Kanjyo Shinpo*, as early as 1894. This paper was one of the overseas organs of the Japanese Foreign Ministry. In 1896 this paper started publishing a Korean language edition called the *Hansong Shinbo*. The *Taedong Shinbo* was another Japanese-run, Korean language paper in Seoul. After Japan made Korea its protectorate, the Japanese Residency-General purchased the *Kanjyo Shinpo* (along with its Korean language edition, the *Hansong Shinbo*) and the *Taedong Shinbo* and turned them into an official government organ, the *Keijo Nipo*, in 1906.<sup>10</sup>

There were a few Korean language newspapers in the provinces. The *Kyungnam Ilbo* was published by Korean nationalists. The *Chosun Ilil* was run by the Japanese. But there were some 17 Japanese-run, Japanese language papers, 10 of them in the present south Korean and 7 in the current north Korean areas.<sup>11</sup>

With Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, the Japanese colonial government banned all Korean and Japanese newspapers in Seoul except its own official organ, the Japanese edition called the *Keijo Nipo* and the Korean edition called the *Maeil Shinbo*. In the pro-

vinces all Korean language newspapers were closed. Seventeen Japanese language papers were allowed to continue publishing. This "blackout" measure left the Korean people without their own newspapers for the next 10 years.

In 1919 the Korean people organized mass demonstrations across the country asking for an independent Korea. In the face of this massive revolt the Japanese colonial government eased its tight control somewhat. In 1920, as a part of the policy of readjustment, the Japanese authorities allowed the Koreans to publish newspapers. Three Korean language papers immediately appeared. But only one of them—the *Dong-A Ilbo*—was a nationalist paper. The other two—the *Chosun Ilbo* and the *Shisa Shinmun*—were pro-Japanese papers.<sup>12</sup>

The *Shisa Shinmun* ceased publishing as a daily in 1921 after the assassination of its publisher. In early 1924 the *Sidae Ilbo*, the second nationalist paper, obtained a publication license from the colonial government. But this newspaper ran into financial trouble soon after and ceased publication in 1926. In its place the *Jungwae Ilbo* was started in 1926. But this paper also was short-lived because of financial problems. In 1931, the *Jungwae Ilbo* was taken over by another publisher and became the *Jungang Ilbo*. In 1933, this paper changed its name to the *Chosun Jungang Ilbo*. It ceased publishing in 1937 again because of financial problems.<sup>13</sup>

Also in 1924 the *Chosun Ilbo* (which started out as a pro-Japanese paper) turned to the nationalist camp and joined the *Dong-A Ilbo* in a campaign of resistance to Japanese colonial rule. The *Chosun Ilbo*'s change in political orientation took place when a new publisher purchased the financially troubled paper and staffed it with nationalist journalists.<sup>14</sup>

By the late 1920's there were in Seoul three Korean nationalist newspapers and two organs of the Japanese colonial government (one in Japanese and the other in Korean). These five newspapers had

nation-wide circulation. In the provinces there were 17 Japanese language papers. These papers were primarily for the local Japanese settlers. No Korean language newspapers were published in the provincial cities.

The Korean nationalist newspapers were very critical of Japanese rule. Until around 1925 they ignored the threat of censorship, confiscation or suspension. When under suspension, they waited until they were allowed to publish again, and then spoke out again for what they believed to be right for the Korean people. But the measures of the colonial authorities became ever more suppressive as Japan got involved in the expedition in Manchuria and mainland China. In the late 1920's the Korean papers became more cautious in order to avoid suspension. In the 1930's they were practically mute.<sup>15</sup> A summary of oppressive actions against the Korean newspapers shows that the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* were given "indefinite suspension" four times from 1920 to 1940. During this same period the *Dong-A Ilbo* had its edition confiscated 489 times, its sale banned on 63 occasions, and was censored 2,423 times.<sup>15</sup>

In 1940 the Japanese colonial government ordered the closing of the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo*. During the five year period, 1940 to 1945, the only Korean language newspaper in Korea was the *Maeil Shinbo*, one of the organs of the Japanese colonial government.

The Japanese language newspapers in the provinces were less affected during this period. A one-paper-per-province policy was implemented in 1940 and this reduced the number of provincial Japanese papers to 10.

After the liberation of Korea in 1945 and the division of the country into two ideological camps, five northern provinces came under Communist control. Since this historic date, only Communist papers were allowed publication in that part of Korea. Because of the paucity of information on the press in north Korea, the present

study does not include the experience of the north Korean press. The following discussions, therefore, revolve around the press in the Republic of Korea (south Korea).

## DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN PRESS SYSTEM

Since 1945, the Korean press experienced two short periods of free but chaotic journalism and one period of disrupted journalism. From 1945 to 1948, when south Korea was under the control of the United States Army military government, many newspapers of different political orientations emerged. Rightist, middle-of-the-road, and leftist papers waged ideological warfare among themselves in the hope of winning the people's support. This was possible because the U.S. military government initially adopted a press policy under which registration was sufficient for anyone to publish a newspaper. But the U.S. military government later changed its policy from appeasement of the leftist groups to support for the rightist nationalists. A license system was adopted under the provisions of the U.S. Army military government *Ordinance No. 88* (hereafter referred to as *Ordinance No. 88*). The major purpose of *Ordinance No. 88* was to prevent the publication of any new leftist newspapers. The leftist newspapers already in publication were not subject to this regulation.<sup>17</sup>

According to the figures released by the U.S. military government, 85 daily newspapers were in operation in south Korea as of September, 1947. In Seoul 21 general newspapers were in operation at that time. An estimate shows that, of the 21 general papers, 8 were rightist (circulation of 178,000), 7 were middle-of-the-road (circulation of 177,500), and the remaining 6 were leftist (circulation of 123,500).<sup>18</sup>

The leftist newspapers stopped publication soon after the Republic of Korea was established in south Korea in 1948 through a

general election. The rightist-leftist clashes which characterized journalism prior to this point now changed to government-opposition conflicts.

During the Korean War (1950-1953) the capital city of Seoul came under the control of Communist north Korea for a total of seven months. Publication was interrupted for many Seoul newspapers. A few managed to move some of their equipment out of Seoul to resume publishing in the temporarily relocated capital in Pusan.

With the signing of the Armistice agreement in 1953, the press returned to normal operation. But the government of the Liberal Party became more and more dictatorial and the press came under ever-increasing pressure from the Government. A series of student uprisings against the election riggings in 1960 toppled the Liberal government. After a short period of caretaker government, the Democratic Party was elected to power. The system of press licensing was repealed and by a simple registration one could begin to publish a newspaper and/or operate a news agency. Suddenly there appeared many printed news media. Most of them were nominal without the necessary equipment and manpower. The Korean press was never before more free than during this time. They enjoyed a freedom close to licentiousness. Even a major leftist newspaper was allowed to publish.

But all of this ended as quickly as it was started. The Democratic government lasted less than one year with the military taking over in 1961. One of the first measures taken by the Military government was to purge all nominal and "pseudo" newspapers and news agencies. In Seoul the number of general newspapers was 10 at the end of the Liberal government. This number doubled during the Democratic government but decreased to 8 under the Military government. During the same period, the number of specialized newspapers in Seoul increased from 4 to 37 before being cut back to

3. The general news agencies in Seoul maintained their number at 4 throughout the period. But the specialized news agencies in Seoul, which had increased from 10 to 228, dropped to 7 under the Military government. In the provinces there were 26 general newspapers at the end of the Liberal government, and 47 general newspapers and 5 specialized newspapers under the Democratic government. Under the Military government a total of 24 general newspapers were allowed to operate in the provincial cities. During the period of the Democratic government, the number of news agencies in the provinces had grown from none to 44. All of these were eliminated under the Military government.<sup>19</sup>

Through a general election in 1963 the Military government handed its power over to the civilian government of the Third Republic. However, the leadership remained intact. After a brief period of relaxation, the press once again was subjected to renewed pressure from the new government.

As indicated in the discussion above, the press in south Korea after 1945 can be categorized into five groups. In the capital city of Seoul there were *General Newspapers*, *General News Agencies*, *Specialized Newspapers*, and *Specialized News Agencies*. Seoul General Newspapers and News Agencies are nation-wide presses. Seoul Specialized Newspapers and News Agencies are concerned primarily with economic affairs and their circulation outside Seoul is negligible. There are *General Newspapers* in the provinces, which are basically local press.

Table 2 shows the history of the newspapers and news agencies since the end of World War II in 1945. Because of the limited space, only major General Newspapers and News Agencies in Seoul are referred to by their titles.<sup>20</sup>

Soon after the Japanese rule over Korea ended in 1945, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* resumed publishing in Seoul. It will be remembered that the two newspapers were shut down by the



Table 2: The Development of Korean Newspapers and News Agencies Since 1945

| Loca-<br>tion | Orientation               | 1945   | 1948            | 1950  | 1953                | 1960   | 1961 | 1963                                      | 1972            |
|---------------|---------------------------|--|-----------------|---|---------------------|--|------|---|-----------------|
|               |                           | many leftist papers appeared mostly in Seoul and in the Provinces as well but soon closed down (45-48) |                 | major interruption and disruption due to KOREAN WAR (50-53) |                     | many small papers and news agencies appeared both in Seoul and in the Provinces but soon closed down (60-61) |      |   |                 |
| S             | General Newspapers        | Dong-A Ilbo (1920)<br>Chosun Ilbo (1920)<br>Seoul Shinmun (1945)<br>Kyunghyang Shinmun (1945)          |                 |   |                     |  |      |   |                 |
| E             |                           | Haebang Ilbo<br>Taedong Taehan Shinmun Ilbo  | Taedong Shinmun |   |                     |  |      |   |                 |
| O             | General News Agencies     | Hapdong (1945)   |                 |   | Hankook Ilbo (1954) | Taehan Ilbo (1960)<br>Minjock Ilbo   |      | Shin-A Ilbo (1965)<br>Jungang Ilbo (1965) | X               |
| U             | Specialized Newspapers    |  |                 |   | Tongyang (1952)     | Donghwa (1956)   |      |   | X               |
| L             | Specialized News Agencies | 2 agencies (46-49)   |                 |   | 2 papers (52-59)    | 5 papers (60-69)   |      |   |                 |
|               | General Newspapers        | 11 papers (45-48)  |                 | 5 papers (50-59)  | 1 agency (1951)     |  |      |   | 1 agency (1969) |
| PROVINCE      | NORTH KOREA               | Communist papers   |                 |   |                     |  |      |   |                 |

Japanese colonial government in 1940 when Japan was about to launch its war in the Pacific area. Two other newspapers—the *Seoul Shinmun* and the *Kyunghyang Shinmun*—began to publish.<sup>21</sup> Recall also that many leftist newspapers appeared in Seoul but were shut down in 1948 when the Republic of Korea was established in south Korea. For example, the *Haebang Ilbo* was the organ of the Communist party in south Korea. But this paper was terminated under orders of the U.S. Army military government. At the other end of the political spectrum the *Taedong Shinmun* appeared as an ultra rightist paper. The *Taedong Shinmun* changed its title to the *Taehan Ilbo* and then back to the *Taedong Shinmun* but disappeared during the Korean War.

Soon after the Korean War ended in a truce, the *Hankook Ilbo* appeared (1954). Immediately after the Student Uprising toppled the Liberal government, the *Taehan Ilbo* was founded (1960). It will be recalled that, during the one-year period of 1960-1961, many newspapers appeared in Seoul but were purged in 1961 when the military took control of the government. A leftist paper called the *Minjock Ilbo* was one of them. After the Third Republic was established and the Democratic-Republican party came into control, the *Jungang Ilbo* and the *Shin-A Ilbo* started publishing in 1965.<sup>22</sup>

In the category of Seoul General News Agencies the *Hapdong News Agency* emerged in 1945, the *Tongyang News Agency* in 1952, and the *Donghwa News Agency* in 1956.<sup>23</sup>

In the category of Seoul Specialized Newspapers two papers continued publishing from the period 1952-59, and five others appeared in the period 1960-69. In the category of Seoul Specialized News Agencies two were founded in the period 1946-49, a third one in 1951, and a fourth one in 1969.

In the provinces 11 general newspapers were in operation during the period, 1945-48; 5 others emerged during the period 1950-59; and a third group of 4 appeared during the years 1960-66.

During the next few years, with some stability achieved in the political system, the press enjoyed relative stability. Then, in 1973, a political system of "Koreanized Democracy" was instituted by the President immediately after a new Constitution was adopted by popular vote. There soon followed a major realignment of the press system.

In Seoul one general newspaper (the *Taehan Ilbo*) voluntarily closed down in May, 1973, when its publisher was arrested on suspicion of embezzlement. One general news agency (the *Donghwa*) also voluntarily closed down in April of the same year when its publisher was indicted as one of the "anti-social businessmen" who allegedly used bank loans for private purposes. One specialized newspaper (the *Hankook Kyongje Ilbo*) closed down in April, 1973, because of financial difficulties.

In the provincial areas the *Honam Maeil Shinmun* (in Mokpo) closed down in May due to financial trouble. Two general newspapers in Taejon (the *Taejon Ilbo* and the *Jungdo Ilbo*) merged into one and became the *Chungnam Ilbo* in May. Three general newspapers in North Cholla Province (the *Joenbook Ilbo*, the *Jeonbook Maeil Shinmun*, and the *Honam Ilbo*) merged into *Joenbook Shinmun* in June. Again, three general newspapers in Kyonggi Province (the *Kyonggi Ilbo*, the *Kyonggi Maeil Shinmun*, and the *Yonhap Shinmun*) merged into the *Kyonggi Shinmun* in September, 1973.

Two factors seemed to account for these major realignments. First, apparently the Government believed that there were too many newspapers. Second, increased Government control of the press seemingly made ownership of the press less attractive to some publishers. This was especially the case among the publishers who were operating in the red. Under these circumstances it was very likely that the interests of the publishers coincided with the wishes of the Government, leading to voluntary termination or mergers of the

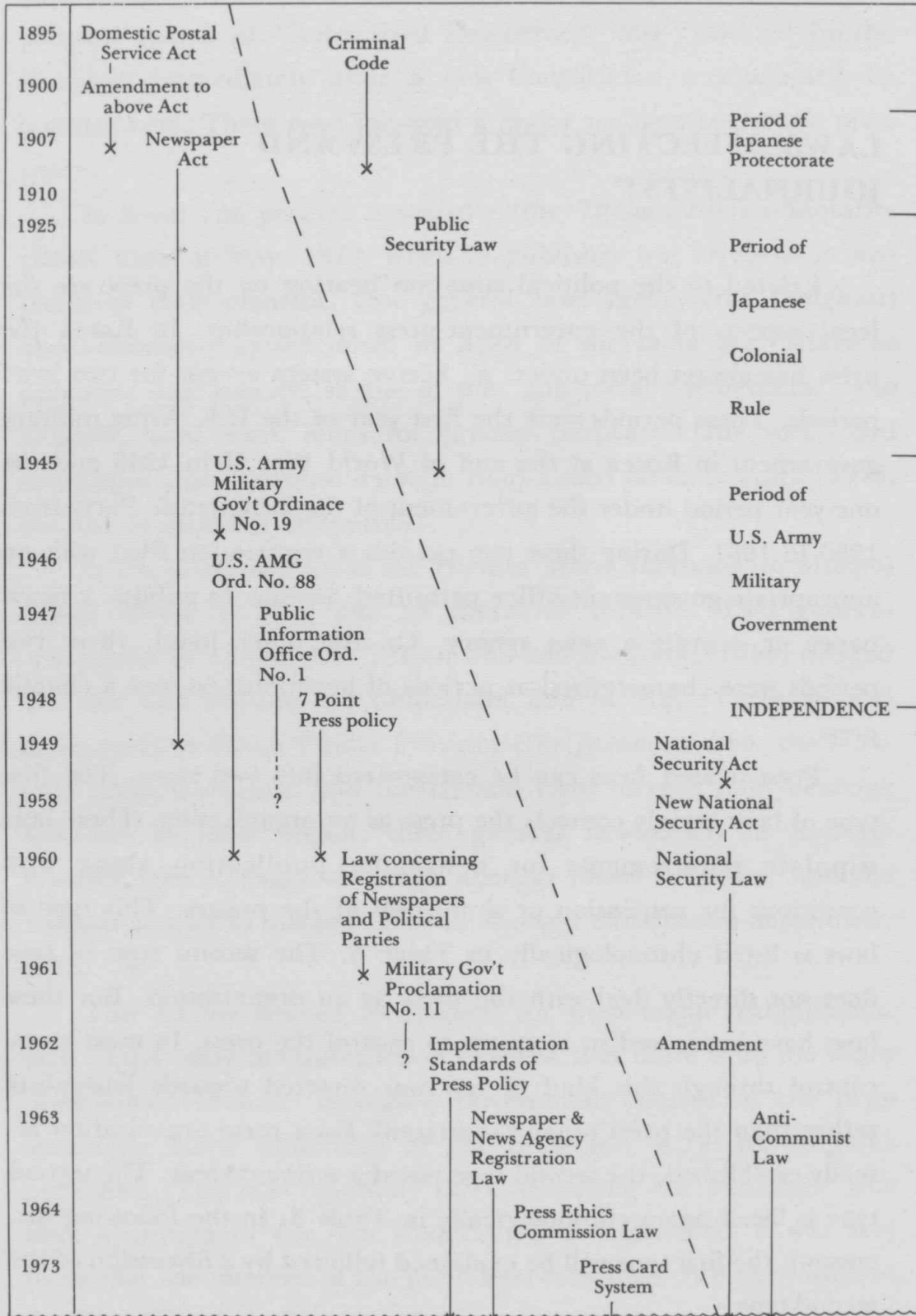
press organizations.

## **LAWS AFFECTING THE PRESS AND JOURNALISTS<sup>24</sup>**

Related to the political situation bearing on the press are the legal aspects of the government-press relationship. In Korea the press has always been under a license system except for two brief periods. These periods were the first year of the U.S. Army military government in Korea at the end of World War II in 1945 and the one-year period under the government of the Democratic Party from 1960 to 1961. During these two periods a registration filed with an appropriate government office permitted anyone to publish a newspaper or operate a news agency. On the other hand, these two periods were characterized as periods of licentiousness and a chaotic press.

Press-related laws can be categorized into two types. The first type of laws mainly controls the press as an organization. These laws stipulate requirements for newspaper publication along with conditions for suspension or shut-down of the presses. This type of laws is listed chronologically in Table 3. The second type of laws does not directly deal with the press as an organization. But these laws have been used in attempts to control the press. In most cases, control through this kind of law was directed towards journalists rather than the press organization itself. For a press organization already established, the second type posed a serious threat. The second type is listed again chronologically in Table 3. In the following discussion, the first type will be explained followed by a discussion of the second type.

**Table 3: Major Laws Bearing on Newspapers and News Agencies\***



\*The titles of laws cited above are unofficial translations.

In 1895 the King of the Yi dynasty issued a Domestic Postal Service Act. This Act had a provision requiring a license from the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce for newspaper publication. Under an amendment to the Act in 1900 the Ministry of Internal Affairs became the authority to issue or withdraw license for newspaper publication. In the meantime, Japan's control over Korea had become ever greater. When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, the garrison command of the Japanese Army in Korea imposed an advance censorship on Korean newspapers. In 1907 the Korean government, at the direction of the office of the Japanese Residency General, proclaimed the *Newspaper Act*. This Act gave the government the power to issue licenses, require a certain amount of money to be deposited, close down newspapers, impose fines on newspapers and physical punishment on journalists, and confiscate facilities of newspapers.

After Japan's annexation of Korea this Act was used by the Japanese colonial Government to suppress the Korean press. The *Newspaper Act* remained in effect even after Japan retreated from Korea at the end of World War II. The Act posed a real threat to the Korean press until it was repealed by the National Assembly (the Legislature) in 1952.

Immediately after the end of World War II in 1945 the U.S. Army military government was set up to take care of the transition to an independent government of Korea. Its press policy was liberal at the beginning. With *Ordinance No. 19* the U.S. military government introduced in Korea in 1945 a press system under which a registration was enough to publish a newspaper. Many newspapers of different orientations appeared in south Korea. Newspapers with Communist leanings were very demagogic and agitational. In 1946 the U.S. military government changed its press policy and reintroduced a license system by issuing *Ordinance No. 88*. This new Ordinance concerning the press required an advance approval from

the government for publication of any new newspaper or news agency. An official justification for this policy change was the serious shortage of news print at that time. But it was recognized that one of the major purposes of the new policy was to stop leftist papers from further spreading. In order to extend its control over those already established newspapers, the U.S. military government issued the Public Information Office *Ordinance No. 1* in 1947. This new Ordinance empowered the Public Information Office to issue new licenses and to suspend old licenses.<sup>25</sup>

The U.S. military government apparently felt it necessary to institute much stronger measures to control many leftist and some rightist newspapers that questioned its policy implementation. To the convenience of the U.S. military government, it was found that the old *Newspaper Act* (inherited from the Japanese colonial rule) was not formally repealed with the introduction of *Ordinance No. 19* (registration system). The U.S. military government simply revived the *Newspaper Act* and equipped itself with two strong control laws (*Ordinance No. 88* and the *Newspaper Act*).

Right after Korea became an independent nation through a general election in 1948, the Korean government issued a seven point press policy. This policy was to wipe out from news media any reports or stories that might be considered favorable to the Communist government that was established at about the same time in the Soviet controlled north Korea. With the addition of this policy all the leftist newspapers disappeared in south Korea. As mentioned earlier, the old *Newspaper Act* remained effective until 1952. But the U.S. Army military government *Ordinance No. 88* remained enforced until 1960 when the Liberal Party government was toppled by massive nation wide student uprisings in the wake of a series of rigged elections.

A caretaker government stepped in and put an end in 1960 to the suppressive press law of *Ordinance No. 88*. Under a new law

concerning Registration of Newspapers and Political Parties, a registration system was revived. No advance approval from the government became necessary to publish newspapers. Immediately, many newspapers and news agencies appeared. Most of them were nominal, "existing only on paper and comprising only a signboard". There also came a "flood of reporters". Most of the self-made reporters were not reporters in the ordinary sense. The establishment press and journalists soon began to worry about the chaotic situation. Citizens started complaining about unethical conduct by so-called reporters from those "pseudo" newspapers and news agencies. But the Democratic Party that won the general election maintained the press registration system.

The registration system was put to an end in 1961 when the military took over power in a successful coup d'état. The military government issued *Proclamation No. 11*, stipulating standards of facilities and equipment required for news media publication. Almost all of the "pseudo" newspapers and news agencies (that mushroomed during the preceding year) were ordered to close down because they failed to meet the criteria set by the military government. The establishment press welcomed the measure even though it did not like the idea of governmental intervention in any press related matters. According to a public opinion survey released by the government, a majority of the people approved the purge of the "pseudo" press.

In 1962 the government formulated a detailed standard to implement its press policy. At the government's recommendation, based on the implementation standard, the Newspaper Publishers Association took some measures to improve press equipment and facilities, promote higher salary for reporters, and introduce a one-edition-a-day system.<sup>26</sup> In 1963 a law dealing with Registration of Newspapers and News Agencies was enacted. This law, which was still in effect as of 1974, seemingly had not been effectively imple-



mented. Some provisions of the law left the implementation of registration procedures at the discretion of the government. In that sense the law can be used as a de facto license system.<sup>27</sup>

In 1964 a law to place the press under a Press Ethics Commission was enacted. But the press presented a united front in opposition to the law. The press felt that: 1) No law should be enacted to control the press; 2) The newly enacted law contained provisions that could be misused to control the press; 3) It (the press) already had its own ethics commission and the press should be self-regulated. In the face of this strong opposition from the press the government took a compromise step and shelved the *implementation* of the law. Thus, the law remains as enacted. At some future time, if it deems it necessary, the government still reserves the authority to implement this law.

In early 1973, a *Press Card System* was put into effect. Under this system the government issues press cards to individual journalists on the basis of the listings submitted by the respective news organizations. Officially, the system was adopted to: 1) eliminate "pseudo" reporters; 2) enhance the public trust in "real" reporters; and, 3) have the government provide the greatest possible conveniences for the reportorial activities of card-carrying newsmen. But in the sense that no one is allowed to be engaged in reportorial activities without a press card, and that the government can theoretically refuse to issue the press card to certain journalists, this system, in effect, placed newsmen under the control of the government.<sup>28</sup>

The laws described up to now are those dealing specifically with the press and/or journalists. As mentioned earlier, other laws, not specifically aimed at the press, have been used to control the press and journalists. Representative of this type of laws are those relating to public or national security.

For example, during the last years of the Yi dynasty the *Criminal Code*, borrowed from the Chinese Ming dynasty legal code, was used

to control the activities of individual journalists. After the Japanese annexation of Korea the *Public Security Law* was enacted in 1925. This law was interpreted in the broadest possible way, together with the *Newspaper Act*, to control the Korean press and journalists. Whenever any newspaper article was suspected of being detrimental to the security of the Japanese Empire, the newsman who wrote the article was harrassed in the form of investigation or put into jail under the provisions of the *Public Security Law*.

Immediately after Korea became independent in 1948, a series of Communist agitated riots took place in south Korea. A Communist instigated Army insurrection in Yosŭ and Sunchon cities alerted the government to hastily enact in 1948 the *National Security Act* in order to control "anti-state" or "anti-nation" activities. The *National Security Act* was abolished in 1958 and a new *National Security Act* was put into effect. This new law was revised in its entirety in 1960 and again partially revised in 1962. The 1962 version of the *National Security Law* was still in effect as of 1974. In 1961 a special law was enacted to deal with Communist-related problems. The *Anti-Communist Law* presently enforced originates from this special law which was revised in 1963.

The problems with these two laws,<sup>29</sup> as far as reportorial activities are concerned, are: first, some provisions are too broad and vague: and, second, either one of the two laws can subject anyone to penalty on the basis of the consequences of his acts without ascertaining whether it is intended or not.<sup>30</sup> Journalists claim that these two laws have often been misused to control press reports unfavorable to the administration in power.<sup>31</sup> The government counters this claim by arguing that the freedom of the press is not absolute and comes after the security of the nation.<sup>32</sup>

## PRESS ORGANIZATION

1. **General Policies.** Almost all Korean newspapers and news

agencies have had explicitly stated "corporate policies" ("Sashi" in Korean). For example, the *Tongnip Shinmun* (1896-1899) pledged to itself and the people that it would do its best in contributing to: 1) implanting democracy, 2) enlightening both the government officials and the people, and, 3) upholding national independence. The *Dong-A Ilbo* (1920-present) declared that it would work in the interest of nationalism, democracy, and cultural development. The *Kyungghyang Shinmun* (1945-present) committed itself to: 1) fair, speedy, and correct reporting in reflecting the people's mind, 2) guidance of public opinion to help build a happy and stable society, and, 3) maintaining the dignity and quality of the newspaper in pointing to national goals from a long-term perspective.

As these examples indicate, the corporate policies of the Korean press usually consist of several goals and are couched in very general terms. What is meant in practical terms is almost impossible to grasp and is beyond the scope of this study. The corporate policies are the ideals that the Korean press believe they are expected to pursue. In that sense, the policies indicate the orientations of the press and journalists at the time of policy formulation. The policies are usually taken up at the formation of the newspaper. Once set, they rarely change. For example, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* still pursue their policies adopted in 1920.

Tables 4 and 5 present a content analysis of the policies of Korean newspapers and news agencies at the time of their respective beginnings of publication.

Table 4 shows how the general newspapers and news agencies in Seoul perceived the functions of the press at different periods of Korean history.<sup>33</sup> For the period before 1945 only the nationalist papers were included for analysis. For the period after 1945 only the general newspapers and news agencies in existence as of 1972 were analyzed. In other words, the specialized press and some short-lived

**Table 4: Korean Newspapers and News Agencies in Seoul Identified by Manifest Policies and Year of Publication\***

| POLICY CONTENTS       |                         | Year of Publication |           |           |             |           |                |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|----------------|
|                       |                         | 1896-1899           | 1900-1910 | 1920-1940 | 1945-1949** | 1950-1959 | 1960-present** |
| POLITICAL:            | Nationalism             |                     | 1         | 3         | 1           |           |                |
|                       | Patriotism              | 2                   | 2         |           |             |           |                |
|                       | Independence            | 2                   |           |           | 1           |           |                |
|                       | Democracy               | 1                   |           | 1         | 2           | 1         |                |
|                       | Public Interest         |                     |           |           |             |           | 1              |
|                       | Public Opinion          |                     |           |           | 2           |           |                |
| EDUCATIONAL:          | Enlightenment of People | 7                   | 5         | 2         |             |           |                |
|                       | Leadership Role         |                     | 1         |           | 1           |           | 1              |
|                       | Cultural Development    |                     |           | 1         | 1           |           |                |
| ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: | Nation-wide             |                     |           | 1         | 1           | 1         | 1              |
|                       | Community level         |                     |           |           |             |           |                |
| SOCIAL JUSTICE        |                         |                     |           | 1         | 1           | 1         | 1              |
| PROFESSIONAL:         | Impartiality            |                     | 1         | 1         | 2           | 2         | 3              |
|                       | Speedy Reporting        |                     | 1         |           | 1           | 2         | 1              |
|                       | Factual Reporting       |                     |           |           | 1           | 2         | 1              |
|                       | Free Press              |                     |           |           |             | 2         | 2              |
|                       | Responsible Press       |                     |           |           |             | 1         | 1              |
| OTHERS                |                         | 2                   |           |           | 1           | 2         | 1              |

\* Almost all newspapers have several written policy statements. Therefore, the tally here is multiple and many newspapers are recorded in several different cells. The resource materials used here include: Haechang Lee, *Hankook Shinmun-sa Yeungu* (The Study of Korean Press History), Seungmungak, Seoul, 1971; and *Hankook Shinmun Nyongam* (Korean Press Yearbook), Korean Press Institute, Seoul, 1968.

Also, the newspapers and news agencies whose policy contents are analyzed here include those which were no longer in publication as of 1902. The newspapers before the Liberation in 1945 include only the nationalist papers.

\*\* During the periods of 1945-49 and 1960-61 many newspapers and news agencies appeared but soon were closed down. They are not included in this Table.

general press were not included. The data are admittedly not complete. But still a clearcut trend emerges from the Table.

First, the Korean nationalist newspapers before 1945 emphasized political and educational aspects of their functions. Enlightenment of the people, patriotism and nationalism were considered significant to the papers that began in the period of 1900-1910. It will be remembered that, during that period, Korea started modernizing after it opened its door to foreign powers. It also will be recalled that this was the period of encroachment on Korea by imperialist Japan. Under these circumstances the Korean press came to believe in the potentialities of an informed citizenry and tried to help uphold patriotism and nationalism among the people. The nationalist papers under Japanese colonial rule (1910-45) added to their expected missions the causes of economic development and social justice. During this period Koreans began to realize that the power of a nation is built on economic self-reliance and industrialization.

Second, major newspapers and news agencies that started in the period 1945-49 placed as much emphasis on professional aspects of journalism as on political and educational aspects. The Liberation in 1945 brought a politically divided Korea. Ideological clashes took place between Koreans oriented towards Western democracy and communism. In the earlier period, the press saw the confrontation of Koreans against the Japanese rule. But with Liberation the press started recognizing the need for mediation among Koreans. It was in this situation that the press started stressing impartial reporting.

Third, for the newspapers and news agencies that began publishing after 1950, professional orientation came to the fore. Their policies emphasized impartial, prompt and factual reporting as well as a free press.

In Table 5 the policies of provincial newspapers are analyzed.<sup>34</sup> It will be recalled that there were no Korean newspapers being

**Table 5: Korean Newspapers and News Agencies in the Provinces Identified by Manifest Policies and Year of Publication\***

| POLICY CONTENTS       |                         | Year of Publication |           |                |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------|
|                       |                         | 1945-1949**         | 1950-1959 | 1960-present** |
| POLITICAL:            | Nationalism             | 2                   |           |                |
|                       | Patriotism              |                     |           |                |
|                       | Independence            |                     |           |                |
|                       | Democracy               | 2                   | 1         | 1              |
|                       | Public Interest         | 2                   | 2         | 1              |
|                       | Public Opinion          | 1                   | 1         |                |
| EDUCATIONAL:          | Enlightenment of People |                     |           |                |
|                       | Leadership Role         | 3                   |           |                |
|                       | Cultural Development    | 2                   | 1         |                |
| ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: | Nation-wide             |                     |           |                |
|                       | Community level         | 3                   | 1         | 1              |
| SOCIAL JUSTICE        |                         | 5                   | 1         |                |
| PROFESSIONAL:         | Impartiality            | 5                   | 4         | 4              |
|                       | Speedy Reporting        | 3                   | 4         | 1              |
|                       | Factual Reporting       | 6                   | 3         | 1              |
|                       | Free Press              | 5                   | 1         | 2              |
|                       | Responsible Press       | 1                   |           | 1              |
| OTHERS                |                         | 2                   |           | 1              |

\* Almost all newspapers have several written policy statements. Therefore, the tally here is multiple and many newspapers are recorded in several different cells. The resource material used in making this Table is *Hankook Shinmun Nyongam* (Korean Press Yearbook), Korean Press Institute, Seoul, 1968.

Also, all the province General Newspapers analyzed in this Table were in publication as of 1972.

\*\* During the periods of 1945-49 and 1960-61 many newspapers and news agencies appeared but were soon closed down. They are not included in the analysis here.

published in the provinces before 1945. As far as the press policies after 1945, the provincial papers showed a trend similar to the general and nationwide press in Seoul.

The provincial papers that started in the period 1945-49 emphasized both extraprofessional (political, educational, economic development and social justice) and professional aspects of press functions. For the provincial papers that began in the period 1950-59 the emphasis shifted somewhat in the direction of professional functions. During the 1960's emphasis was placed almost exclusively on professional aspects of journalism.

To the extent that press policies reflect press orientations, one can observe that the Korean press originated with political and educational orientation but soon evolved to a professionally oriented press.

But what should be noted here is that the corporate policies of the press ("Sashi" in Korean) are manifest policies. Manifest policies are not necessarily identical to latent policies. There has been little discussion on the latent policies of the Korean press. But from some impressionistic observations made by journalism scholars and some journalists, it is highly suspected that the manifest and latent policies overlapped considerably before 1945 but that this overlapping has significantly decreased since then. This suspicion will be dealt with indirectly in a discussion of publishers and/or owners of the Korean press.

**2. Circulation.** Newspaper circulation has grown steadily in Korea. As of 1972 the circulation was estimated to have reached the UNESCO "minima" of 10 per 100 inhabitants.<sup>35</sup> Table 6 presents a general picture of circulation growth, though figures on national circulation of newspapers before 1950 are not available.

The *Tongnip Shinmun* (1896-99) grew in circulation from 300 to 3,000. The *Hwangsung Shinmun* (1896-1910) had a circulation ranging from 2,000 to 3,300. The circulation of the *Jekook Shinmun*

Table 6: Newspaper Circulation in Korea\*\*\*

|                                 | Papers                          | Years               | 1910 | 1920 | 1925   | 1940   | 1945   | 1947   | 1954    | 1963       | 1969       |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|------|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|------------|------------|
| S                               | Tongnip-SM**                    | 300-3,000           |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
|                                 | Hwangsung-SM                    | --2,000-3,300       |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
| E                               | Jekook-SM                       | 1,000-3,000         |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
|                                 | Taehan-Meil-SB**                | --13,400#<br>(1908) |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
| O                               | other papers                    |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
|                                 | Dong-A-IB**                     |                     |      |      | 30,000 | 55,000 | 43,000 | 80,000 | 238,563 | 373,222    |            |
| U                               | Chosun-IB                       |                     |      |      | 30,000 | 63,000 | 30,000 | 60,000 | 140,853 | 260,146    |            |
|                                 | other papers                    |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
| L                               | Kyungchang-SM                   |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         | 89,557     | 151,295    |
|                                 | Seoul-SM                        |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         | 63,362     | 160,707    |
|                                 | Hankook-IB                      |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         | 183,000    | 287,412    |
|                                 | Chungang-IB                     |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            | 219,746    |
| S                               | other papers                    |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         |            |            |
|                                 | 8 major General Papers in Seoul |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         | 738,136    | 1,701,238  |
| U                               | Specialized Papers in Seoul     |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         | 34,764     | 498,672    |
|                                 | All Provincial Papers           |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        |         | 251,746    | 475,625    |
| Total Circulation of Newspapers |                                 |                     |      |      |        |        |        |        | 500,000 | 1,027,339* | 2,678,155* |

\*\*\*The circulation figures before 1954 are taken from Jeun Choi, *Hankook Shinmun Sa* (History of Korean Press), Seoul, 1970. The circulation figures after 1963 are taken from *Jeonkook Bodomaechae Bumpo-shilitae* (National Statistics of Mass Media Distributions) for 1963 and 1969, published by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, Korean Government, Seoul. The figure before 1945 is for all Korea and that after 1945 is for south Korea only.

\*\* SM stands for Shinmun, SB for Shinbo, and IB for Ilbo.

\* The figures include the number of home-delivered and street-sale copies, major weekly papers, and foreign newspapers.

# The figure is a combined circulation of the Korean, Korean-Chinese, and English versions of the paper.



reached a maximum of 3,000 per day in 1904 but then declined. The *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* (1904-10) had a maximum combined daily circulation of 13,400 in 1908. For both the *Dong-A Ilbo* (1920-present) and the *Chosun Ilbo* (1920-present) the circulation dropped from 55,000 and 63,000 in 1940 to 43,000 and 30,000 in 1947, respectively. This decline can be attributed to the division of Korea in 1945. The circulation figures in 1940 were for all Korea whereas, by 1947, circulation was obviously restricted to south Korea. But ever since, the circulation of both newspapers has increased steadily and by 1969 had increased to almost 400,000 for the *Dong-A Ilbo* and almost 300,000 for the *Chosun Ilbo*.

During the six-year period 1963 to 1969, other newspapers in Seoul increased their circulation. For example, circulation increased by some 60,000 for the *Kyunghyang Shinmun* (1945-present), by about 100,000 for the *Seoul Shinmun* (1945-present), and by some 100,000 for the *Hankook Ilbo* (1954-present).

Eight major general newspapers in Seoul increased their combined circulation by one million from 738,000 in 1963 to 1,701,000 in 1969. During the same period specialized newspapers in Seoul increased their circulation from some 35,000 to approximately 499,000 and provincial newspapers increased their circulation from 252,000 to 476,000. During the 15-year period 1954-69 the national circulation of newspapers increased more than 5 times to 2,678,000.

Table 7 shows the circulation sizes as of late 1969 of newspapers published in Korea. The largest newspaper was the *Dong-A Ilbo* with a circulation of almost 400,000. A great majority of general newspapers in Seoul were in the circulation category of 100,000 to 300,000 copies per day. Most of the provincial and all of the specialized dailies had a circulation of less than 50,000 copies. About two out of every five newspapers in Korea had a circulation of less than 10,000 copies a day.

A per-household analysis by urban and rural areas further

reveals a differential newspaper circulation. As presented in Table 8, the number of daily copies per 100 households was 60 in Seoul in 1969 as compared to 22 in rural (country) areas. In terms of per 100 households circulation, almost three times as many newspapers were subscribed to in Seoul as in the rural areas. When all the cities were combined, the per 100 households circulation dropped to 50. But the urban-rural ratio was more than 2 to 1.

The picture, however, is somewhat different when growth rate over the years is examined. Seoul with 36 copies per 100 households maintained an initial advantage over the rural areas during the eight year period from 1961 to 1969. The difference over rural areas

**Table 7: Number of Korean Daily Newspapers by Daily Circulation, Type of Newspapers and Location\***

| Daily Circulation<br>(in thousand) | General |          | Specialized |          | Total |
|------------------------------------|---------|----------|-------------|----------|-------|
|                                    | Seoul   | Province | Seoul       | Province |       |
| 300-400                            | 1       | 0        | 0           | 0        | 1     |
| 100-300                            | 6       | 0        | 0           | 0        | 6     |
| 50-100                             | 1       | 2        | 0           | 0        | 3     |
| 10-50                              | 0       | 11       | 1           | 0        | 12    |
| 10 or less                         | 0       | 8        | 6           | 1        | 15    |
| Total                              | 8       | 21       | 7           | 1        | 37**  |

Source: This Table is based on the figures reported in *Jeonkook Shinmun Pokoop shiltae: 1969* (Circulation of Newspapers Across the Country as of 1969), The Ministry of Culture and Public Information, Korean Government, Seoul, 1969.

\*The circulation size in this Table is an estimated total which included home delivery and street sale copies.

\*\*Two English language and one Chinese language dailies are not included.

in the number of daily copies per 100 households dropped from 35 to 28 for the city of Pusan, and from 21 to 18 for the small and medium size cities. To put it differently, the daily circulation per household increased from 1961 to 1969 by 33 percent in Seoul, by 13 percent in Pusan, and by 33 percent in other cities, as against 144 percent in country areas. In summary, the growth rate of newspaper circulation was greater in rural than in urban areas.

**Table 8: Number of Home Delivery Newspaper Copies by Year and Community Size (per 100 Households)**

| Year | Big Cities |       | Small to Middle Size Cities | All Cities | County Areas | All |
|------|------------|-------|-----------------------------|------------|--------------|-----|
|      | Seoul      | Pusan |                             |            |              |     |
| 1961 | 45         | 44    | 30                          | 38         | 9            | 17  |
| 1963 | 40         | 31    | 27                          | 33         | 10           | 17  |
| 1965 | 51         | 37    | 31                          | 39         | 14           | 23  |
| 1967 | 58         | 46    | 37                          | 47         | 19           | 29  |
| 1969 | 60         | 50    | 40                          | 50         | 22           | 34  |

Sources used in constructing this table are: *Jeonkook Shinmun Pokoop Shiltae* (Circulation of Newspapers Across the Country) for 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1969, published by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, Korean Government, Seoul, with regard to circulation statistics; *Hankook Nyongam* (Korea Yearbook) for 1962, 1963, 1966, and 1970, published in Seoul, with regard to household statistics.

**3. Proprietorship.** As Korea experienced many historical changes, the proprietorship of newspapers changed also. These changes have brought about significant changes in the relationships between publishers, working journalists, and the public.

In the early days of Korean newspapers, that is, before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, publishers were, in many

cases, working journalists themselves. The management was not clearly differentiated from reporters. For example, Jaephil Suh (Philip Jaisohn), the founder of the *Tongnip Shinmun*, worked as a journalist himself, writing editorials and articles. Jiyeon Chang and his group started another major nationalist paper, the *Hwangsung Shinmun*, and they also worked as journalists. Ernest T. Bethel, the publisher of a third major nationalist paper, the *Taehan Maeil Shinbo*, was a British correspondent in Korea. He also actively engaged in reportorial and editorial activities.

In these early periods a major financial source to begin newspaper publishing was contributions.<sup>36</sup> The *Tongnip Shinmun* started out with a substantial amount donated by the government. This donation did not seem to have any conditions attached. The government apparently felt a strong necessity to have some Koreans publish Korean newspapers in order to counterbalance the influence of the Japanese-run newspapers already in publication in Korea. Beyond that, the government did not seem to have any other motive. However, the government later started suppressing the *Tongnip Shinmun* when the paper's reformist orientation became too strong for the conservative leadership of the government to tolerate. The *Taehan Maeil Shinbo* started publishing with money secretly donated by King Kojong. Out of a strategic consideration, this newspaper took the form of a joint Korean-British venture. This was the time when Japan was in alliance with Great Britain. It was the hope that with British involvement the newspaper would be less subject to suppression by the Japanese Residency-General in Korea. But this hope soon turned to disappointment when the Japanese government had the British publisher removed from Korea through a diplomatic channel. The *Hwangsung Shinmun* started out with funds raised in the form of stocks. Other newspapers, both nationalist and pro-Japanese, were supported by organizations or associations. In other words, many newspapers during that period represented

certain political circles, some with wider support and some others with smaller followings.

When Korea came under the control of colonialist Japan, the nationalist papers moved to resist this colonial power. By doing so, these newspapers became spokesmen for the people. The people, in return, supported these newspapers. The nationalist paper *Jekook Shinmun* was a good example. This newspaper was once damaged extensively by fire and had to suspend publication. Business circles and women's societies made financial contributions in order to keep the *Jekook Shinmun* in operation.

Early Korean newspapers started out with a unity among publishers, journalists, and the public. But when the historical situation changed, these three entities began to break with each other. Under the Japanese colonial government Korean newspapers were financed in the form of capital investment. Unlike the earlier period, newspaper publication had to be a large-scale operation. Piecemeal donations and contributions from concerned citizens became insufficient and unreliable to operate a newspaper. Along with the format of investment, the newspapers came under control by big investors. Capital investment usually presupposes profit. But it appears that profit-making was not a prime motive among the heavy investors in nationalist newspapers during the period of Japanese rule. The *Chosun Ilbo* and the *Shidae Ilbo* experienced a change of ownership several times. Together with the owner of the *Dong-A Ilbo* these owners did not seem to expect any profit from these newspapers in the 1920's and the 1930's; one gets the impression that these newspaper owners had invested their money in the press as a response to a felt obligation to the cause of national independence. What should be noted was that these owners let nationalist leaders or promising men run the newspapers and did not interfere with newspaper making.<sup>37</sup> For example, in 1921, the *Dong-A Ilbo* invited Chin-u Shong to fill the position of president of the

organization. This offer was news in itself since Chin-u Shong had just been released from prison after serving a term for his involvement in the March First Independence Movement in 1919. The *Chosun Joongang Ilbo* also invited in 1933 to its presidency Woonhyong Yeo, who had just served a prison term after being extradited by the Japanese police from Shanghai, China for involvement in the nationalist movement. A university president recently recalled his experience in the late 1920s as the managing editor of the *Chosun Ilbo*: "The business aspect of a newspaper was not stressed too much at that time. Therefore, there was no serious conflict between the management and the news department over the contents of news stories."<sup>38</sup> Newspaper owners and working journalists became differentiated but their interests were identical. Newspaper owners financially and morally supported the journalists in their struggle for an independent Korea.

The public identified with the nationalist newspapers while Korean journalists could still show their resistance in their news stories. As the Japanese colonial government increased its suppression of Korean newspapers, around the late 1920's, the voice of resistance was less and less reflected in the newspapers. By the middle 1930's journalists of nationalist orientation were completely silenced. These nationalist papers were then no different from the Japanese newspapers in their news contents.<sup>39</sup> When this happened, the Korean people began to alienate themselves from these newspapers.

After Japan retreated from Korea in 1945 and an independent government was established in south Korea in 1948, many Korean newspapers shifted their attention to the domestic political scene. The press was now concerned with the ever increasing dictatorial rule of the Liberal government in the late 1950's. With this shift and the revival of concern for citizen's rights, the public once again showed its support for the press.

During the period when the press was waging a fierce political struggle for democracy, the owners of the press began to exhibit a more businesslike orientation. A major reasoning used to justify commercialism was the following: The press becomes vulnerable to pressure from the government or other sources because its financial basis is not secure. If the press really wants to be independent, it should be independent financially first. Commercialism is one of the answers to this problem.

According to this reasoning, the goal is an independent press and the means is commercialism. But ever since the early 1960's the manifest means seemed to have become a latent goal. In order to achieve a financially firm ground for an eventually independent press, the press had to be flexible even to the extent of compromising its principles.

This apparent displacement of goal coincided with a shift in the interest of newspaper owners to the profit motive. In the 1960's Korea experienced rapid economic development. New industries were created and business firms grew rapidly. The press also had to be business-minded if only to keep pace with other organizations. During this decade the government's political control of the press increased in conjunction with the government's massive efforts toward industrialization. Journalists were often told by management that the press had to make political compromises in order to survive and grow. Soon the journalists resigned themselves to accept this argument. In this dual process, the owners of newspapers and news agencies came to disassociate themselves from journalists. Furthermore, the owners of the press either voluntarily or involuntarily moved to side with the government.

Recently, the president of the Korean Newspaper Editors Association characterized the press in Korea in the following manner: "Newspaper-making is no longer in the hands of journalists."<sup>40</sup> A provincial reporter observed that it was not so much

the owners of the press but the (government) authorities that have snatched newspaper-making from the hands of journalists.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, a Seoul reporter, who later was elected president of the Reporters' Association, contended, "The problem has two sources. The first is the press owner's alliance with, or dependency on, the government authorities. The second, but not less serious, is a 'take it easy' position on the part of editors in giving up their rights of newspaper-making to the press owners or the government power."<sup>42</sup>

The press has apparently become a means for most owners to enhance their status and image. A leading journalist condemned the tendency on the part of press owners to use the press as a shield to protect their business and also as a means to promote their personal career, (e.g., in politics and others).<sup>43</sup> The publishers of two provincial newspapers recently pointed out that the mass media is being used by owners for extrajournalistic purposes.<sup>44</sup>

Several types of press owners may be distinguished. One type is the successful businessman or politician who later purchases a press organization. Some of these owners purposefully began to use the newspaper (or news agency) for their own extra-journalistic interests. A few have avoided active interference with reportorial activities.

Another type of owner starts the newspaper business first and later launches into extrajournalistic fields. Some become interested in a political career, while others take up other commercial enterprises. Only a few owners of the press appear to have limited their interests only to journalistic activities.

Table 9 shows the major enterprises of owners of newspaper and news agencies in Korea as of 1972.<sup>45</sup>

Among the owners of general newspapers and news agencies in Seoul, three were primarily in the business of news publishing, four others were in business/industrial activities, three were politicians, and one belonged to *other* category. In the case of owners of provincial general newspapers, six were considered to be primarily in



**Table 9: Major Enterprises of Press Owners  
in Korea by Location  
(as of 1972)**

| Major Enterprises* | Location |           | Total |
|--------------------|----------|-----------|-------|
|                    | Seoul    | Provinces |       |
| Journalism         | 3        | 6         | 9     |
| Business           | 4        | 6         | 10    |
| Politics           | 3        | 6         | 9     |
| Others             | 1        | 2         | 3     |
| Total              | 11       | 20        | 31    |

\*The classification is based on the best knowledge and judgments of three editor informants. Also, specialized newspapers and news agencies published in Seoul are not included in this Table because the general study was limited only to general newspapers and news agencies in Korea.

journalism, six in other businesses, another six in politics, and the remaining two in *other* lines of work.

As mentioned earlier, the press owners have been gradually shifting away from an independent and public minded orientation. They are becoming more commercially oriented and less public-minded in running their print media. As of 1972, the image of print media owners was rather poor among the working journalists. In the absence of comparable data in the past it is difficult to say whether the image has improved or deteriorated. But according to the present study, some 57 percent of working journalists regarded their employers as pro-government oriented. Fifty-two percent considered their employers strongly commercially oriented. Also 67 percent of

the journalists believed that their employers were not trying hard enough to meet their social responsibility. One the first two counts the province journalists seemed to feel the same way as their city colleagues regarding their employers.

However, with reference to social responsibility, the province journalists were less critical of their employers. Seventy-four percent of the Seoul General Press journalists believed that their employers were not trying hard enough to be socially responsible, while only 54 percent of the Province General Press journalists believed this to be the case.

The primary occupations of media owners were found to affect their image. The politician-owner was regarded as pro-government oriented by 86 percent of the journalists working in his organization. Fifty-one percent of the journalists who worked for the businessman-owner regarded him as pro-government oriented, while only 30 percent of the journalists who worked for the owner whose only major activity was publishing believed that he was pro-government oriented.

On the other hand, the businessman-owner was regarded by 70 percent of his journalism employees as strongly commercial oriented. This perception was held by 42 percent of the journalism employees of the politician owner, and 41 percent of the journalism employees of the owner whose major activity was publishing.

In terms of social responsibility of the press, the businessman-owner was perceived as having the least such orientation. Seventy-nine percent of journalist employees of businessman-owners perceived their employer as not having a strong commitment to social responsibility. This perception was reflected by 67 percent of the journalist employees of politician owners and 48 percent of the journalist employees of owners who were only in the publishing business.

Overall, it appears that print-media owners at present do not

project a favorable image of social responsibility as far as Korean journalists are concerned. Though hardly impressive, the owner who was only in the publishing business enjoyed the least unfavorable image in this area of social responsibility.<sup>46</sup>

**4. Journalists and Work Orientation.** No comprehensive data are available on the number of newsmen before 1962. Every year since 1963 the Press Center of Korea has published the *Who's Who in the Korean Press* in which all the executives, journalists, and some major managerial personnel are listed along with their respective positions. Table 10 is constructed on the basis of this listing. It shows a growing number of print media journalists. The journalists tabulated are those belonging to the news departments at the head offices. For the Province General Newspapers, however, newsmen at the branch office in Seoul were included but the number was very small. Neither executives nor editorial writers were included in the figures.

In the period of seven years from 1964 to 1971 the number of print media journalists in Korea doubled from 1,473 to 3,107. A breakdown shows that the number of journalists increased two times to 1,664 for Seoul General Newspapers and News Agencies and almost twice to 910 for Province General Newspapers. But in the case of Seoul Specialized Newspapers and News Agencies the number more than tripled to 533. During this seven year period the number of print media organizations did not change for Seoul General Press, but increased by only 1 to 22 for Province General Press, and by 4 to 9 for Seoul Specialized Press. Therefore, for Seoul and Province General Press, the increase in the number of journalists was due to an expansion of respective media organizations. But the tripling of journalist manpower for the Seoul Specialized Press was attributable both to the increase in the number of organizations and the expansion of each organization.

**Table 10: The Number of Korean Journalists by Type of News Media and Year\***

|                                       |          | 1920 | 1932 | 1940 | 1945 | 1950 | 1960 | 1964  | 1968  | 1971  |
|---------------------------------------|----------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| Chosun Ilbo                           |          |      | 30   | 55   |      |      |      | 107   | 159   | 176   |
| General Newspaper and News Agency     | Seoul    |      |      |      |      |      |      | 829   | 1,414 | 1,664 |
|                                       | Province |      |      |      |      |      |      | 476   | 716   | 910   |
| Specialized Newspaper and News Agency | Seoul    |      |      |      |      |      |      | 168   | 395   | 533   |
| TOTAL                                 |          |      |      |      |      |      |      | 1,473 | 2,525 | 3,107 |

\* The figures in this Table include only editors and reporters working at the main offices of respective newspapers and news agencies. In the case of the Provincial newspapers newsmen working at the branch offices in Seoul are included.

The sources used in constructing this Table are: *Chosun Ilbo 50-Nyŏn Sa* (50 year history of the Chosun Ilbo), published by the Chosun Ilbo, Seoul, 1970, pp. 605-612; "The Number of Journalists by Years," *Kija Hyophoe Po* (an organ of the Reporters' Association), March 3, 1972, p. 3.

As for the number of journalists during the Japanese colonial rule, the experience of the *Chosun Ilbo* provides some clues. This daily newspaper had 30 editors and reporters in 1932 and the number increased to 55 in 1940 just before it was ordered to close down. As of 1971 the journalists of the daily numbered 176, almost 6 times as many as half a century ago.

Changes in political and social situations have affected journalists both externally and internally. First, as discussed earlier, the owners of print media have been dissociating themselves from working journalists. Second, the Korean public has been fluctuating in its moral support for journalists. While the journalists were braving political pressure in carrying out their reportorial activities, the people responded with sympathy. Once the journalists failed to measure up to this public expectation, the people withdrew their support.

For example, during the period of the Japanese protectorate (1905-1910) Korean journalists showed their courage in a losing battle to turn back the tide of Japanese colonialism. During this period the people respected journalists. During the first five years of the Korean press under Japanese colonial rule (1920-1925), Korean journalists kept writing what they believed to be right at the risk of suspension of the newspapers. Korean journalists of that period seemed to wish that editions would be confiscated every now and then by the Japanese authorities. The reason is that this kind of suppression usually aroused moral support from the Korean people. But later, as censorship and oppression became unbearable, repeated suspensions of newspapers became too costly for both the newspaper as an organization and journalists as breadearners. Korean journalists soon became cautious and did not deviate much from the censorship standards.<sup>47</sup> As this caution reached a level of inactivity in the 1930's, the Korean people lost interest in Korean newspapers.

In the late 1950's the journalists again braved political suppression by the Liberal government. Their struggle won massive support from the people and was instrumental in the downfall of government. However, ever since this victory, the owners of print media started emphasizing the commercial aspect of newspaper operation. The owners soon were suspected of using their press

organizations to serve their nonjournalistic interests. Since, in newspaper operations in Korea, capital is not yet differentiated from management and management not yet separated from newspaper-making, the owners can influence the contents of news by resorting to personnel action.<sup>48</sup> In the meantime, the present government of the Democratic Republican Party began to initiate tight control of the press in the late 1960's. Journalists were placed under dual pressures: one, directly from the government, the other by the media owners, who were in turn being pressured by the government or were acting in their own interests. Under these circumstances journalists soon were unable to express themselves freely. As journalists became more docile, the people once again showed distrust in the press and journalists.<sup>49</sup>

One journalist-turned-scholar attributed this situation to an apparent lack of unity among journalists as well as alleged outside control.<sup>50</sup> He implied that governmental control was effective because the traditional unity between editors and reporters had been shattered. His reasoning was that if reporters and editors maintained a solid united front, the media owners would have some excuse to resist governmental pressure. What is important to note here is the apparent fact that there developed a division among working journalists (between editors and reporters). Frequent charges have been made by junior reporters that editors were selling out in the service of media owners.

The weakening unity among journalists was evidenced recently on two occasions. In the spring of 1971 junior reporters of more than ten newspapers, news agencies, and radio stations adopted a declaration for the freedom of the press and expressed their determination to repel any outside pressure. Their united action took the government by surprise and as editors came out in support of their junior colleagues the government appeared to ease its tight control of the press.<sup>51</sup> But in the absence of continued concerted action

of the two groups (reporters and editors), the revolt got nowhere and lost its impetus. In the autumn of 1973 university students staged a series of demonstrations against the tight political control of the government. The newspapers appeared to be under pressure to ignore the demonstrations. Junior reporters of several major newspapers in Seoul once again acted up. This time the target was their own editors and management. The junior reporters threatened that, if the student activities were not appropriately treated in their newspapers, they would refuse to work, which would mean a stoppage of publication. Although the junior journalists won a temporary victory this also ended as simply another episode.

Not only the environment but also journalists themselves appeared to have changed. In recent years, it has been argued that journalists no longer are men of mission but simply salaried employees. A managing editor recently reasoned that changes in the general occupational structure had affected the field of journalism.<sup>52</sup> During the period of the Japanese rule, politics, government service, and university positions were not open to Koreans. Therefore, journalists at that time were a mixture of politicians, academicians, and journalists in their personality inclinations. But ever since the Independence of Korea, political aspirants were more likely to go into politics and academic minded persons into college teaching. As a result, journalism has come to be operated mostly by "journalistic" journalists. By "journalistic" journalists this editor seemed to mean "specialized, professional" journalists meaning that this type is less possessed with politics.

However, this editor failed to mention one particular category of individuals, the writers. In the early days of journalism in Korea, the proportion of writers was high among journalists. Of the 170 known journalists of the early Korean newspapers, almost 40 were writers.<sup>53</sup> These 40 did not include the writer-journalists since 1945. In the 1920s and 1930s, almost all of the major writers were engaged

in reportorial activities, some temporarily and others for a relatively long time.<sup>54</sup>

A distinction between writer and journalist may be made here. One notable quality of writers is that they tend to express themselves. A major function of journalists is to report something about someone or some event. If this is true to some extent, writers are more likely to be outspoken than journalists. Along with social development, it appears that journalists alone have become the major actors in the area of journalism.<sup>55</sup>

Present day journalists seem to be less mission-oriented and more self-oriented. Journalists themselves admit to this change in orientation. The authors of this study asked a sample of journalists if they agreed with the idea that they alone should not be expected to display acts of heroism because they also have families to support and because they, too, are entitled to pursue personal interests. Among journalists of the Seoul General Press, 73 percent agreed with the idea. The proportion of agreement was also high (67 percent) for journalists of the Provincial General Press.

It will be recalled that working journalists in Korea at present are frustrated in many ways: ever increasing governmental control, alienation from management/ownership, a growing distrust by the people, and a low level of salary. Journalists have always been underpaid but in the past journalists gained gratification in the thought that they were serving their countrymen in their opposition to foreign oppression and later to authoritarian home government. Once this psychic support was gone, journalists began to look for more tangible rewards.<sup>56</sup>

Since 1970, many journalists found relief by way of an "exodus" into government service. For example, in the first half of 1971 about 70 journalists left the major mass media organizations in Seoul. Some 50 provincial correspondents of the major mass media in Seoul had resigned. Another 50 newsmen of provincial newspapers had also



resigned their jobs.<sup>57</sup> Many brain trust positions in the government ministries were given to these former journalists. Also, many former journalists were assigned to the Korean Information Office overseas. In the spring of 1973 eleven former journalists were appointed press officers to the ministers of the various governmental agencies.<sup>58</sup> About the same time 19 publishers and journalists were either elected or appointed to the new National Assembly.<sup>59</sup>

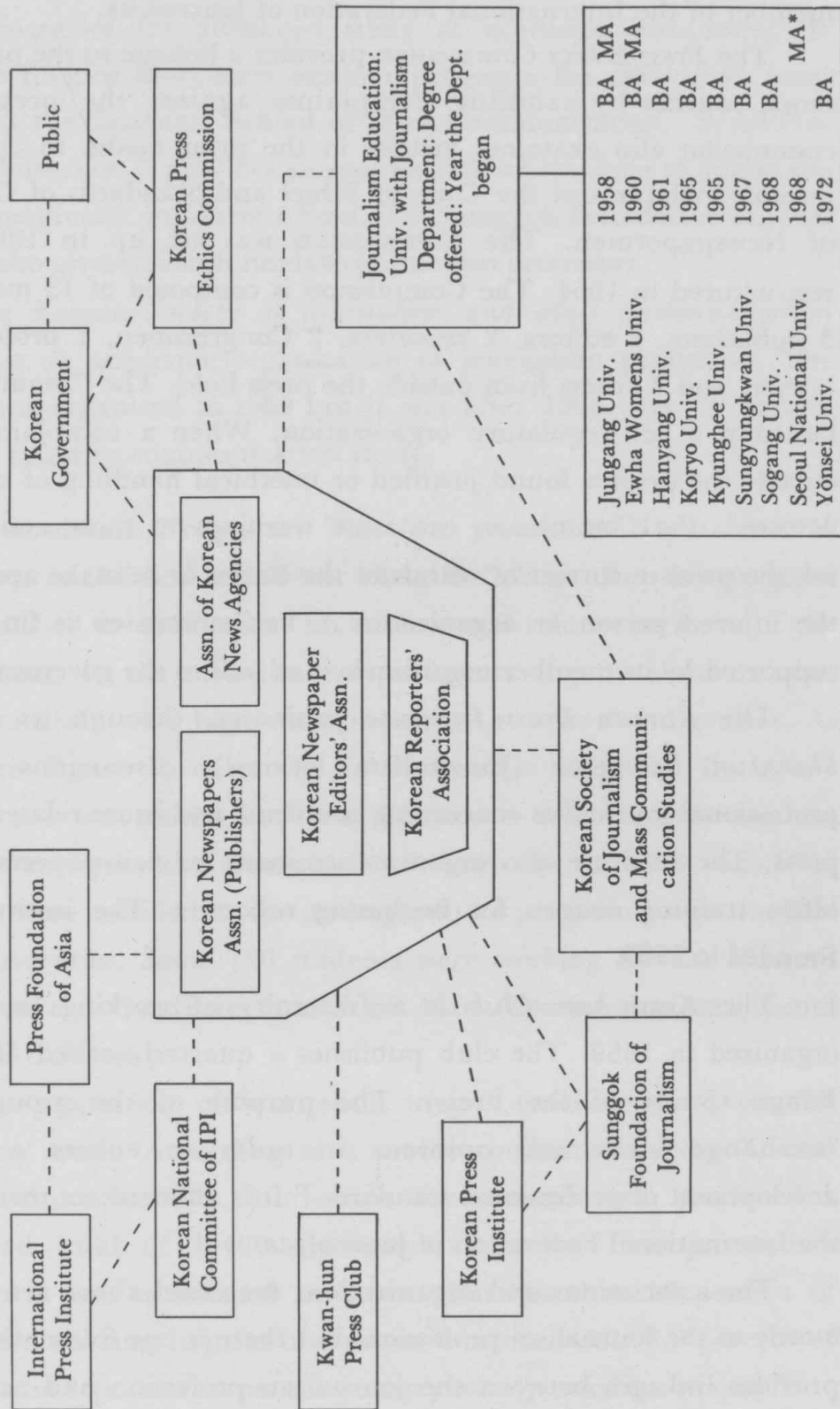
**5. Professional Associations.<sup>60</sup>** Among Korean journalists and journalism scholars, there has been increasing recognition of the need to develop a set of principles to define the field of journalism and to raise the image of journalists. This feeling has reflected itself in the movement to improve the quality of workmanship among journalists. In the contemporary setting, this attitude has evolved into the emergence of a variety of organizations relating to press functions.

There are four major newspaper associations in Korea. Two of them are the organizations of publishers or executives: the *Korean Newspapers' Association* and the *Association of News Agencies*. The other two are the organizations for working journalists: the *Newspaper Editors' Association* and *Reporters' Association* (see figure 1).

The Korean press as represented by these four main associations is linked to the International Press Institute (IPI) through the *Korean National Committee of IPI*. This committee was installed in 1960 with the approval of the IPI. The committee is composed of prominent newspaper people, mostly publishers, executives or senior editors.

The Korean press is one of the founding members of the Press Foundation of Asia (PFA). The *National Committee of PFA* was organized in 1968. Full members of the committee should be the publishers of newspapers or news agencies. The PFA has its Readership Research Center in Seoul. The Reporters' Association is a

Figure 1: Organizations Relating to Press Functions



member of the International Federation of Journalists.

The *Press Ethics Commission* provides a linkage to the public or news sources by handling complaints against the press. The commission also examines articles in the print media to check on possible violations of the Code of Ethics and Standards of Conduct of Newspapermen. The Commission was set up in 1961 and restructured in 1964. The Commission is composed of 13 members: 3 publishers, 2 editors, 2 reporters, 2 Congressmen, 1 professor, 1 lawyer, and 2 others from outside the press field. The Commission is basically a self-regulatory organization. When a complaint from outside the press is found justified or unethical handling of stories is detected, the Commission can issue warnings to those concerned, ask the press to correct or withdraw the stories or to make apology to the injured person or organization. The Commission is financially supported by its member organizations as well as the government.

The *Korean Press Institute* promotes, through its journal *Shinmun Pyongron* (Journalism Review), discussions among professional journalists concerning problems and issues related to the press. The Institute also organizes seminars for newspapermen and offers training courses for beginning reporters. The institute was founded in 1963.

The *Kwan-hun Club* is a fraternity of working journalists organized in 1959. The club publishes a quarterly called *Shinmun Yöngu* (Study of the Press). The purpose of the group is to "exchange ideas and opinions in order to ensure a sound development of professional standards." It is an associate member of the International Federation of Journalists.

The associations and organizations described above are related mostly to the journalism profession, but there is one foundation that provides linkages between the journalism profession and academic circles and between journalists and communication researchers. It is the *Sunggok Foundation of Journalism* established in 1965. The Foun-

dation sends mid-career journalists to the United States, Japan, or other countries for advanced study at academic institutions. It helps to finance short-term seminar programs for mid-career journalists at the Graduate School of Mass Communication, Seoul National University. It provides journalists with scholarships to attend the above-mentioned graduate school. The Sunggok Foundation of Journalism also gives research funds to journalism professors.

The *Korean Society of Journalism and Mass Communication Studies* is an academic organization of journalism professors. The society was organized in 1959 but it was after 1968 that the society became active in communication study.

**6. Academic Programs.** The first journalism department in Korea was established in 1954 at Hong-Ik College. But this program was abolished in 1962 under an educational reform measure of the government. In the meantime, departments of journalism or mass communication were beginning to emerge at several universities. As shown in Figure 1, currently six universities offer the Bachelor's degree, two universities both the Bachelor's and Master's degrees, and one university the Master's degree only. As of 1973 some 900 students were enrolled in the undergraduate program for journalism at 8 universities. Some 120 students were working for the Master's degree at the Graduate School of Mass Communication, Seoul National University.

The proportion of journalism majors entering the press has been very small. According to a survey conducted by the Korean Press Institute in 1973, journalism departments have produced a combined total of 1,400 graduates since the first journalism department was established in Korea. But less than 10 percent of them were working in print or electronic media. Only 2.5 percent of print media reporters across the country were journalism majors.<sup>61</sup>

Two factors seem to account for the small proportion of

journalism graduates in the press. The first factor is a competitive job market. Employment of reporters has long been by examinations conducted by the respective media organizations. The examinations are open to any college graduate. Because of the tight job market many social science majors and humanities graduates also take the examination. Consequently, journalism majors constitute only a fraction of the large number of job-seekers in newspaper companies.

The second factor is an apparent difference between journalism educators and journalism practitioners with regard to the qualification for journalists. Journalism training in college tends to emphasize theories of mass communication (or mass media) and techniques of article writing. But the press prefers those with substantive knowledge of social phenomena to those with technical knowledge of how to write articles. Journalism practitioners tend to believe that good journalists first need economic, sociological, political, and legal knowledge.<sup>62</sup> In other words, *how* to write comes after *what* to write. Because of this orientational difference, four years of journalism education does not appear to offer journalism majors any great advantage over majors from these other fields in the competitive examination.

## SUMMARY

Along with the nation's history of rapid social change often induced by foreign intrusion, journalism in Korea experienced a series of turbulent periods. From its early beginnings under native rule to the period of Japanese colonial rule, journalism suffered various forms of repression. A new breath of life was introduced to journalism with the liberation of the country at the end of World War II in 1945. However, with independence, there was not a sudden shift to total freedom of the press. Though much less restrictive in form, the successive governments that followed still

imposed certain guidelines for the operation of the press.

However, with increasing stability established in the nation, the press and journalists in particular began to critically examine the status of journalism. The increasing movement of journalists out of the profession into other private enterprise and government service indicated disillusionment with the press and a concern for personal security from an economic standpoint. But the hardcore of journalists worked towards building a new feeling of professionalism. With increasing stability in the economy and a more optimistic outlook towards the future, from a national standpoint journalism also seemed to have achieved greater maturity. There has been the recognition of the need to develop certain ethical principles and to raise the image of journalism as a profession. This self acknowledgement has resulted in the movement to improve the quality of workmanship among journalists and to provide more special training in academic institutions. Though more changes can be anticipated in the profession, journalism in Korea has achieved a high standard of professionalism and will presumably play an important role in the economic, political and social development of the country.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Jeun Choi, *Hanguok Shinmun Sa* (History of Korean Newspapers) Ilcho-gak, Seoul, 1970, pp. 3-4.

2. Jeun Choi, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-23.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-31.

4. The *Tongnip Shinmun* used one of its four pages for English language articles.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 51-61.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-185.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-109; 126-127; 164-166.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-121.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40, 108, 162.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 194.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 204-205.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 229-230, 240-242, 260-261, 284,285, 295-296, 321.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278, 310-311.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-277.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 357-358.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 377. For the original sources, see *Summations of the U.S. Army Military Government Activities in Korea*, No. 24, September, 1947, p. 238, and the *Voice of Korea*; published by Korean Affairs Institute, Washington, D.C., No. 24, November, 1947.
19. *Hankook Shinmun Nyongam 1968* (Korean Press Yearbook 1968), Korean Newspaper Publishers Association, Seoul, 1968, pp. 598-650.
20. Several newspapers and news agencies of some significance that were once published in Seoul were not mentioned in the Table. They are, for example, the *Jayu Shinmun*, the *Pyonghwa Shinmun*, the *Minkook Ilbo*, the *Seoul Ilil Shinmun*, and the *Sekae News Agency*. The reasons for their exclusion are: 1) They existed for relatively a short period of time, 2) An exclusion of their names does not qualitatively change the overall picture.
21. The *Seoul Shinmun* took over the printing machineries and other facilities from the *Keijo Nipo* and the *Maeil Shinbo*, the two organs of the Japanese colonial government. The Tables 1 and 2 inheritance of equipment and facilities alone is not considered a continuation of newspaper. The *Kyunghyang Shinmun* claims that it is the same *Kyunghyang Shinmun* that was closed down in 1910 when Japan annexed Korea.
22. In Tables 1 and 2 no mention was made of the English-language newspapers in Korea. Before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 there were two English dailies in Seoul. One was the *Korea Daily News* (1904-1908), a sister paper of the nationalist *Taehan Maeil Shinbo*. The other was the *Seoul Press*, one of the organs of the Japanese Residency General, which supervised the Korean government until the annexation. The *Seoul Press* continued publishing until 1937. After the Liberation at the end of World War II, the *Korea Times* appeared in 1950 and the *Korea Herald* appeared in 1953. These two English-language dailies were still in publication as of 1974.
23. Under the Japanese colonial rule two Japanese news agencies (the *Nippon Denpo* and the *Teikoku*) set up their branch offices in Seoul in 1923. Later a semi-official Japanese news agency (the *Domei*) had its office in Seoul. After Korea was liberated from Japanese rule in 1945, the *Kookje* and the *Yonhap News Agencies* started out but soon merged into the *Hapdong News Agency*. The *Chosun News Agency* was founded in 1945, changed its name to the *Koryo* and then to the *Hankook News Agency*. The *Tongyang News Agency* took over the facilities of the *Hankook News Agency* and started out anew in 1952. There were the *Kongnip* and the *Jungang News Agencies* but they soon dissolved. The leftist *Haebang News Agency* was

founded in 1945, but closed down before 1948. Later the *Sekae News Agency* was set up but disappeared in 1960.

24. Reference materials used in this discussion include: Jeun Choi, *Hankook Shinmun Sa* (History of Korean Newspapers), Ilcho-gak, Seoul, 1970; Jeun Huh, "Ulron Pobje e kwanhan Pikyo Yonku" (Comparative Study of Press Laws), Master Thesis, Graduate School of Mass Communications, Seoul National University, 1971; Kyuchol Kim, "Ulron Jayu e kwanhan Sasangjock Keumto mit Hyonhangpob sang ui Munjejom" (Ideologies of Freedom of Press and Laws Bearing on the Press), Master Thesis, Graduate School of Mass Communications, Seoul National University, 1971; Hyunjoon Chung, "Ulron kwa Shiljeongpob" (The Press and Related Laws), *Ulron Kwa Pobnyul* (The Press and Laws), a seminar report published by the Korean Association of Newspaper Editors, Seoul, 1967, pp. 49-63; Articles of Jinsop Lee (pp. 127-157), Mankyo Chung (pp. 183-230), Sohbaeck Oh (pp. 231-328), and Boksan Kwak (pp. 337-357) in *Hankook ui Ulron*, Vol. 1, published by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, Korean Government, Seoul, 1968; and *Hankook Shinmun Nyongam 1968* (Korean Press Yearbook 1968), Korean Association of Newspaper Publishers, Seoul, 1968, pp. 328-388.

25. Jeun Choi, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

26. For a long time major Korean newspapers published daily morning and evening editions.

27. Jeun Huh, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

28. Sunghan Kim, "Press Cord Je ui Dukshil" (Press Card System: Gains and Losses), *Shinmun Pyongron* (Journalism Review), Spring-Summer, 1972, No. 40, Seoul, pp. 4-9.

29. There are other laws that affect the press activities, such as the Election Laws, Criminal and Civil Codes, Military Laws, Martial Law, and the Presidential Emergency Power. See, for example, Hyunjoon Chung, "Ulron kwa Shiljeongpob" (The Press and Related Laws), *Ulron kwa Pobnyul* (The Press and Laws), a seminar report by the Korean Association of Newspaper Editors, Seoul, 1967, pp. 49-63.

30. Kyuchol Kim, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-146.

31. See, for example, Kwanku Lee, "Ulron Jehan Pobnyong Kaepae e Jeon Ulronin eun Kwolki hara" (For a United Campaign to Have Press Control Laws Amended or Repealed), *Shinmun Pyongron* (Journalism Review), Autumn, 1971, No. 38, Seoul, pp. 2-6; Kwanwoo Chon, "Kookka Poan Pob kwa Pangong Pob eun Kaejong Dwaeya handa" (The National Security Law and the Anti-Communist Law Should Be Amended), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Autumn, 1971, No. 38, pp. 13-16.

32. See, for example, a statement made by the Minister of Culture and Public Information at a question-answer session at the National Assembly on October 11, 1973. Refer to *Shinmun Pyongron*, November, 1973, No. 45, p. 15.



33. The newspapers analyzed in Table 4 are: *Tongnip Shinmun*, *Taehan Shinbo*, *Hyupsunghoe Hoebo*, *Maeil Shinmun*, *Jekook Shinmun*, *Hwangsung Shinmun*, *Shisa Chongbo* for the 1896-1899 period; *Taehan Maeil Shinbo*, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, *Manse Bo*, *Taehan Minbo* for the 1900-1910 period; *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Chosun Ilbo*, *Sidae Ilbo*, *Jungwae Ilbo* for the 1920-1940 period; *Seoul Shinmun*, *Kyunghyang Shinmun*, *Hankook Ilbo*, *Taehan Ilbo*, *Shin-A Ilbo*, *Jungang Ilbo*, *Hapdong News Agency*, *Tongyang News Agency*, *Donghwa News Agency* for the 1945-present period.

34. The Provincial papers analyzed are: *Pusan Ilbo*, *Kookje Shinbo*, *Honam Maeil*, *Jeonbook Ilbo*, *Jeonnam Maeil Shinmun*, *Honam Ilbo*, *Maeil Shinmun*, *Yongnam Ilbo*, *Kyungnam Maeil*, *Kyungnam Ilbo*, *Jejoo Shinmun*, *Kangwon Ilbo*, *Chungchong Ilbo*, *Taejon Ilbo*, *Chungdo Ilbo*, *Inchon Shinmun*, and *Kyonggi Ilbo*.

35. Data on newspaper circulation before 1945 were scanty. Even today newspaper circulation is not publicly announced and validated. Korean newspapers still maintain their policy not to make public their exact circulation data and tend to shun the ideal of forming a Korean version of Audit Bureau of Circulation. In the absence of circulation statistics published by newspapers, the Ministry of Culture and Public Information of the Korean government, through its machinery and for its own purpose, started collecting data on mass media distribution across the country. The government published the statistics of the number of newspaper copies, radio receivers, and television sets by county and city in 1961, 1963, 1965, 1967, and 1969.

36. Jeun Choi, *op. cit.*, pp. 51, 53, 83, 85, 106-107, 118, 120, 137, 171-172.

37. Jeun Choi, *op. cit.*, p. 219, 295.

38. This is a statement made by Seun-geun Lee in a talk with an incumbent managing editor and a reporter in "Pyonjip Kookjang Ron" (About Managing Editors), *Shinmun Pyongron*, January, 1974, No. 46, Seoul, pp. 35-41.

39. Jeun Choi, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-312.

40. Suk-chae Choi, "Shinmun eun Pyonjipin eu Soneseu Ddeunatta" (Newspaper-making is no longer in the hands of journalists), *Kija-Heuphoe-Po*, (The Organ of the Reporters' Association), December 27, 1968, p. 1.

41. A requote from Jin-bae Kim, "Kyongyoungju wa Pyonjipkwon" (Press Owners and Right of Newspaper-making), *Journalism* (Journal published by the Reporters' Association), Winter, 1969, p. 12. In this article, Kim summarized a panel discussion by 17 reporters reviewing "The Korean Press in the 1960s and 1970s."

42. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

43. Sang-cho Shin, "Kaeheun Podo e Bichin Ulron Puje eu Hyunshil" (Absence of Journalism reflected in reporting the Constitutional Amendment), *Journalism*, quarterly published by the Reporters'

Association, Autumn, 1969, Seoul, pp. 3-10.

44. Jaehoon Hahm, "Jibang Shinmun Kyongyung eu Je Munje" (Problems of Provincial Newspaper Management), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Autumn, 1971, No. 38, Seoul, pp. 26-30, especially, 27; Hyonsoo Shin, "Shiryon Ki Majeun Jibang Ji" (Difficult Period Awaiting Provincial Papers), *Shinmun Pyongron*, July, 1973, No. 43, Seoul, pp. 94-97, especially p. 95.

45. Almost all the press organizations have two top positions. One is the president and the other is the chairman of the board of directors. Some organizations are owned by the president and some others are by the chairman. *Who's Who* published by the *Hapdong News Agency* in 1971 was referred to in categorizing the major enterprises of the press owners.

46. This relationship held when controlled by location of newspaper.

47. Jeun Choi, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278, 310-314.

48. Sang-cho Shin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-10.

49. Hong-bin Im, Jeung-hwan Oh and Ju-hyun Um pointed out this aspect in a discussion session at a seminar reported in *Shinmun kwa Dokja* (Newspapers and Readers), Korean Newspaper Editors Association, April, 1968, Seoul, pp. 68, 70, 74, Su-hang Shong, "Ulronin eu Ijik Kyunghyang" (Recent Tendency among Journalists to Leave Journalism), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Autumn, 1971, No. 38, Seoul, pp. 38-44, especially p. 42, Ju-hwan Shon, "Sae Ulron Sa Changjo eu Yongkwang den Juche" (Workers for a New History of Journalism in Korea), *Journalism*, Spring, 1971, Seoul, pp. 2-3.

50. Kyu-hwan Kim made a statement to this effect in a discussion session reported in *Shinmun kwa Dokja* (Newspapers and Readers), April, 1968, p. 121.

51. See, for example, Deuck-song Cho, "Shinmun: Ulron Jayu Suho" (Newspaper: To Guard the Freedom of Press), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Summer, 1971, No. 37, Seoul, pp. 37-40, 38-39.

52. Je-hee Nam made this observation in a discussion reported in "About the Managing Editors," *Shinmun Pyongron*, January, 1974, No. 46, Seoul, pp. 35-41, especially pp. 38-39, 40-41.

53. See, "Activities of Writer-Journalists," *Dong-A-Ilbo*, May 18, 1973, p. 5.

54. *Ibid.*

55. Herbert Passin made an observation to the same effect in his "Writer and Journalist in the Transitional Society," Lucian Pye, ed., *Communications and Political Development*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1963, pp. 82-123. Some of Passin's remarks are as follows: "The Differentiation of writer and journalist is . . . not so sharp in the early stages of modernization" (p. 113). "The result of the professionalization of journalism, which seems to follow an even moderate measure of economic growth, is the sundering of that close union of literature, politics, the nationalist movements" (p. 117). "Where the political temperature is high, the journalist usually considers 'objectivity' and 'commitment' to be the same

thing... when the political temperature is low, and national politics divided, 'objectivity' tends to become more important" (pp. 122-123).

56. Suhang Shong, "Ulron In eu Ijik Kyunghyang" (Tendency of Journalists to Leave Journalism), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Autumn, 1971, No. 38, pp. 38-44.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

58. *Shinmun Pyongron*, July, 1973, No. 43, p. 13.

59. *Shinmun Pyongron*, May, 1973, No. 43, p. 9.

60. Sources for this section are: Sections about Korean press in *Asian Press 1969* and *Asian Press 1970*, published by the Readership Research Center, the Press Foundation of Asia, Seoul, 1969 and 1970; *Communications Media: South Korea*, the United States Operations Missions to Korea, Seoul, 1965; Won-kyung Lee, "Hankook Shinmun Yulriwewonhoe eu Hwaldong Sang" (The Function and Role of the Korean Press Ethics Commission), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Korean Press Institute, Seoul, Summer, 1971, No. 37, pp. 25-27; Han-yong Lee, "Hankook Shinmun Yulriwewonhoe: Kigoo wa Unyeung eu Munjejom" (The Korean Press Ethics Commission), *Shinmun Pyongron*, Summer, 1971, No. 37, pp. 28-33; "Ulron Ka" (News from the Press Organizations), *Shinmun Pyongron*, May, 1973, No. 42, pp. 106-108; "Mass Comm Daehak ka" (College Education of Mass Communications), *Shinmun Pyongron*, May, 1973, No. 42, pp. 109-112; Keun-ho Shong, "Baramjikhhan Shinmunhakgwa Kyoyuk" (Restructuring of College Education of Journalism to be desired), *Shinmun Pyongron*, November, 1973, No. 45, pp. 30-34.

61. "Mass Comm Kyoyeukke eu Hyonhwang kwa Joleupsang eu Chuiup Shiltae Bunsok" (Employment of Journalism Majors with the Press Organization), *Shinmun Pyongron*, November, 1973, No. 45, pp. 25-29.

62. Keun-ho Shong, "Baramjikhhan Shinmunhakgwa Kyoyuk" (Restructuring of College Education of Journalism to be desired), *Shinmun Pyongron*, November, 1973, No. 45, pp. 30-34.

## The Postal History of Dynastic Korea

*By John T. Nugent*

Stituated on a peninsula between the two great Asian empires of Japan and China, Korea's history has been that of a precarious balancing act between these giants. This geographical factor has been manifested through the years in the ebb and flow of Chinese, Japanese, and Western influences which has provided this small country with more than its share of wars, invasions, and political upheavals. The postal history of Korea's dynastic period has reflected this turbulence.

The first evidence of a postal system in the Korean peninsula can be found in the royal post routes and mail stations (Wooyök) established in the ninth year of the reign of King Soji of the Silla Dynasty (487 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> As the Korean kingdom was then a vassal state of the Chinese Emperor, the system initiated by King Soji was copied from the "I Chan," the Chinese imperial courier system, which had been in existence as early as the Chou Dynasty (1027-256 B.C.).<sup>2</sup> It was restricted to handling Court messages and was employed as an instrument of royal control over local magistrates and military forces.

During the Koryö Dynasty (918-1392), from which modern Korea derives its name, the royal system was greatly improved and expanded. The Wooyok were reinforced with more personnel, facilities were expanded, and a special courier system was set up to handle military dispatches exclusively. The speed of the system was enhanced by the introduction of horses to carry mail during the second year of the reign of King Söngjong (983).<sup>3</sup>

The kings of the Yi Dynasty (1392-1910) initially extensively reformed the royal postal system to copy the efficient system in China

brought about by reforms introduced there by the Ming Dynasty. In the 30th year of the Yi King Sŏngjong's reign (1597), two main postal delivery systems were developed, the Horse post and the Foot post. The Horse post was set up along the State Highways with postal stations at 50-mile intervals. Each station was staffed by a station chief, five postmen, and five post horses. Over 5,000 horses were employed in this system. Horse post couriers were identified as to the importance of the mail they carried by the number of horses imprinted on their badge of office known as the "Horse Badge" (badges with from one to five horses are known to exist). Delivery of dispatches off the main highways was accomplished by the Foot post, which operated from postal stations at 30-mile intervals staffed by a station chief and two postmen.<sup>4</sup>

Further reform was carried out by another Yi Dynasty ruler, King Hyŏnjong, who in 1615 established the office of the Postmaster General, under whose control the country was divided into six semi-autonomous postal districts.<sup>5</sup> This system, like the systems preceding it, restricted delivery of mail solely to government dispatches, military directives and reports, and other royal documents.

The first private postal system in Korea also materialized during the early Yi Dynasty. Packmen, those intrepid individuals who walked from marketplace to marketplace throughout the country carrying great amounts of parcels and merchandise on their backs in A-frame packs or in horse-drawn carts, acted as postmen for commoners and small businessmen. For a fee, the packman would deliver personal messages, either written or oral, to villagers throughout the peninsula wherever their wanderings took them. Correspondents were forced to depend on the sometimes questionable reliability of these traveling peddlers for proper delivery of their communications. Despite their drawbacks, these men provided such an efficient communications channel that in time of national emergency they were pressed into government service when the royal system became overburdened or

ceased to function. During the 16th century Japanese invasion of Korea, these packmen carried government dispatches between Seoul, the royal capital and government center, and Üiju, on the Yalu River, where the king had taken refuge.<sup>6</sup>

These private and royal postal systems fulfilled the communication needs of dynastic Korea well into the late nineteenth century when the growing numbers of Europeans and Japanese in Seoul pressed for the adoption of a Western-style postal system. In 1877, Japan established post offices at Pusan, Wönsan, and Chemulpo (Inch'ön) to handle mail between its citizens residing in Korea and their homeland. In 1882, a postal system of sorts was established between Customs Houses in Seoul, Inch'ön (Jenchuan), Wönsan (Yuensan), and Pusan and the Treaty Ports of China (a generic term for the offices of the Shanghai Local Post system).<sup>7</sup>

Between 1880 and 1883, Mr. Hong Yong-shik, a middle-grade official with decidedly "reformist" or "progressive" ideas, traveled extensively in the United States and Japan to study the operations of their respective postal systems.<sup>8</sup> On April 22, 1884, in the 21st year of the Yi Dynasty's King Kojong, the Korean Postal Service was established by imperial decree and Hong was appointed Director-General of Posts. The Postal System was administered by the Armed Forces. Under Hong, the royal postal system was drastically reorganized along Western lines. Post offices were established in Seoul and Chemulpo and this modern European style postal system, complete with postage stamps, opened for operation on November 18, 1884.<sup>9</sup> The first Korean stamps (Scott #1-5),<sup>10</sup> known as the "Moon" series, were printed in Japan by the Japanese Finance Ministry Printing Bureau in denominations of 5, 10, 25, 50, and 100 wön and featured the Korean national symbol.

This first attempt at a modern postal system was shortlived, however. The introduction of "foreign" (especially Japanese) influence in Korea did not sit well with Chinese-oriented conservatives. On Decem-

ber 4, 1884, a banquet was held in the new Post Office building to celebrate the successful opening of the postal service. Hong, in a conspiracy with Kim Ok-kyun, a senior grade official of the Foreign Office, and several others of pro-Japanese disposition (and with considerable help from Japanese authorities) planned to use this party as the starting point for their efforts to overthrow the existing pro-Chinese government. This plot, known as the "Emeute of 1884" or "Kapshin Coup," failed to achieve the desired results. During the rioting which followed, the new Post Office was looted and burned, and Hong was captured and executed by Chinese troops sent to quell the disturbances. The other conspirators escaped to Japan under the protection of the Japanese Consul, Count Inouye.<sup>11</sup> Continued political turmoil forced the Post Office to close on December 6, 1884, after only 17 days of operations. Because of this tragic series of events, only the 5- and 10-wŏn stamps were ever available for use by the public. The shipment of the other denominations had been delayed in Japan and these were not put into use. Only six to ten copies of the 5- and 10-wŏn stamps are presently known to exist postally used, and these are ambitiously sought after by philatelists specializing in the stamps of Korea.

Increased political instability and the Sino-Japanese War, much of it fought in or near Korea, prevented the reintroduction of a postal service for eleven years. The old Horse post system was revived for this interim period. In 1893, Mr. Min Sang-ho was appointed Director-General of Posts and a law was promulgated governing the Royal Postal Service. The law established the General Office of Cable and Postal Service under the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, then headed by Mr. Kim Ka-chin.<sup>12</sup>

This system had its Central Bureau in Seoul and a total of 37 postal stations and 326 substations situated throughout the kingdom along the seven main highways. These stations were augmented by an additional 747 letter boxes which were serviced by daily courier runs. Each large postal station controlled several substations which were

usually staffed by local magistrates administered by the Interior Ministry. Mail delivery between stations was scheduled three times a week by foot post. Each postman carried a maximum of 20 kilograms and was required to cover at least 40 kilometers daily. If mail volume exceeded this limit, extra men or pack horses were employed.<sup>13</sup> On July 22, 1895, the new Post Office commenced operations between Seoul and Chemulpo. The service was gradually extended to outlying areas of the country when sufficient staff was recruited and trained. A new set of postage stamps were issued in denominations of 5, 10, 25, and 50 Poon (Scott #6-9).<sup>14</sup> Printed by the American firm of Andrew H. Graham Banknote Company of Washington, D.C., these stamps carried the design of the national flag of Korea, the "T'aekuk."

This postal system proved to be very successful and was popular among the large expatriate community in the capital and the countryside. Writing in September, 1895; the editors of the English language "Korean Repository" noted:

"The Korean Post Office is fairly launched. The day it was opened, 12 letters were cancelled, . . . the first month 616. Collected from sale of stamps ¥362.48. The Chōngdong (section of Seoul near the royal palace where a majority of foreigners resided) rounds are made at 7 a.m. and 4 p.m. The mail for Chemulpo closes at 9 a.m. and arrives from Chemulpo at 5 p.m. Letters in the city (Seoul) require 10 poon or 2 sen stamps."<sup>15</sup>

The new service handled a total of 192,000 letters in its inaugural year and derived a total of \$2,200 from the sale of stamps.<sup>16</sup>

Modern technology was rapidly adapted with the assistance of the Japanese, who had gained the upper hand in Korea finally as a result of their defeat of China in 1894-95. A rail route was opened between Chemulpo and Seoul, reducing transit time from eight hours to one and three-quarters. The Korean government maintained con-



A Yi Dynasty postman in the uniform of his office.



The Horse Badge identified postal couriers during the Yi Dynasty. The importance of the Courier was indicated by the number of horses stamped on his badge.



The Communications Memorial Hall is a restoration of the first Post Office in Korea. It was burned and looted during the "incident" of 1884. The museum holds artifacts from Korea's postal history and examples of all stamps issued by Korea.

tracts with the concessionairies of railroads and turnpikes which provided for free and unimpeded transport of all mail accompanied by a postal agent. Maritime transport was also used to speed delivery among the various coastal cities on the peninsula. Japanese mail packets carried Korean mail between Kobe, Nagasaki, Pusan, Chemulpo, Taegu, Wönsan, Chefoo (China), and Vladivostok. The Chinese Eastern Railway Steamship Company carried mail between Shanghai and Vladivostok via Nagasaki, Chemulpo, Port Arthur, and Chefoo.<sup>17</sup>

That the Korean Postal System was only an internal system presented a great amount of difficulty in the handling of international mail. Pressure on the authorities to join the Universal Postal Union built rapidly in the foreign business communities. A Korean delegation headed by Director-General Min attended the Congress of the U.P.U. held in Washington, DC. in 1897. In 1898, Min hired M.E. Clemencet, a former employee of the French Department of Posts and Telegraph, to act as an advisor and instructor at the Central Post Bureau in Seoul. He was commissioned by Min to introduce reforms and modify existing plans and policy to allow Korea to fit into the Universal Postal Union. Korea was admitted to full membership in the U.P.U. on January 1, 1900 and in the year that followed, the post office handled 1,300,000 letters and produced revenues of \$20,600.<sup>18</sup>

In order to attain at least the appearance of independence and equality with China and Japan, on October 17, 1897, King Kojong declared himself emperor and established the Empire of Dai Han.<sup>19</sup> Existing stocks of stamps were overprinted with Chinese characters and Hangül to publicize this fact. These overprints, quite naturally, are known to philatelists as the "Dai Hans" (Scott #10-15).

The first locally produced postage stamps were the "Plum Blossom" series of 14 denominations ranging from 2-ri to 2-won issued in 1900. These were designed by Han Chi-chang and printed

by typography at the Printing Bureau of the Agriculture-Commerce-Industry Ministry in Seoul. This firm also printed Korea's first commemorative stamp, a 3-chon denomination issued in 1902 to mark the 40th anniversary of King Kojong's coronation. At M. Clemencet's urging, the Korean Post Office replaced the "Plum Blossom" series with a set of 13 stamps of his own design known as the "Falcon" series after the stamps' central design which were produced by the French Government Printing Office. The "Falcon" series was placed into general use in 1903.<sup>20</sup>

Japanese influence in imperial affairs became deeply entrenched during these later years. Defeats of the Chinese in 1895 and of the Russians in 1905 by the Japanese removed the last major obstacles to their expansionist policies in North Asia. In 1905 Japan forced Korea to sign the Joint Korea-Japan Communications Operation Treaty which effectively placed all of Korea's communications facilities, including the Post Office, under Japanese control. Five years later, in 1910, the Yi Emperor was finally deposed and Korea was formally integrated into the Japanese Empire. Japanese stamps replaced those of Imperial Korea until its liberation on August 15, 1945, by victorious Allied military forces.

Careful comparison of Korea's postal development to the political events of the same time frame reveals, interestingly, the major role played by the postal system in the outcome of those events. As a vassal state of the Middle Kingdom, Korea copied the extensive Chinese courier system for its own use. The introduction of a modern, Western style postal system reflected the weakening of the Chinese position of influence in Korea, first in the "Emeute of 1884" and then in its permanent establishment in 1895. The various issues of stamps from 1895 to 1903 reflect the attempts of the Korean Kingdom to maintain its position of independence in the face of Japanese expansionism. It is interesting to note the first step toward integration of Korea into the Japanese Empire was the amalgama-

tion of their postal systems five years before the Emperor of Korea was finally deposed.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Hwang Woo-sung, "A Brief History of Korean Postage Stamps," *Korean Postage Stamps*, p. 19.
2. Carl H. Scheel, *A Short History of the Mail Service*, p. 16.
3. Chang Yang, "Telecommunications and Postal Service in Korea," *Korea Journal*, vol. 8, no. 1 (January, 1968), p. 13.
4. Homer B. Hulbert, "The Korean Telegraph and Postal Services," *Korea Review*, vol 2, no. 9, (September, 1902), p. 396.
5. Chang Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
7. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 397.
8. "The Communications Memorial Hall," R.O.K. Ministry of Communication, p.1.
9. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 397.
10. See glossary of philatelic terms in the appendix for definitions of technical terms.
11. Harold Cook, *Korea's 1884 Incident*, p. 199. This book provides excellent background to this famous incident in both Korean political and philatelic history.
12. "Notes and Comments," *Korean Repository*, August, 1895, p. 320.
13. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 399.
14. See note 10.
15. "Notes and Comments," *Korean Repository*, September, 1895, p. 359.
16. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 401.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 400.
18. Homer B. Hulbert, *Hulbert's History of Korea*, (Clarence D. Weems, ed.), vol. II, p. 576.
19. Hulbert, *op. cit.*, p. 401.
20. Hwang, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

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- Photography courtesy of the *Korea Herald* and the Korean-American Educational (Fulbright) Commission

## APPENDIX

### GLOSSARY OF PHILATELIC TERMS

- Catalogue numbers — arbitrary numbers assigned to stamps issued by a country to facilitate identification among philatelists.
- Scott numbers — numbers assigned to stamps listed in the Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue. This is the basic U.S. philatelic reference which lists all stamps issued in the world since 1840.
- Used — in philatelic terms, a stamp which has been postmarked in such a manner that it indicates actual use as prepayment of postage.
- On Cover — technical term meaning stamps and the entire envelope or letter to which they remain affixed.
- Philately (-ic) — the hobby of stamp collecting, (pertaining to the hobby).

# Korean Literature in English: A Critical Bibliography

*By Horace H. Underwood*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Introduction .....                                      | 66  |
| 1. General .....  | 68  |
| 1.1. Introductions .....                                | 68  |
| 1.2. Longer Guides .....                                | 70  |
| 1.3. Specialized Studies .....                          | 71  |
| 1.4. Anthologies .....                                  | 73  |
| 1.5. Bibliographies .....                               | 75  |
| 5.1. Of Works in Korean .....                           | 75  |
| 5.2. Of Works in English .....                          | 76  |
| 1.6. Periodicals .....                                  | 78  |
| 2. Traditional .....                                    | 79  |
| 2.1. Poetry in Chinese .....                            | 79  |
| 2.2. Poetry in Korean .....                             | 80  |
| 2.1. <i>Sijo</i> .....                                  | 82  |
| 2.3. Prose .....  | 83  |
| 3.1. <i>Ch' unhyang</i> .....                           | 84  |
| 3.2. <i>Sim Ch'öng</i> .....                            | 86  |
| 2.4. Folklore .....                                     | 86  |
| 4.1. General Folktale Collections .....                 | 86  |
| 4.2. Specialized Folktale Collections and Studies ..... | 89  |
| 4.3. Folk drama .....                                   | 91  |
| 3. Modern .....   | 92  |
| 3.1. Modern Poetry .....                                | 92  |
| 1.1. Anthologies .....                                  | 92  |
| 1.2. One-poet Collections .....                         | 94  |
| 1.3. Han Yong-un .....                                  | 95  |
| 1.4. Kim Sowöl .....                                    | 95  |
| 1.5. Cho Byung-hwa .....                                | 96  |
| 1.6. Studies of Modern Poetry .....                     | 97  |
| 3.2. Modern Fiction .....                               | 98  |
| 2.1. Anthologies .....                                  | 98  |
| 2.2. One-writer Collections .....                       | 100 |
| 2.3. Studies of Modern Fiction .....                    | 100 |
| 3.3. Modern Drama .....                                 | 101 |
| 3.4. Works Originally in English .....                  | 102 |
| 4.1. Poetry and Fiction .....                           | 102 |
| 4.2. Autobiography .....                                | 103 |
| Index .....   | 104 |

## INTRODUCTION

Literature has been one of the last fields of Korean studies to be examined in English. Because of a felt importance of politics and economics in a developing nation, the social sciences came first. But as Korea has begun to enter the world community and the world community has found itself living in Korea, a greater interest has arisen in Korean art, music, and literature. The consideration shown to English-reading visitors in the National Museum in Seoul is one result of this interest; another is the remarkable outpouring, in the last seven years, of translations of Korean literature, an outpouring exceeding all the translation done in the preceding eighty-five years since the opening of the country.

One problem with this outpouring of material is that much of it, having had a very limited distribution, is simply unknown. In 1972-73 I held a grant from the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, through Yonsei University, Seoul, to develop (from existing translations) syllabi in English for course segments on Korean literature. Thus I became familiar with what had been translated. In the spring of 1973, when I was on a panel at a meeting of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, I mentioned that I knew of some seventy books related to Korean literature in English—translations or critical studies. Someone said that they wished I would write down a list of those books. From that germ, though somewhat delayed, has come this work.

Though I have been connected with Korea all my life, I am by training a student of literature in English rather than a student of Korea. Thus my first concern is not how good a "translation" a piece of writing is, by whatever criteria, but rather how successful it is as a work of art in English. This point of view is central to the comments in the bibliography. While the ideal is a work that is both good translation and good English, I have forgiven the fault of freedom more easily than the fault of literalism or awkwardness. Thus I



recommend some works which are so free as to cease being translations (eg. Joan Grigsby's *Orchid Door*, no. 57). I might add that I think such a criterion is essential if translations of Korean works are to gain the international recognition that the country so deeply craves.

As for what is included, I have attempted to be comprehensive as to books but very selective as to periodical articles. Works in western languages other than English have been omitted; though there is a substantial body of work in French, and occasional items in German, Spanish, Russian, and others, I am not really familiar with them. In English only a very few items written by unpersons or published in unplaces have been advertently omitted. I do not wish to recite all my criteria, but some questions which had to be answered included: Where are the edges of "literature"? When is literature "not Korean"? When is an article "important"? How I answered these and other questions can best be seen from the bibliography itself. For books, I have felt it better to list and explain than leave unlisted. If, however, anyone remains frustrated, particularly by the omission of most periodical articles, the various bibliographies listing works in English (nos. 42-49) will lead the reader to almost every article and translation in English.

In compiling this bibliography, I was helped considerably by the grant from the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, which I have already mentioned, even though the grant was for another purpose and this is only a "by-product." I was also helped by a mimeographed partial listing loaned me in 1972 by Mr. William Shaw, which he had obtained in a course in Korean literature at Harvard. I have taken that listing's word for very little, but it was a substantial impetus which started me on my way. My wife Nancy did a vast amount of reading and screening for me. Mr. Yun Yong of the Yonsei Library acquisitions staff helped me get many books and much publication data. The substantial personal library

of my father, Dr. \*Horace G. Underwood, contained many of the rarer older books. I was given the free run of the Koreana Collection at the Yongsan (U.S. Army) Library, which helped greatly.

Books are still pouring out, only temporarily daunted by economic pressures, and this bibliography, which runs through the end of 1976, will soon be out of date. Nor is it guaranteed complete; I have on file an unconfirmed rumor that a book of Korean fiction was published in Australia some years ago. But as a fairly thorough first listing I hope that it will help English-speaking people, casual readers as well as serious students, to become more familiar with Korean literature.

## 1. GENERAL

### 1.1. INTRODUCTIONS

1. *UNESCO Korean Survey*. Seoul: The Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1960. 936 pp.

An encyclopedic introduction to Korean studies, classified by scholarly disciplines; somewhat dated. Chapter 1, "Outline of Education, Science, and Culture" (sic!), includes literature (pp. 24-28), particularly an unusually large section on Korean literature in *hanmun* (Chinese). On the other hand, Chapter 9, "Literature," is poorly organized and elementary; it tends to simply list important names and works.

2. *Korea: Its Land, People, and Culture of All Ages*. Seoul: Hakwon-sa, 1960. 718 pp. Revised edition, 1963. 739 pp.  
*Korea: Its People and Culture*. Seoul: Hakwon-sa, 1974. 464 pp.

Like no. 1, this contains a detailed introduction to Korean literature. But the 40-page "Literature" chapter, though uneven (various contributors), does a better job than no. 1 in indicating what is important and what trivial, and has much more detail. The 1963 revision just adds an index; the 1974 "new" book revises a few pages on post-war Korean literature, but is not noticeably improved.

3. Suh Doo Soo (Sō Tu-su). *Korean Literary Reader, with a Short History*

of *Korean Literature*. Seoul: Dong-A, 1965. 908 pp.

Primarily (800 pp.) Korean texts with notes in English for students of Korean. The 100-pp "history" only goes through 1945, but is good, discussing many of the works it mentions in some detail. A valuable appendix is Suh's translation of the 1919 "Declaration of Independence."

4. *Korean Studies Today: Development and State of the Field*. Seoul: Institute of Asian Studies, Seoul National University, 1970. 350 pp.

Chapters on various aspects of Korean studies in the humanities and social sciences. The chapter on classical literature (pp. 111-135) is an excellent scholarly introduction; that on modern literature (pp. 137-151) is good but not so tightly controlled. Neither chapter, however, is about the "state of" Korean studies; both rather are introductions to the subject-matter/content of their fields.

5. Skillend, W. E. "Korean Literature," *A Guide to Eastern Literatures*, ed. David M. Lang (New York: Praeger, 1971), pp. 359-383.

A very good general introduction, valuable particularly for Skillend's comments on fifteen major individual writers.

6. Henthorn, William E. *A History of Korea*. New York: The Free Press, 1971. 256 pp.

A history to 1900. Sections on "Belles-lettres" scattered in the chapters for each dynasty include a few translations of poems as well as the usual brief coverage of the period's literature. The translations, though few, are very good.

7. *Korea Past and Present*. Seoul: Kwangmyong, 1972. 443 pp.

A beautifully produced government-supported publication introducing all aspects of Korea. This book includes the usual short "Introduction to Literature" (pp. 275-282), which is useful only for its good discussion of post-Korean War writing.

8. Joe, Wanne J. (Cho Wan-jai). *Traditional Korea: A Cultural History*. Seoul: Chung'ang University Press, 1972. (A History of Korean Civilization, Vol. 1) 477 pp.

Includes discussion of the major poetic forms and writers of the early dynasties and of the separate periods of the Yi dynasty. Though the discussions are scattered in the book, Joe is admirably concise and gives good information on the most important writers and works.

9. Rutt, Richard, ed. *James Scarth Gale and his History of the Korean*

*People*. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1972. 396 pp.

A biography of Gale and an edited version of his history. Both the biography and the history contain many translations of Korean poetry, both *sijo* and poetry in Chinese. These are now primarily of historical interest, as Gale is very dated as a poet.

10. *Literature*. Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1973. (Korea Background Series) 105 pp.

A descriptive introduction to periods and genres, containing very few translations. Though not bad, this government publication is somewhat nationalistic in tone — eg. all Chinese-language writing after the invention of *hangul* is excluded as “not Korean,” and the highest virtue in literature is to present the uniquely Korean. Nothing since 1945 is mentioned, perhaps wisely.

11. Lee Sang-sup (Yi Sang-söp). “An Historical Survey of Korean Literature,” *Aspects of Korean Culture* (Seoul: Sodo Women’s Teachers College Press, 1974), pp. 60-73.

Considering its brevity, a fairly good introduction, with a better sense of theme and literary analysis than most such introductions. Weak on modern literature. This is the only article related to literature in *Aspects*.

## 1.2. LONGER GUIDES

12. Lee, Peter H. (Yi Hak-su). *Korean Literary History*. American Council of Learned Societies, 1961. (Research and Studies in Uralic and Altaic Languages, Project No. 35) 144 pp.

Typewritten, photoreproduced. An earlier version of his *Topics and Themes* (no. 13).

13. Lee, Peter H. (Yi Hak-su) *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes*. Tuscon, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1965. (Association for Asian Studies: Monographs and Papers No. 16). 141 pp.

This is a work of introduction and explanation, not translation; the previous title (no. 12) was more accurate. It contains little analysis or criticism in the Western sense; even “topics and themes” are treated minimally. Though Lee’s attitude to the received tradition is often rather uncritical, the book is nonetheless full of facts about periods, genres, dates, authors, and works. Good indices help to make this the most useful single reference book on Korean literature.

14. Zǒng In-sǒb (Chǒng In-sǒp). *An Introduction to Korean Literature*.

Seoul: Hyangnin-sa, 1970. 302 pp.

This is not a book-length coherent guide to literature, but a collection of Zong's essays, mostly very introductory, and sometimes redundant. In a few, however, such as "The Appreciation of Korean Poetry," he gets away from summaries to valuable comment on, in this case, theme and allusion.

15. *Survey of Korean Arts: Literature*. Seoul: National Academy of Arts, 1970. 206 pp., plus separately issued "Index."

Articles by major Korean writers — eg, by Sŏ Chŏng-ju on "Modern Korean Poetry." The eight articles cover major topics in Korean literature from its beginnings to the modern era. The book is nonetheless mostly disappointing, not only because the articles tend to survey and list titles without critical comment, but because they are in "Konglish," absolutely unchecked by a native speaker.

### 1.3. SPECIALIZED STUDIES

See the listed bibliographies, particularly the *Korea Journal Index* (no. 45) for more specialized critical studies.

16. Solberg, S.E. "Moulder and Moulded: Some Extra-literary Forces in Korean Literature, an Observation," *Korean Affairs* (Seoul: Council on Korean Affairs), 2:1 (Winter, 1963), 61-83.

An outstanding article tracing direct and indirect censorship in Korea and its effects on the literature from pre-Yi to post-Korean War Korea. In addition, it contains excellent translation of many poems, particularly Japanese-occupation era resistance poems.

17. Chang Tok-soon, Richard Rutt, Yoh Suk-kee, Kim Chin-man. *Humour in Korean Literature*. Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1970. (Korean Culture Series, No. 1) 183 pp.

Four critical articles on humor printed in English (to p. 87) and Korean; good articles, but a very slim book. See Rutt (no. 62).

18. *Humour in Literature: East and West: Proceedings, XXXVII International P.E.N. Congress, June 28 — July 3, 1970*. Seoul: The Korean Centre, International P.E.N., 1970. 804 pp.

Printed in English, French, and Korean; really three books glued together. Contains some speeches on humor as manifested in Korean and East Asian literature, but nothing that isn't said better elsewhere, eg. in no. 17.

19. *Proceedings from the International Comparative Literature Conference Held on 18-24 July 1971 at Tamkang College of Arts and Sciences, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.* ed. Yen Yuan-Shu. Taipei: *Tamkang Review* 2:2 — 3:1 (October, 1971 — April, 1972). 523 pp.

Several papers on classical Korean literature were presented at the conference and are printed here; they have been reprinted in the *Korea Journal*, 12:1 (January, 1972). The articles emphasize the relationship of Korean and Chinese literature, frequently overlooked these days.

20. Rutt, Richard, "The Dual Cultural Background of Korean Literature," *Asian Pacific Quarterly*, 5:3 (Winter, 1973), 38-47.

Another useful balance to the current nationalistic emphasis only on literature written in Korean, the article insists on the necessity of knowing both the Chinese and Korean-language literary traditions. Contains a number of good poetry translations.

21. *Upper-class Culture in Yi-dynasty Korea.* Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1973. (Korean Culture Series 2). 190 pp.

Most of the articles in this collection are sociologically oriented, but the book contains a good introduction to and translation of Pak Chi-wŏn's *Yangban-chon*. The book is half English, half Korean.

22. Lee, Peter H., ed. *The Traditional Culture and Society of Korea: Art and Literature.* Honolulu: The Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii, 1975. (Papers of the International Conference on Traditional Korean Culture and Society; Occasional Papers of The Center for Korean Studies, No. 4). 90 pp.

The book's title may mislead — this is not a general reference or introduction. It is three scholarly papers, only one on literature (see no. 75).

23. Jeon Kyu-tae (Chŏn Kyu-t'ae). *Korean Heritage.* Seoul: Jeong Eum Sa, 1975. 170 pp.

About one-fourth of these thirty-nine articles are on literature. Though the articles were originally newspaper columns in *The Korean Herald*, Dr. Jeon is a well-known professor of Korean literature. His articles, despite some awkward English, are interesting as a measure of what Korean scholars think of their own literature.

24. Song Yo-in. *Translation: Theory and Practice.* Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1975. 120 pp.

A scholarly linguistic study (a revised doctoral dissertation) that uses the Korean-English translation case as the basis for its theoretical discussion. Though the "theory" is heavy going, the "practice" sections help put *all* the translations in this critical bibliography in perspective.

25. The Committee for the Compilation of the History of Korean Women. *Women of Korea: A History from Ancient Times to 1945*. trans. Kim Yung-Chung. Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1976. 327 pp.

"Writers and Poets" (pp. 162-175) is the discussion of the significance of woman writers in the classical literature, particularly Hwang Chini, Hō Nansōrhōn, and the anonymous *kisaeng*s. Interesting and convincing.

#### 1.4. ANTHOLOGIES

See also "anthologies" under the more specialized sections: Poetry in Chinese, Sijo, Folk Tales, Modern Poetry, Modern Fiction, Modern Drama.

26. Hyun, Peter (Hyōn Ung), trans. *Voices of the Dawn: A Selection of Korean Poetry from the Sixth Century to the Present Day*. London: John Murray, 1960. 128 pp.

The first good collection of Korean poetry in English, this book is still valuable because it includes Korean poetry written in Chinese. Though the selection is slim — 70 poems by 55 poets — the translations are generally very good.

27. Ha Tae Hung. *Korean Cultural Reader*. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1962. 179 pp.

— — — — — *Guide to Korean Culture*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1968. 400 pp.

Compendiums of unimproved but mercifully brief selections from the volumes of Ha's "Korean Culture Series" (poetry, tales, proverbs, etc.), with an added chapter of "Opera Choon-hyang." The later version simply has longer selections from a greater number of volumes.

28. Zōng In-sōb (Chōng In-sōp), trans. *A Pageant of Korean Poetry*. Seoul: Hyangnin-sa, 1963. 285 pp.

Not very good poetry; Zong does better on prose. He also spreads himself thin; 221 named poets are translated.

29. Lee, Peter H. (Yi Hak-su), trans. *Anthology of Korean Poetry: From the Earliest Era to the Present*. New York: John Day, 1964. 196 pp.

— — — — — *Poems from Korea: A Historical Anthology*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974. 196 pp.

The 1974 book is the 1964 book with only minor revisions. Much of the first *Anthology* had been published earlier in many articles in a dozen different Western journals. This book remains the best published collection in English over the entire range of Korean poetry. If a bit over-literal at times, it is always competent.

30. Solberg, S.E., trans., "Korean Literature Issue," *Literature East and West*, 14:3 (September, 1970), 309-461.

Excellent; far too brief. Contains selections from classical and modern literature, and some criticism. This is the only balanced introductory collection of all Korean literature, well worth acquiring.

31. *Asian PEN Anthology*, ed. F. Sional José. New York: Taplinger; Manila: Solidaridad, 1966. 358 pp.

This promising-looking title in fact only contains two poems and one story from Korea, an under-representation which makes the book not worth the effort of finding.

32. *The Mentor Book of Modern Asian Literature: From the Kyber Pass to Fuji*. ed. Dorothy Blair Shimer. New York: New American Library, 1969. 447 pp.

Though Korea is represented as adequately as other countries (2 short stories, 15 poems), anthologies such as this and no. 31 cover so much territory that they seldom offer anything significant on any one country.

33. *Asian and Pacific Short Stories*. Seoul: The Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region; Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle, 1974. 307 pp.

18 stories from 9 countries. The two from Korea are good, but published earlier elsewhere.

34. *Asian Literature: Short Stories and Plays*. Seoul: International P.E.N., Asian Writers' Translation Bureau, 1973. 311 pp.

35. *Asian Literature: Poetry, Short Stories, and Essays*. Seoul: International P.E.N., Asian Writers' Translation Bureau, 1975. 289 pp.

Though countries from Turkey to Japan are represented, the first volume includes six stories from Korea, about one-fourth of the book. In the second volume about one-third of the book is from Korea — thirteen poems and five stories. Both volumes are well-published and, despite the variety of translators, well-translated. The stories and poems are indexed in nos. 46 and 47.



## 1.5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1.5. 1. *Of Works in Korean*

36. Trollope, Mark Napier. "Corean Books and their Authors," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 31 (1932), 1-104.

Primarily an attempt to deal with the mass of Korean books in Chinese. Trollope discusses many of the important classical works. Sixty pages of historical description, a list of many Korean books, and an index.

37. *Han'guk-ŭi Myŏngjŏ (Great Books of Korea)*. Seoul: Hyeon Am, 1969. 1368 pp.

A huge book in Korean with a slim English summary at the "back" (front, Western style), double paginated pp. 1368-49 (sic) or 5-24. Brief descriptions of 100 significant books written in Korea, from the seventh century to the Second World War. Reflects much more recent scholarship than no. 36, but much less detail.

38. *Korean Studies Guide*. ed. Richard Marcus. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954. 220 pp.

The "Literature" section is useful for its descriptive bibliography of modern books in Korean on aspects of Korean literature. The latest entry, however, was published in 1950.

39. *Bibliography of Korean Studies: A Bibliographical Guide to Korean Publications on Korean Studies Appearing from 1945 to 1958*. Seoul: Asiatic Research Center, Korea University, 1961. 410 pp.

*Bibliography of Korean Studies, Vol. II: A Bibliographical Guide to Korean Publications on Korean Studies Appearing from 1959 to 1962*. Seoul: Asiatic Research Center, Korea University, 1965. 432 pp.

Descriptive bibliographies in English on works in Korean. "Language and Literature" is pp. 155-229 in vol. 1 (56 books, 155 articles), pp. 181-255 in vol. 2 (42 books, 115 articles). A tremendous and valuable job of work.

40. Skillend, W.E. *Kodae Sosŏl: A Survey of Korean Traditional Style Popular Novels*. London: University of London School of Oriental and African Studies, 1968. 268 pp.

A research tool, listing and describing all old Korean "novels" (531 of them, some known by title only) and their extant texts. It is an excel-

lent and massive job of scholarship. The book was reprinted in 1972 by Seoul National University.

41. *Synopses of Korean Novels: Reader's Guide to Korean Literature*. Seoul Korean National Commission for Unesco, n.d. [1972]. 100 pp.

Two more introductory articles on the classical and modern "novel," meaning any work of fiction. The bulk of the book consists of brief plot summaries of 40 classical and 39 modern stories. The book is most useful in summarizing minor works that have not been translated and are often mentioned only by title in other discussions.

#### 1.5 2. *Bibliography of Works in English*

42. Underwood, Horace H. "Occidental Literature on Korea: A Partial Bibliography," *Transactions of the Korea Branch Of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 20 (1931), 1-185 plus index.

— — — — —. *Partial Bibliography of Occidental Works on Korea, with a Paper on Occidental Literature on Korea*. Seoul: Literary Department, Chosen Christian College, 1931. 185 pp. plus index.

This listing constitutes the entire issue of the *Transactions*, and is a noble attempt by my grandfather to list every book and article on every subject concerning Korea in every Western language. 2882 entries; one section on literature. A partial updating of this bibliography by G. Gompertz in the *Transactions*, 40 (1963), unfortunately includes no literature.

43. Elrod, J. McRae. *An Index to English Language Periodical Literature Published in Korea, 1890-1940*. Seoul: Korean National Assembly Library, 1965. 221 pp.

Indexes several magazines of literary interest including *Korea Review*, *Korea Magazine*, *Korea Repository*, and the *RAS Transactions*. The index is quite complete and organized to be useful (Elrod is a librarian). The book makes research in these early periodicals possible, and they contain a fair amount of early translation.

- 43a. *An Index to English Periodical Literature Published in Korea, 1945-66*. Seoul: The Korea Research Center, 1967. Mimeographed, 153 pp.

Though this indexes only a limited number of periodicals, far fewer than no. 43, it is useful in its period. See "Literature" and cross-references thereof.

44. Wood, Robert S. "Korean Literature: A Comprehensive Bibliography in English," *Korea Journal*, 8:3 (March, 1968), 30-34.

Wood's listing is particularly valuable in including all the introductory articles published in the 1950's and 1960's in such periodicals as *Koreana Quarterly* and *Korean Affairs*. He is least "comprehensive" on his listing of books and pre-Korean war materials.

45. *Index: Korea Journal, September, 1961—August, 1971.*

Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1971. 27 pp.

This separately issued index to articles, translations, reviews, etc. in the *Korea Journal* is also found in *Korea Journal*, 11:9 (September, 1971). Subsequent annual indexes are in:

12:9 (September, 1972)

13:10 (October, 1973)

14:9 (September, 1974)

15:12 (December, 1975)

16:12 (December, 1976)

These "indexes" are actually subject-classified listings with few divisions and no real index (eg, of titles). They indicate book reviews, and under literature they subclassify poems, *sijos*, stories, essays, and critical essays. It is particularly difficult to find the critical essays on a given subject or person. But considering the importance of the *Korea Journal*, it is far better than no index at all.

46. Underwood, Horace H., and Norman Thorpe, compilers. "Modern Korean Fiction in English: A List," *Korea Journal*, 15:9 (September, 1975), 53-68.

An attempt to list every publication of every translation into English of any work of modern Korean fiction. No evaluation, but it shows you where to find more of an author you like.

47. *P.E. News*. Seoul: Korean Centre, International P.E.N. 1:1 (Winter, 1975), 83-120; 2:2 (Summer, 1976), 80-131; 2:3 (Autumn, 1976), 69-121.

Bibliographies for a Korean audience of English translations of short stories and poetry. 2:2 and 2:3 are a listing of almost all publications of modern Korean poems translated into English, listed with the Korean original titles as well, but unfortunately with only Chinese characters for the poets' names. It is nonetheless a tremendously valuable list. 1:1 is a similarly rearranged reprint of no. 46.

48. *Bibliography of Asian Studies*. Association for Asian Studies (USA) Annual.

This annual bibliography, a basic tool in East Asian studies, includes literature. The listing is usually accurate but very seldom complete.

Before 1970 it was the annual "Bibliography" issue of the *Journal of Asian Studies*. Before 1956 the *JAS* was the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, but before 1956 there was little literature work in English to list.

49. *MLA Bibliography*. New York: Modern Language Association. Annual. Before 1969, it was the *PMLA* (sic) annual "Bibliography" issue. Asian literature was first included in the bibliography for 1967 (published 1968). Like no. 48, the listing is usually accurate but seldom complete. It is most useful—and most complete—for things published outside Korea.

### 1.6 PERIODICALS

50. *The Korea Magazine*. Seoul: 1917-1919. Monthly.

Contains many interesting early translations of Korean literature, including James. S. Gale's version of *Ch'un-Hyang* (no. 81), quite a bit on Yi Kyu-bo, etc. Most of the work, though not signed, was done by Gale. The prose is not as dated as the verse. *Korea Magazine* is indexed in no. 43.

51. *The Korea Times*. Seoul: Hanguk Ilbo, Nov. 1, 1950—. Daily.

For several years, the best source of the best translations of modern Korean short stories. From 1969 to 1974, the Sunday and holiday issues frequently carried book reviews, critical articles, poems, and particularly stories. Unfortunately, no index exists. A "Writers' Series" of very short introductory pieces appeared in 1969-71. Since a change of editorship in about 1974, only two or three stories a year have appeared.

52. *Korea Journal*. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, August, 1961—. Monthly.

An indispensable source for translations, biographical articles on Korean writers, and some critical articles on aspects of Korean literature and culture. Its emphasis is on modern literature. See also the *Index: Korea Journal* (no. 45).

53. *The Korean P.E.N.* Seoul: Korean Centre, International P.E.N., 1964-1973. Irregular; seven issues.

A vehicle solely for translations of modern Korean literature. The quality was generally not very impressive—the works chosen are not the best, nor are the resulting translations excellent. The final issue was good, but consisted of reprinted stories and one good article (no. 158).

54. *Journal of Korean Studies*. Seattle: University of Washington. Two issues — 1:1 (July-December, 1969); 1:2 (January-June, 1971).

A valiant but short-lived idea. Composed of what appear to be graduate student papers, it covered all fields, though primarily the social studies. Both issues included translations by David Mesler of Korean stories.

55. *Asian Pacific Quarterly of Cultural and Social Affairs* (The *ASPAC Quarterly*). Seoul: Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region, 1969 — . Quarterly.

From the magazine's founding, there has been at least one article per issue on Korean topics, very frequently on some aspect of literature. The articles that appear tend to be well-researched and valuable contributions (see nos. 20, 92, 145).

56. *Korean Studies Forum: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Korea*. Seoul: The Korean-American Educational Commission (Fulbright); Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 1976 — . Semiannual (projected).

A promising new journal whose sponsorship by Fulbright may help it endure more than the all-too-frequent two issues. Furthermore, it could have some good articles on literature (see no. 68)...

## II. TRADITIONAL

### 2.1. POETRY IN CHINESE

See also the appropriate section of Hyun's anthology (no. 26) and the literary criticism in nos. 13 and 19.

57. Grigsby, Joan S., adapter. *The Orchid Door: Ancient Korean Poems*. Kobe, Japan: Thompson, 1935; New York: Paragon Reprint, 1970. 105 pp.

Versions of many seldom-translated Korean poems, mostly from *hanmun* (Chinese). Grigsby calls herself an adapter rather than a translator; she produces verse paraphrases of other people's translations. But she is a skilled poet, and good English poetry, however distant it may be from an original, often results.

58. Rutt, Richard, "Hanmun—Korean Literature in Chinese," *Korea Journal*, 13:3 (March, 1973), 30-36.

A preliminary study with some good translations that begins to indicate the treasures that might be available, still untranslated, in *hanmun*.

59. Rutt, Richard, trans., "Traditional Korean Poetry Criticism: Fifty *Sihwa*," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 42 (1972), 105-143.

Fascinating because it shows the traditional criteria for evaluating poetry and the relationship of Korean *hanmun* poetry to the mainland Chinese literary tradition.

60. Yi Kyu-bo, "The Lay of King Tong-myōng," trans. Richard Rutt, *Korea Journal*, 13:7 (July, 1973), 48-54.

A complete translation of a 14th-century epic poem which is important both for its author and for the place of its story in Korean culture.

61. Ha Tae-hung. *The Life of a Rainhat Poet: A Drama*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1969. (Korean Culture Series, Vol. 9). 158 pp.

A dramatization of what the life of Kim Sakkat, the wandering 19th-century "rainhat poet," *might* have been, with translations of some of his poems worked in. It is hard to tell which are his and which are Ha's. The effort of separating them is unrewarding.

62. Rutt, Richard, "Kim Sakkat, the Popular Humourist," *Humour in Korean Literature* (Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1970; no. 17), pp. 29-48.

This descriptive introduction contains the best collection of Sakkat translations in English. It is a reworking of an article that appeared in the *RAS Transactions*, (1964), 56-87.

## 2.2. POETRY IN KOREAN

See also the appropriate sections in anthologies no. 26, 28, 29, and 30, and the literary criticism in nos. 13, 14, and 15.

63. Lee, Peter H. (Yi Hak-su). *Studies in the Saenaennora: Old Korean Poetry*. Rome: Instituto Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1959. (Serie Orientale Roma 22). 212 pp.

In English. A published doctoral dissertation. Detailed explanation and translation of all of the 25 extant "old" (pre-Koryo) Korean-language poems; the translations reappear later in no. 29.

64. Hoyt, James, trans. *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven: A Korean Epic*. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco and the Royal

Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1971. 186 pp.

This work, the *Yongbi Ŏch'ŏn-ga*, was produced on order of King Sejong about 1445 to demonstrate that the newly-devised *hangŭl* script could be used for literary purposes. It is very interesting, but not very good literature. Hoyt's excellent introduction, like his dissertation (no. 66), discusses the history of *hangŭl* and *hangŭl* literature in the period.

65. Lee, Peter H. (Yi Hak-su). *Songs of Flying Dragons: A Critical Reading*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975. (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, Vol. 22). 314 pp.

A scholarly work. Lee's 140-pp introduction discusses the work's historical background, Neo-Confucian philosophy, and literary devices. As for the actual translation, no. 64 seems the better, but Lee's apparatus — notes, references, explanations — are far more detailed and ambitious.

66. Hoyt, James, "Korean Literature: the Rise of the Vernacular, 1443-1592." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1962. 263 pp.

Discusses the historical development of the vernacular in poetry after the invention of *hangŭl* script, and the thematic concerns of this literature.

67. Lee, Sang Ran Helen. "The Problem of Permanence and Impermanence as reflected in the concepts of Man and Nature in the poetry of William Wordsworth and Chŏng Ch'ŏl." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1974. Abstracted in *DAI* 35:12 (June, 1975), 7870A.

A comparative-literature study of views of nature, which Lee says indicate the Korean's direct, non-symbolic, non-reflective, non-supernatural appreciation of the natural world. No new translation of Chŏng Ch'ŏl is included.

68. McCann, David R., "Weighing the Balance: Form and Content in the Korean *Kasa*," *Korean Studies Forum*, no. 1 (Autumn-Winter 1976/77), 19-31.

In discussing the tension between the *kasa*'s poetic form and the narrative flow of language, McCann analyzes several samples of *kasa*, including an excellent new translation of Chŏng Ch'ŏl's "Song of Longing." A very interesting academic article.

2.2. 1. *Sijo*

See also the sections of *sijo* in anthologies no. 26, 28, 29, 30, 129, 131, 132, frequent *sijo* in the *Korea Journal* (no. 52, indexed in no. 45), and the literary criticism in nos. 13 and 15.

69. Pyun, Y.T. (Pyön Yöng-t'ae), trans. *Songs from Korea*. Seoul: n. pub., 1936. Mimeographed, 107 pp. Seoul: International Cultural Association of Korea, 1948. 112 pp.

Translations of *sijo* (102 of them) and of Pyun's own poetry (pp. 45-82). The translations are marred by sticky sentimentality and a rhyme-scheme that now seems like doggerel. Some of the *sijo* translations reappeared in no. 129.

70. Ha Tae Hung, trans. *Poetry and Music of the Classic Age*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1958, 1960. (Korean Culture Series, Vol. 4). 79 pp.

Only *sijo* are translated. Badly done in rhymed "Konglish," influenced by the worst tradition of elevated diction.

71. Rutt, Richard, trans., "An Introduction to the Sijo — A Form of Short Korean Poem," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 34 (1958), 1-88.

This "article" is the whole issue; the translations are early versions of many which appear in Rutt's *Bamboo Grove* (no. 73). Appropriately for an "early work," the results are not quite as satisfactory.

72. Pai, Inez Kong, trans. *The Ever White Mountain: Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo Form*. Tokyo: John Weatherhill, 1965. 175 pp.

Very good. Pai seems particularly superior in translating the women poets. For many years this was the best collection of *sijo*.

73. Rutt, Richard, trans. *The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 177 pp.

The best book of *sijo*; the best book of Korean literature in English ever published. Indispensable, beautiful to look at and read. Its arrangement by subject is its only defect; the quality of its translations is its greatest virtue.

74. Chang Tök-sun, "Exceptional Poems on Non-poetic Themes," *Korea Journal*, 13:3 (March, 1973), 24-29.

Contains *sasöl sijo* (an expanded *sijo* form), the only substantial set of good translations of *sasöl sijo* outside no. 73.



75. Chŏng Pyŏng-uk, "A Study of Korean *Sijo* Vocabulary: Toward A Study of Korean Poetic Diction," *The Traditional Culture and Society of Korea: Art and Literature* (Honolulu: The Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawaii, 1975; no. 22), pp. 33-66.

A scholarly study that attempts to use word-frequency count to establish whether *sijo* are more influenced by native Korean or borrowed Chinese thought patterns. An impressive tentative study, but the conclusions are debatable.

### 2.3. TRADITIONAL PROSE

See also the literary criticism in nos. 13, 14, 15.

76. *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*. comp. Ilyŏn (1206-1289). trans. Ha Tae-Hung and Grafton K. Mintz. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972. 456 pp.

An ambitious attempt at translating this Koryo-dynasty compilation, the major cultural record of the Three Kingdoms period. The translation is better than most of Ha's work in its English mechanics because of the editing of Mintz, but it is still without life, and hard to tell what was in the original document and what is Ha's gloss. Some of the literary tales in the *Samguk Yusa* are also in no. 110.

77. Lee Jeong Ho (Yi Chŏng-ho). *Hunmin Chŏngŭm: Haesŏl Yŏkju; "Right Sounds to Educate the People": Explanation and Translation*. Seoul: Han'guk Tosŏgwanhak Yŏnguhoe: The Korean Library Science Research Institute, 1972. Separately paginated sections, about 200 pp total.

English and Korean translation with facsimile-reprint of the the Chinese-script original of the document that proclaimed *hangŭl* in 1446. The translation is very good; the work is a fascinating revelation of linguistic sophistication combined with Chinese elemental moral philosophy.

78. *Ch'oe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea*. trans. John Meskill. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1965. (Association for Asian Studies: Monographs and Papers No. 17). 177 pp.

Interesting semi-literature. Written at the king's command in 1488 after Ch'oe Pu's return to Korea, this book, the *P'yohaerok* ("Record of Drifting..."), records his journey and observations in Ming China.

79. Hŏ Kyun, "The Tale of Hong Kil-tong," trans. Marshall Pihl, *Korea Journal*, 8:7 (July, 1968), 4-17.

The only unabridged translation of this important early classical "novel." Pihl writes excellent prose. See also no. 30 for an abridged translation.

80. Kim Man-Choong (Kim Man-jung). *The Cloud Dream of the Nine: A Korean Novel: A Story of the Times of the Tangs of China about 840 A.D.* trans. James S. Gale. London: Daniel O'Connor; Boston: Small Maynard, 1922. 307 pp.

A good early translation, somewhat wordy and only slightly Bowdlerized, of the *Kuunmong*, the best classical Korean novel.

81. Kim Man-jung. *A Nine Cloud Dream*. trans. Richard Rutt. In *Virtuous Women: Three Masterpieces of Traditional Korean Fiction*. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1974, pp. 1-177.

This very excellent complete translation improves considerably on Gale (no. 80), and is essential reading in Korean literature.

82. *The True History of Queen Inhyön*, trans. Kim Chong-un. In *Virtuous Women: Three Masterpieces of Traditional Korean Fiction*. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1974, pp. 179-233.

This work, the Inhyön Wanghu Chön, is strictly speaking history, but written with a sense of literary style. In Korean it is considered "palace literature" and is widely known as an important piece of classical prose. The translation is quite polished.

83. Kümwön. "Footprints of the Wildgoose: Horak Hongjo or Hodong sörak ki," trans. Richard Rutt, *Minjök Munhwa Nonch'ong: Nosan Yi Ŭnsang paksa kohüi kinyöm nonmun-jip* (Essays on National Culture: Essays for the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Nosan, Dr. Yi Ŭnsang). Seoul: Samjung-dang, 1973, pp. 671-707.

Also published in: *Korea Journal* (May and June, 1974), 14:5, 44-61; 14:6, 41-49.

Rutt has taken an unpublished translation by James Gale and substantially retranslated it. The work is a literary travel diary through the Diamond Mountains and elsewhere, written by a young woman in the early nineteenth century. The poems she interpolates into her diary are the most famous part of it.

### 2.3. 1. *Ch'unhyang*.

A version of *Ch'unhyang* is also in the folktale collections nos. 94, 97, 105 and many others.

84. Gale, James S., trans., "Choon Yang," *The Korea Magazine* (Seoul),

1:9 through 2:7 (September, 1917—July, 1918).

The *Ch'unhyang-jŏn*, or the *Tale of Ch'unhyang*, is the best-known story in all Korean literature. It exists in many different Korean "originals," as discussed in *Kodae Sosŏl* (no. 40), pp. 220-229, and most English versions have been "retellings" as well. A form of the *Ch'unhyang* story is in some of the earliest folk-tale collections listed in this bibliography. Gale's version, the first full-length *Ch'unhyang* text, has more fidelity to an original than any version since published except Rutt's (no. 90), but given the multiplicity of originals, some might claim that such fidelity is not worth much. Gale's prose, however, is still very readable.

85. Urquhart, Edward J. *The Fragrance of Spring*. Seoul: Sijo-sa, 1929. 136 p.p.

Avowedly a retelling of the *Ch'unhyang* story rather than a translation, the book is in verse (rhymed couplets, anapestic tetrameter). An archaic "elevated" diction is used and all earthy elements are expurgated. The book is now of historical interest only.

86. *Chun-hyang: Opera*. English version by Iwao Matsuhara. Tokyo: n.p., 1947. 215 pp.

English and Japanese versions of the libretto parallel in the music. All the major scenes are included. *Ch'unhyang* was meant to be sung anyway, but I have no idea if it's good music.

87. Sim Chai Hong. *The Waiting Wife*. Seoul, 1950. 251 pp.  
 ————. *Fragrance of Spring: The Story of Choon Hyang*. Seoul: The Korean Republic, 1956. 232 pp.  
 ————. *Fragrance of Spring*. Seoul: International Publicity League of Korea, n.d. 1962, 1963. 251 pp.  
 ————. *Fragrance of Spring: The Story of Choon Hyang*. Seoul: Po Chin Chai, 1970. 232 pp.

Each time the identical text has been reprinted with no reference to previous publication. 1962 uses the plates of 1950; 1970 uses the plates of 1956. We are due for another "new" edition any time now. The 1956 version says, "American edition by Taplinger Publishing Co., Inc., New York, U.S.A.," but I have never seen it. Sim's version is also not a translation but a much-expanded reformulation. However, the English is readable, and if you don't care about fidelity to any original, it is enjoyable.

88. Quiery, William H. *Chun-hyang Song*. Seoul: Sogang College, 1965. 95 pp.

An adaptation of *Ch'unhyang* for a Broadway-type musical, which comes off surprisingly well.

89. Chin In-sook, trans. *A Classical Novel Ch'un-hyang*. Seoul: Korea Centre, International P.E.N., 1970. 171 pp.

Another "telling." The sentences are often clumsy and the proof-reading was much too hasty and careless.

90. Rutt, Richard, trans. *The Song of a Faithful Wife, Ch'un-hyang*. In *Virtuous Women: Three Masterpieces Of Traditional Korean Fiction*. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1974, pp. 235-333.

This outstanding translation is the first version since Gale's (no. 84) to be a translation of a specific text (a storyteller/singer's chapbook) rather than a general retelling. It is easily the translation of choice for *Ch'unhyang*.

### 2.3. 2. *Sim Ch'öng*

A version of *Sim Ch'öng* is also in the folktale collections nos. 94, 97, 102 and many others.

91. Taylor, Charles M., trans. *Winning Buddha's Smile: A Korean Legend*. Boston: Gorham Press, 1919. 153 pp.

The *Sim Ch'öng* story, put into French by a Korean (Hong-Tjong-ou, *Le Bois Sec Refleuri*, Paris, 1895) then "translated" into English. Terrible romanization (eg. *Sim Tchyeng Tjyen*).

92. Pihl, Marshall R., "A Legend Becomes a Story," *Asian Pacific Quarterly*, 4:1 (Summer, 1972), 18-26.

This is not a translation or a complete version of *Sim Ch'öng*, but it includes a summary and traces the story's development from older myths to the full *p'ansori* version.

93. Pihl, Marshall R. "The Tale of *Sim Ch'öng*: A Korean Oral Narrative." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1974. 391 pp.

Says Pihl, "An annotated translation... with a lengthy introduction which surveys the historical development of the genre and its practitioners." Pihl's translations tend to be excellent.

## 2.4. FOLKLORE

### 2.4. 1. General Folktale Collections

94. Allen, Horace N. *Korean Tales: Being a Collection of Stories translated*

*from the Korean Folk Lore*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889. 193 pp.

— — — — —. *Korea: Fact and Fancy*. Seoul: Methodist Publishing House, 1904. 285 pp.

After introductory descriptive chapters, Allen retells (not translates) a variety of stories, from animal legends to "Chun Yang" (in 36 pages), "Sim Chung" and "Hong Kil Tong." The 1904 volume reprints the tales together with "A Chronological Index" to events in Korea in the 1880's.

95. Griffis, William Elliot. *The Unmannerly Tiger and Other Korean Tales*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1911. 155 pp.

Nineteen stories about tigers, fairies, etc, many of the "how the leopard got its spots" variety. Somewhat simple style, appropriate for children, yet the book does not appear to be solely a "children's" book.

96. Hulbert, Homer B. *Omjee the Wizard: Korean Folk Stories*. Springfield, Mass.: Milton Bradley, 1925. 156 pp.

Animal tales framed by a poor Korean boy and a wizard who tells him stories. A children's book.

97. Metzger, Berta. *Tales Told in Korea*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1932. 247 pp.

All the major tales and "novels," including lots of animal stories, *Sim Ch'öng*, *Ch'unhyang*, and *Hong Kiltong*. The stories (35-40 total) are retold, of course, but fairly well.

98. Pyun, Y.T. (Pyön Yöng-t'ae) trans. *Tales from Korea*. Seoul: n.p., 1934. Mimeographed, 200 pp. Seoul: Shinjosa, 1956. 165 pp.

A number of editions of this book exist. It is a widely distributed but quite dated collection of 33 tales, with occasional awkwardness and literalism in the retelling.

99. Carpenter, Frances. *Tales of a Korean Grandmother*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1947; Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1973. 287 pp.

Thirty-two folk tales, gleaned from other English-language sources in this bibliography and retold as if by a Yi-dynasty grandmother. The stories are slick, well-produced, and preserve the basic story-elements, but are at least third-hand from any original.

100. Ch'oe Sang-su. *Legends of Korea*. Seoul, 1951.

Not seen; unconfirmed. Listed in no. 44.

101. Zǒng In-Sǒb (Chǒng In-sǒp), trans. *Folk Tales from Korea*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1952; New York: Grove Press, 1953; Seoul: Hollym, 1970. 257 pp.

Zǒng classifies his 99 tales as myths, legends, fairytales, fables, and "old novels," and has a discussion of motifs and tale-types in the Korean tradition. Quite readable.

102. *Korean Lore*. trans. Lee Jai Hyon. Seoul: Office of Public Information, 1953. 106 pp. Revised edition, 1956. 149 pp.

Korean customs, plus a few legends and myths (Emille bell, founding of Seoul). The revision adds *Sim Ch'ǒng* and *Hungbu and Nolbu*.

103. Jewett, Eleanore M. *Which was Witch: Tales of Ghosts and Magic from Korea*. New York: Viking Press, 1953. 160 pp.

Retold tales from many English sources, "changed, elaborated, combined with others, and given a dramatic buildup to interest modern children."

104. Kim So-un. *The Story Bag: A Collection of Folk Tales*. trans. Setsu Higashi. Tokyo and Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1955. 229 pp.

Thirty nature-and-animal fables, heard by Kim as a child in Korea, written by him in Japanese, and then translated into English.

105. Ha Tae Hung. *Folk Tales of Old Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1958, 1962. (Korean Culture Series, Vol. 6). 259 pp.

48 stories from *Ch'unhyang* to tiger fables. The folk tales are standard but the English is not.

- 105.a Olmsted, D.L. *Korean Folklore Reader: Texts with Presyntactic Analysis*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1962, 1964. 97 pp.

A poor linguistic study of Korean based on nineteen one-page folktales in *hangŭl*, phonetic transcription with word-for-word English, and error-laden English translation.

106. Chang Duk-soon (Chang Tǒk-sun), comp. *The Folk Treasury of Korea: Sources in Myth, Legend and Folktale*. trans. Kim Tae-sung. Seoul: Society of Korean Oral Literature, Seoul National University, 1970. 298 pp.

A collection of folk materials that aims to be rigorous and analytic rather than just a selection. Classifies stories into myths (about gods), legends (about nature), and folklore (about people), and relates

Korean stories to international types and motifs.

107. *Woon Yong's Romance and Other Stories*. Seoul: English Student Association, Department of English Language and Literature, Ewha Womans University, 1970. (Korean Folklore and Classics, Vol. 2). 87 pp.

Translations of various old stories. They are essentially edited student translations; good of their kind, indeed, and better than the other English Student Association volumes, but the English remains too awkward for literary enjoyment.

108. *Legends from the Hills and Valleys of Korea*. Seoul: English Student Association, Department of English Language and Literature, Ewha Womans University, 1971. (Korean Folklore and Classics, Vol. 3). 103 pp.

Place-legends of Korea briefly stated, followed by stories based on the legends written by the "Creative Writing Group." Student work.

109. Park Yongjun, compl. *Traditional Tales of Old Korea: A Mixture of Legend and History of Korea's Colorful Past*. 5 vols. Seoul: Munhwa, 1974. 465 pp. each vol.; 2325 pp. total.

An expensive (over \$100) set of 424 stories of the oral tradition, selected from a ten-volume collection (1075 stories) by Prof. Park. Various translators, including many who were inexperienced; very uneven translations. Not the national folklore, but local stories of the "how that hill got its name" type. Most of the material thus appears nowhere else in English.

#### 2.4. 2. *Specialized folklore collections and studies*

See also the critical study in Zöng (no. 14).

110. Chu Yo-sup. *The Forest of the White Cock: Tales and Legends of the Silla Period*. Seoul: Eommun-gag, 1962. 167 pp.

Taken largely from the eleventh-century *Samguk Sagi* and *Samguk Yusa* (no. 76), fleshed out and retold with no claim to fidelity in translation. The English is slightly eccentric but quite tolerable.

111. Ha Tae Hung. *Tales from the Three Kingdoms*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1969. (Korean Cultural Series, Vol. 10). 180 pp.

61 stories from the *Samguk Sagi*, *Samguk Yusa*, and other historical sources; adapted, not translated. The source for each story is indicated. Most of the stories reappear in Ha's *Samguk Yusa* (no. 76).

112. Gale, James S., trans. *Korean Folk Tales: Imps, Ghosts, and Fairies*.

"from" Im Bang and Yi Ryuk. New York: E.P. Dutton; London: J.M. Dent, 1913; Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1962. 233 pp.

These are not folk tales, but court stories, anecdotes, and gossip, collected by well-known scholars and originally written in Chinese (though the Im Bang original which Gale translated has never been found.) Gale's translation is free but rarely wrong, and his prose is still very readable.

113. Pak Tae-yong. *A Korean Decameron, I: A Collection of Korean Tales*. Seoul: Korean Literature Editing Committee, 1961. 185 pp.

114. ————. *A Korean Decameron, Vol. II*. Seoul: Literature Editing Committee, 1963. 200 pp.

The bawdy is strong in Korean culture, and these volumes help balance the usual sexless collections of folk tales. These are retellings, not translations. Vol. I: 41 stories; Vol. II: 38 stories.

115. Ha Tae Hung. *The Korean Nights Entertainments: (Comic Stories)*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1969. (Korean Cultural Series, Vol. 8). 158 pp.

Humorous stories, 112 of them, mostly from *Ondol Yahwa* (Night tales on the ondol), but retold in dramatic-dialogue (playlet) form. The English is no better than in Ha's other books.

116. Levy, Howard S., trans. *Korean Sex Jokes in Traditional Times*. Washington: Warm-Soft Village Press, 1972. (Sino-Japanese Sexology Classics Series: Vol. 3). 263 pp.

206 examples of what is indeed a major aspect of Korean folk humor. The emphasis is clinical/analytic rather than the energetic bawdy of Pak Tae-yong (nos. 113, 114). The stories are originally from the "Ten Strange Books" recorded in Chinese by Yi-dynasty officials in rural stations.

117. Park Whasung and Choi Junghee. *The Heroines of Korea*. trans. Kim Dong-sung. Seoul: Omungak, 1965. 369 pp.

Retellings of traditional legends surrounding twenty more or less historical women, with some stories changed rather drastically to fit the book's theme. It is neither coherent as a collection nor reliable as information. Hasty translation means lack of smoothness in the English.

118. *The Wit and Wisdom of O-sung and Han-um, and Poems from Korean Myth and Legend*. Seoul: English Student Association, Department



of English Language and Literature, Ewha Womans University, 1969. (Korean Folklore and Classics, Vol. 1). 136 pp.

Translations of humorous stories about two historical figures and made-up poems about the old myths and tales of Korea. Definitely student work.

119. Ha Tae Hung. *Maxims and Proverbs of Old Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1958, 1964, 1970. (Korean Culture Series, Vol. 7). 315 pp.

1106 proverbs in *hangŭl* with literal translations and explanatory comment; index. Barely on the edge of folk literature, but a fascinating collection in which awkward English doesn't matter; by far the best of Ha's series.

120. Lee Ock-soon. "A Study of Korean Folk Tales." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1966. 98 pp.

Not seen; unconfirmed.

121. *Folk Culture in Korea*. Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1974. (Korea Culture Series 4). 304 pp.

Half English, half Korean. Seven articles ranging from mythology to shamanism; one translates several interesting shaman ritual songs. But most of the articles do not offer scholarly depth or striking conclusions.

#### 2.4. 3. Folk Drama.

See critical articles in general guides nos. 13 and 14.

122. Ch'oe Sang-su. *A Study of the Mask Play of Ha-hoe*. Seoul: Korean Books Publishing Company, 1959. (Korean Folklore Series No. 2). 47 pp. plus plates.

A detailed explanation of one type of folk drama, including time and place of performance, costumes, music, an outline of the play and its meaning. A useful brief scholarly study that deals adequately with one limited subject. Half English, half Korean.

123. Ch'oe Sang-su. *A Study of the Korean Puppet Play*. Seoul: Korean Folklore Society, 1961. (Korean Folklore Series No. 4). 169 pp. plus 70 plates.

Origins, contents, and significance of the puppet play *Kkokdu kaksinori*; contains translations of two versions of the playbook and many fine photographs. A book of valuable data. Half English, half Korean.

124. Sim Woo-sung and Kim Se-chung. *Introduction to Korean Folk Drama*. trans. Margaret M. Moore. Seoul: Korean Folk Theatre Troupe "Namsadang," 1970. 70 pp.

A very brief treatment of twelve major types of folk drama. Basically a listing of the contents, *dramatis personae*, and present status of each type. A lot of raw data for a person attending a given type of drama for the first time.

125. Yoh Suk-kee, "Korean Mask Plays," *The Drama Review* (New York), 15:3 (Spring, 1971), 143-152.

A general introduction emphasizing humor in mask plays, using many translated small scenes and lots of pictures. Similar to Yoh's article in no. 17. A good article in a prestigious journal.

126. Lee Duhyön (Yi Tu-hyön). *Han'guk Kamyön'gük: Korean Mask-Dance Drama*. Seoul: Han'guk Kamyön'gük Yön'guhoe (Research Institute of Korean Mask-Dance Drama), 1969. Reprinted, 1973. 456 pp.

A major work in Korean sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Information. English summary, pp. 433-456. The summary naturally lacks in-depth development, but does say something about each of the types and periods of mask drama. No. 127 is better.

127. Yi Tu-hyön, "Mask Dance-Dramas," trans. Alan C. Heyman, *Traditional Performing Arts of Korea* (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1975), pp. 35-80.

The best-produced introduction to folk drama. Yi discusses the history and form of ten different regional types, giving synopses and, often, generous translated segments from the playbooks. The color photos are superb.

### III. MODERN

#### 3.1. MODERN POETRY

##### 3.1. 1. Anthologies

See also the modern poetry sections in general anthologies no. 26, 28, 29, 30 and the indexes of modern poetry publications in nos. 45 and 47.

128. Zǒng In-sǒb (Chǒng In-sǒp), trans. *An Anthology of Modern Poems in Korea*. Seoul: Munwha-dang, 1948.

125 poems by 100 modern Korean poets; some *enface* Korean

originals. Not seen; referred to in no. 38.

129. *Korean Verses*. ed. The Korean Poets Association. Seoul: The Korean Information Service, 1961. 94 pp. without Korean.

Also issued in 1965. Revised in 1970 as no. 130. Good as a collection, yet seldom contains the best translation of a given poem. The first edition does not include the Korean originals; the reprints of December, 1961, and of 1965 do. The book also has a short section of classical *sijo* at the end.

130. *Poems from Modern Korea*. ed. The Korean Poets Association. Seoul: The Korean Poets Association, 1970. 89 pp.

Revised version of no. 129. Improved by removing the section of classical *sijo*; otherwise not much changed. Korean versions not appended.

131. Rutt, Richard, trans. *An Anthology of Korean Sijo*. Taejon: The Chongja Sijo Society, 1970. 194 pp.

Ninety percent modern *sijo*, showing that the tradition is alive and doing well. A beautiful book physically, with *enface* Korean versions, generous margins, and good layout. The translations justify their physical setting.

132. *Modern Korean Poetry*. Seoul: Korean Centre, International P.E.N., 1970. 258 pp.

Two sections—general poetry and *sijo*. Most of the important poems are translated completely. Too many poets with just one poem each (95 poets, 179 poems). Very poorly published—hasty proofreading.

133. Ko Won, trans. *Contemporary Korean Poetry*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1970. (Iowa Translation Series). 211 pp.

Considering the impressive credentials of the Iowa Translation Workshop and of Ko Won, himself a poet in Korean, the translations are curiously flat, slightly disappointing. Ko also spreads himself far too thin on 181 poems by 140 poets. No nation has 140 good modern poets.

134. Kim, Joyce Jaihiun, trans. *The Immortal Voice: An Anthology of Modern Korean Poetry*. Seoul: Inmun, 1974. 293 pp.

Kim covers poetry from the 1920's through the 1950's, excluding *sijo*. This book is particularly valuable for giving a decent sampling of each poet, at least half-a-dozen poems (401 poems by 63 poets), in pleasant contrast to the usual practice. There are notes on each poet and title and author indexes in both Korean and English. Kim is him-

self a poet in English (see nos. 192-195) and a teacher of English creative writing. He has a good ear for the rhythm of English; this book is easily the best collection of modern Korean poetry published in English.

### 3.1. 2. One-poet Collections

See also no. 69 and the individual poets indexed in no. 47.

135. Choi Ok-ja. *In the Vinyard: Thirty Poems*. Seoul: Soo-do Women's Teacher's College, 1961. 163 pp.

Christian poems, not without merit, but not translated very smoothly. (The translations were made by students at Soodo under the supervision of Ko Won.) The poems are made over-dogmatic by an archaic King James diction. Korean versions *enface*.

136. Pi, C.D. (P'i Ch'ön-dŭk). *A Flute Player: Poems and Essays*. Seoul: Samhwa, 1968. 74 pp.

A major essayist and translator presents 17 essays in English and 22 poems translated from Korean. The essays are "Korean" (personal, unorganized); the poems seem childish.

137. Pak Tu-jin. *Sea of Tomorrow: Forty Poems of Pak Tu-jin*. trans. Edward W. Poitras. Seoul, Il Cho Gak, 1971. 104 pp.

Very good, Poitras is an excellent and conscientious writer and competently presents a major modern Korean poet in English. Korean originals as appendix.

138. Ko Won. *The Turn of Zero*. Merrick, N.Y.: Cross-Cultural Communications, 1974. 51 pp.

37 original English poems; 9 translated. The English poems are elliptical, obscure; hard to say when it's intentional and when the English is bad. The translated poems are more traditional and also better.

139. Kim Yangshik. *Beyond Time and Space*. Seoul: Modern Poetry Press, 1975. Mimeographed, 52 pp.

Delicately sensitive poems of love and nature. 36 poems, mostly translated by Kim Jaihiun.

140. Moh Youn Sook. *Twenty-three Poems*. trans. Jaihiun Joyce Kim. Seoul: Pioneer Press, 1976. 28 pp.

Korea's foremost modern woman poet represented by a range of poems from the 1930's to 1974. Most of the poems are translated well; Moh's tone of abstract melancholy comes through quite well.

141. Ilbung, Sŏ Kyŏng-bo. *Han-yŏng Ilbung-sŏn Sisŏn (Korean-English Poems by Ilbung)*. trans. William J. Thawley. Seoul: Ilbung Zen Center, 1976. 207 pp.

Korean and English translations of presumably Chinese originals by the Zen Buddhist "Archbishop" of Seoul. Not seen; reviewed in *The Korea Times* (Nov. 17, 1976).

3.1. 3. *Han Yong-un*

For more, see the listing for Han in nos. 45 and 47.

142. Han Yong-Woon. *Meditations of the Lover*. trans. Younghill Kang and Frances Keely. Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970. 219 pp.

A widely available complete translation of the most important single book in modern Korean poetry; Han's *Nim-ŭi Ch'immuk* (1926). Kang's versions are very free and "modern"; he is convoluted, elliptical, and sometimes confusing in syntax. However, the poems are comprehensible and sometimes even exciting in English.

143. Solberg, Sammy E. "The *Nim-ŭi-Ch'immuk (Your Silence)* of Han Yong-un, A Korean Poet." Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1971. 232 pp. Abstracted in *DAI* 32:3 (September, 1971), 1531A.

The bulk of the thesis is a complete and excellent translation of the poet's work. There is also a discussion of the poetry's themes and its relationship to Korea's political and poetic situation. A major job of translation well done.

144. Yom Mu-woong, "The Life and Thought of Han Yong-woon," *Buddhist Culture in Korea*, (Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1974), 97-117.

An examination of the ideas of the poet, with some discussion of his *Nim-ŭi Ch'immuk*.

145. Rockstein, Edward D., "Your Silence—Doubt in Faith: Han Yongun and Ingmar Bergman," *Asian Pacific Quarterly*, 6:2 (Autumn, 1974), 1-16.

In discussing the theme of God's silence in the world, Rockstein presents excellent translations of fourteen of Han's best poems, resulting in the best collection of Han's work widely available in English.

3.1. 4. *Kim Sowŏl*

For more, see the listings for Kim in nos. 45 and 47.

146. Kim Sowöl. *Selected Poems of Kim So-Wöl*. trans. Kim Dong Sung. Seoul: Sung Moon Gak, 1959. 106 pp. with Korean.

Kim Sowöl, (the pen name of Kim Chǒng-sik), never seems as impressive in English as his reputation indicated he is in Korean, partly because his folk-sentimentalism is out of fashion in English. Many of the translations in this volume are not very good; still, the book was reprinted almost annually from 1959 to 1970. Most but not all of the printings contain Korean texts *enface*.

147. Kim Sowöl. *Azaleas: Poems by Sowol Kim*. trans. Kim Jaihiun. Seoul: Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Press, 1973. 111 pp.

These 90 poems are not arranged chronologically or thematically, but they do show Sowöl's range, since he only wrote 150 poems. Kim Jaihiun has captured much of Sowöl's pathos, but the poems remain sadly bland.

148. Kim Sowöl. *Lost Love: 99 Poems by Sowol Kim, Korea's Greatest Lyric Poet*. trans Kim Jaihiun. Seoul: Pan Korea Book, 1975. 159 pp.

A revised and slightly enlarged edition of no. 147. Of particular improvement is the addition of Korean originals *enface*. Kim made many changes in individual poems—this is a real revision job, though not every change is an improvement. We are not likely to get a better or fairer representation of Kim Sowöl in the near future.

149. Cho Chung Sook, "Sowel and Western Poetry," *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* (Indiana University), 11 (1962), 154-158.

A very brief examination of some figures (eg. Verlaine) who influenced Kim Sowöl. Contains no useful translation.

### 3.1. 5. *Cho Byung-hwa*

For more, see the listings for Cho in nos. 45 and 47.

150. Cho Byung-hwa. *Before Love Fades Away*. trans. Kim Dong Sung. Seoul: Chang Shin Munwhasa, 1957. unpaginated.

Cho, the most popular living Korean poet, writes sad, haunting poetry of urban loneliness. His delicate Korean sensibility, like that of Kim Sowöl, defies translation into English, and often comes out ethereal, unreal. Kim has translated not a selection of Cho's work, but a volume of his poetry, *Sarangi kagi chōne* (1955). Some copies have the Korean *enface*, some do not; English-only runs about 60 pp. The translations are awkward and poor.

151. Cho Byun-hwa. *stopping by*. trans. Kim Dong-sung. Seoul: Songmungak, 1970. 105 pp.  
A reprint of no. 150 with two or three minor word-changes. Korean *enface*. Unlike the 1957 printing, no capitalization is used in the entire book, which does not improve the results in English.
152. Cho Byung-hwa. *Fourteen Poems*. trans. Kevin O'Rourke and Norman Thorpe. Seoul: Kyung-Hee University, 1973. 33 pp.  
Limited-distribution printing for the Second World Congress of Poets, Taipei, Nov. 1973. 10 poems translated by O'Rourke, four by Thorpe. O'Rourke's reappear in no. 153.
153. Cho Byung-hwa. *Where Clouds Pass By: Selected Poems of Cho Byung-Hwa*. trans. Kevin O'Rourke. Seoul: Chungang, 1974. (Korean Studies Institute, Yonsei University). 154 pp.  
O'Rourke's translations come very close to conveying Cho's elusive sensibility, and are damaged only slightly by certain awkward or ill-punctuated lines. Certainly he has done better than anyone else in translating Cho. The book is half English, half Korean originals.
154. Cho Byung-hwa. *Twenty Poems*. trans. Kevin O'Rourke. Seoul: Kyung-Hee University, 1976.  
Limited-distribution printing for the Third World Congress of Poets, Baltimore, June 1976. Half are new translations, half from no. 153.
155. Solberg, S.E., "Night and Rain: Tone and Structure in Two Contemporary Poems," *Inmun Kwahak: Journal of the Humanities* (Seoul: Yonsei University), 7 (June, 1962), 435-443.  
A failed (as Solberg admits) attempt to compare one poem each by Robert Frost and Cho Byung-hwa through close analysis of lines. But the attempt is interesting criticism and says a great deal about Cho, even though the poems in question are never quoted in full.

### 3.1. 6. *Studies of Modern Poetry*

This section is very short because there is very little good criticism of modern poetry in English. Many of the "introductions", as well as no. 16, have a section on modern poetry, and there are chapters on modern poetry in nos. 13, 14, and 15. Furthermore, many studies not listed herein can be found in the *Korea Journal* (no. 52, indexed in no. 45). Bibliographies no. 44, 48, and 49 will lead to other studies.

156. Rockstein, Edward D., "Some Notes on the Founders of Modern

Korean Poetry," *Korea Journal*, 9:12 (December, 1969), 14-18.

Excellent translations of some of the major poems of pre-World War II modern Korean poetry.

157. Kim U-ch'ang, "Sorrow and Stillness: A View of Modern Korean Poetry," *Literature East and West*, 13: 1&2 (June, 1969), 141-166; also in *Korea Journal*, 10:6 (June, 1970), 12-21.

Harmony vs. conflict in Korean culture as seen in its poetry. As well as an excellent analysis, the article contains excellent translations of modern poetry.

158. Koo Sang, "The Korean War As Seen Through Korean Poetry," *The Korean P.E.N.*, 7 (August, 1973), 45-61.

Koo avoids the opportunity for flag-waving and uses many good translations to illustrate the overwhelming sense of loss that the war generated.

### 3.2. MODERN FICTION

#### 3:2. 1. Anthologies

See also the large sections of fiction in nos. 33 and 34, and particularly the listing of all translated modern fiction in no. 46.

159. Zǒng In-sǒb (Chǒng In-sǒp), trans. *Modern Short Stories from Korea*. Seoul: Munho-sa, 1958. 298 pp.

Zǒng's eccentric romanization is distracting, and he sometimes has an unsure sense of English style. However, the stories are well-chosen, and considering when it was published, the volume is well-edited.

160. *Collected Short Stories from Korea, Vol. I*. ed. Korean Centre, International P.E.N. Seoul: Eomun-gag, 1961. 230 pp.

A very good collection, generally well-translated and edited. The stories were selected for excellence and translatability rather than to present a "survey," and the book's quality benefits as a result.

161. *Modern Korean Short Stories and Plays*. Seoul: Korean Centre, International P.E.N., 1970. 561 pp.

Contains 18 stories and three plays from the 1920's to the 1950's. This, the most ambitious of the volumes prepared for the International P.E.N. Congress in Seoul in 1970, is an extremely uneven



work. It has very sloppy proofreading and signs of haste throughout, yet also some excellent stories, particularly O Yōng-su's "Seaside Village."

162. Pihl, Marshall R., ed. *Listening to Korea: A Korean Anthology*. New York: Praeger, 1973. 249 pp.

The intentions of this collection are sociological rather than literary, and only 5 of the 15 selections are fiction; the rest are essays. But the translations succeed not only as information on Korean society. Essays are part of any country's literature, and this is one of the few books in which good translated essays may be found. And the stories are pure gold. A thoroughly excellent book.

163. O'Rourke, Kevin, trans. *Ten Korean Short Stories*. Seoul: Korean Studies Institute, Yonsei University, 1973. 274 pp.

A long-awaited collection by a potentially excellent translator. In the event, the book is slightly disappointing — the level of English ought to be more polished.

164. Kim Chong-un, trans. *Postwar Korean Short Stories: An Anthology*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1974. 353 pp.

These eighteen stories have all appeared previously, largely in the *Korea Journal*. Kim is a competent translator, though he has trouble with slang. His selections are unrelievedly downbeat.

165. Lee, Peter H. (Yi Hak-su), ed. *Flowers of Fire: Twentieth-Century Korean Stories*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974. (An East-West Center Book). 486 pp.

The first collection solely of Korean fiction to be published in the U.S. Though the emphasis is on post-war fiction, the book provides the closest thing to comprehensive coverage of the field. Two-thirds of the 22 stories are translated by Lee himself; six of them are abridged, a process I always deplore. Though Lee is troubled by occasional literalism, the quality of both stories and translations is generally very high.

166. Hong Myoung-Hee, trans. *Korean Short Stories*. Seoul: Il Ji Sa, 1975. 227 pp.

Though here too over-literalism occasionally intrudes, the translation is sometimes superb; one story won and one almost won the *Korea Times* Translation Contests. Eight well-chosen stories.

3.2. 2. *One-writer Collections*

Note how slim this section is—here is one of the major gaps in translation.

167. Hahn Moo-Sook. *In the Depths*. Seoul: Hwimoon, 1965. 292 pp.

Though the collection allows insight into an author's range and development, the nine stories are quite uneven in English. Produced to take to the International P.E.N. Congress in Yugoslavia (1965); signs of haste in publication show.

168. Hahn Moo-Sook. *The Running Water Hermitage*. trans. Chung Chong-wha. Seoul: Moonwang, 1967. 186 pp.

Better than *In the Depths*; more even and less haste. Three long stories.

169. Hwang Soonwon. *The Cry of the Cuckoo*. trans. Chang Youngsook and Robert P. Miller. Seoul: Pan Korea Book, 1975. 175 pp.

Offprint typed version of Hwang's *K'ain-ŭi Huye*, "The Children of Cain" (1954); translated in 1958 but not published. Despite some awkwardness, it is a satisfying book to read. It is the only full-length modern Korean novel published in English translation.

3.2. 3. *Studies of Modern Fiction*

Many of the "introductions," as well as no. 41, have a section on modern fiction, and there are chapters on modern fiction in nos. 13, 14, and 15. Furthermore, many studies not listed herein can be found in the *Korea Journal* (no. 52, indexed in no. 45). Bibliographies no. 44, 48, and 49 will lead to other studies.

170. Martin, Keith Albert. "A Survey of the Proletarian Literary Movements in Japan and Korea, 1921-1935." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1962. 111 pp.

Primarily on the Japanese movement; only 13 pp. on the history of the movement in Korea. It includes, however, translations of two Korean "proletarian" short stories and gives good information not widely available.

171. Callaghan, William Claude. "An Introductory Study of Kim Tong-in." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1965. 117 pp.

The study places Kim Tong-in in the context of early modern literature and discusses his literary life and some of his stories. The bulk of the thesis is a translation of four of his stories. Similar criticism (see no. 173) and other translations are available.

172. Skillend, W.E., "The texts of the first New Novel in Korean," *Asia Major*, n.s. 14, pt. 1 (September, 1968), 21-62.

A fascinating study of lost manuscripts, reprinted errors, and conflicting texts, unearthed by persistent scholarship. No translation.

173. O'Rourke, Kevin, "The Korean Short Story of the 1920's and Naturalism," *International Journal of Korean Studies* (Seoul: Yonsei University), 1:1 (1973), 36-62.

A study of the pessimism of the early Korean short story as manifested in the works of Kim Tong-in, Hyön Chin-gön, and Yöm Sang-söp. One of the few good critical studies in English on Korean literature.

### 3.3 MODERN DRAMA

See also plays in no. 161 and the few in the *Korea Journal* (no. 52, indexed in no. 45). There are chapters on modern drama in nos. 14 and 15, and some articles, general or on individual dramatists, in the *Korea Journal*.

174. Zöng In-söb (Chöng In-söb), trans. *Plays from Korea*. Seoul: The Korean Language School for Foreigners, Chung-ang University, 1968. 237 pp.

The plays are all one-acters, and none of them is any too thrilling; there is no modern tradition of good drama in Korea. This is the only existing collection of Korean drama in translation.

175. Oh Young-jin. *Wedding Day: A Comedy of Old Korea in Two Acts*. trans. Marshall R. Pihl. Seoul: n.p., 1962. Mimeographed, 70 pp.

An entertaining play, well translated. "Scheduled for publication ... in a collection of representative plays from Asia," which I have never found.

176. O Yöng-jin, "Wedding Day," trans. Song Yo-in. *Korea Journal*, (December 1971 and January 1972) 11:12, 36-50; 12:1, 39-47.

Another good translation. This is said to be one of the few modern Korean plays which works well on stage.

177. Lee Duhyon (Yi Tu-hyön). *Han'guk Sin'güksa Yon'gu* ("Modern History of Korean Drama"). Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1966. 331 pp.

In Korean; English synopsis pp. 321-331. A theatre history rather than a drama history, and only to 1945. Some information on drama writing is included.

178. Henthorn, William E., "Early Days of Western-inspired Drama in Korea," *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature* (Indiana University), 15: (1966), 204-213.

A convincing discussion of Korean theater history from 1885 to 1940, showing the overwhelming influence of Japanese theater techniques throughout the period.

179. Cho Oh Kon. "Chi-Jin Yoo: A Patriotic Playwright of Korea." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972. 352 pp. Abstracted in *DAI*, 33:9 (March, 1973), 5334A-35A.

Primarily concerned with discussing seven plays — historical, anti-Japanese, or anti-Communist — in order to "analyze the patriotic spirit which appears." No translations. Yu Ch'i-jin wrote in the 1930's to 1950's.

### 3.4. WORKS ORIGINALLY IN ENGLISH

#### 3.4. 1. Poetry and Fiction

Many of these are listed simply to warn people that they are *not* translated Korean literature. See also nos. 136 and 138.

180. Pyun Yung-ro. *Korean Odyssey: Gleanings Since the War*. Seoul: International, 1955. 87 pp.

Simplistic nationalistic poems and essays.

181. Yang, S.M. (Yang Sung-mok). *Selected Poems: Ghost Music and Other Poems*. Seoul: University Club, 1961. Mimeographed, 67 pp.

Very awkward; little literary value.

182. Cha Jinsoo. *Twilight*. Seoul: Hichangmunwhasa, 1968. 42 pp. About 40 poems in awkward diction.

183. Son Kil-Yong. *The Mail Box*. Seoul: Sahm-Bo, 1971. 32 pp.

About 20 poems of limited range and diction.

184. Kim Yong Ik. *The Happy Days*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1960.  
 ————. *The Days of Happiness*. London: Hutchinson, 1962.

185. ————. *The Diving Gourd*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.  
 245 pp.

186. ————. *Blue in the Seed*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964. 117 pp.

187. ————. *Love in Winter*. Seoul: Korea University Press, 1963;

Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969. 224 pp.

188. ————. *The Shoes from Yang San Valley*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970. 61 pp.
- Happy Days*, *Blue in the Seed*, and *Shoes* are children's novels set in Korea. *The Diving Gourd* is a novel and *Love in Winter* is a collection of short stories. Kim has achieved quite some success in English and writes well; whether he is "Korean literature" I have no comment on. His *Moons of Korea* (Seoul, 1959. 103 pp), a discussion of Korean customs by lunar month, is definitely not.
189. Kim, Richard E. *The Martyred*. New York: George Braziller; Seoul: Sam Jung-dang, 1964; New York: Pocket Books, 1965; Seoul: Sisayongo-sa, 1969. 316 pp.
190. ————. *The Innocent*. New York: Houghton Mifflin; Seoul: Sisayongo-sa, 1968; New York: Ballantine, 1969. 384 pp.
191. ————. *Lost Names: Scenes from a Korean Boyhood*. New York: Praeger; Seoul: Sisayongo-sa, 1970. 195 pp.
- Martyred* is a best-selling existential novel of stress vs. faith in wartime. Though it uses Korean names and places, it is not particularly Korean. The other novels are about, respectively, the 1961 military coup and the last years of the Japanese occupation.
192. Kim Jaihiun. *Detour*. Charleston, Ill.: Prairie Press, 1972. 39 pp.
193. ————. *A Pigsty Happiness*. Charleston, Ill.: Prairie Press, 1973. 38 pp.
194. ————. *Home-thought*. Seoul: Pan Korea Book, 1976. 38 pp.
195. ————. *Dawning*. Seoul: Pan Korea Book, 1976. 40 pp.
- Four slim volumes of poetry. Though frequently good, better than much Korean poetry appears when put into English, Kim is notable principally as a translator.
- 3.4. 2. *Autobiography*
- See also no. 191, which could have been listed here.
196. Kang, Younghill. *The Grass Roof*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931; Chicago: Follett, 1966. 367 pp.
197. ————. *The Happy Grove*. New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933. 326 pp.

198. ————. *East Goes West: The Making of an Oriental Yankee*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. 401 pp.
- Grass Roof* is a famous book of a boy growing up and leaving Korea. The text is interlarded with translations, somewhat dated in style, of poems from Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, including *sijo*. *Happy Grove* expands the in-Korea portion of *Grass Roof* as a children's novel; *East Goes West* concerns the life of exiled Koreans in America in the 1930's.
199. Li Mirok. *The Yalu Flows: A Korean Childhood*. trans. H.A. Hammelmann. London: The Harvill Press, 1954; East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1956. 149 pp.
- A childhood memory without the translated poetry of no. 196, but with a deep sense of literary style. Technically the original is not English but German (*Der Yalu Fliest*).
200. Yim, Louise (Im Yōng-sin). *My Forty Year Fight for Korea: The Thrilling Personal Story of Korea's Joan of Arc*. New York: A. A. Wyn, 1951; London: Victor Gollancz, 1952; Seoul: International Culture Research Center, "1951" (sic). 313 pp.
- Story of an active life in Korea and the U.S. in education and in the resistance movement. The stridency of the titles is unfortunately an accurate reflection of the book's tone.
201. Pak Induk. *September Monkey*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. 283 pp.
- Personal narrative about being among the first Western-educated Korean women, and about working in the independence movement in Korea and the U.S. Pak's other later books, *Hour of the Tiger* (the story of "Berea in Korea") and *Wisdom of the Dragon* (a collection of Asian proverbs) are not autobiography or literature at all.

## INDEX

Authors, translators, editors, and all titles, whether in the bibliographic or critical entries, are indexed. For titles only, a primary entry is in **boldface**, when there is more than one reference.

Allen, Horace N., 94  
*Anthology of Korean Poetry*, 29, 63  
*Anthology of Korean Sijo*, An, 131

- Anthology of Modern Poems in Korea, An*, 128  
 "Appreciation of Korean Poetry, The", 14  
*Asia Major*, 172  
*Asian and Pacific Short Stories*, 33  
*Asian Literature: Poetry, Short Stories, and Essays*, 35  
*Asian Literature: Short Stories and Plays*, 34  
*Asian Pacific Quarterly*, 20, 55, 92, 145  
*Asian PEN Anthology*, 31  
*ASPAC Quarterly*. See *Asian Pacific Quarterly*  
*Aspects of Korean Culture*, 11  
*Azaleas: Poems by Kim Sowol*, 147  
*Bamboo Grove, The*, 71, 73, 74  
*Before Love Fades Away*, 150  
 Bergman, Ingmar, 145  
*Beyond Time and Space*, 139  
*Bibliography of Asian Studies*, 48  
*Bibliography of Korean Studies*, 38, 39.  
*Bibliography of Korean Studies, Vol. II*, 39  
*Blue in the Seed*, 186  
*Bois Sec Refleuri, Le*, 91  
*Buddhist Culture in Korea*, 144  
 Callaghan, William C., 171  
 Carpenter, Frances, 99  
 Cha Jinsoon, 182  
 Chang Tök-sun, 17, 74, 106  
 Chang Youngsook, 169  
 "Chi-jin Yoo: A Patriotic Playwright of Korea," 179  
*Children of Cain, The*, 169  
 Chin In-sook, 89  
 Cho Byung-hwa, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155.  
 Cho Chung Sook, 149  
 Cho Oh Kon, 179  
 Cho Pyöng-hwa. See Cho Byung-hwa  
 Cho Wan-jai. See Joe, Wanne J.  
 Ch'oe Chöng-hüi. See Choi Junghee  
 Ch'oe Ok-ja. See Choi Ok-ja.  
*Ch'oe Pu's Diary*, 78  
 Ch'oe Sang-su, 100, 122, 123  
 Choi Junghee, 117  
 Choi Ok-ja, 135  
 Chön Kyu-t'ae. See Jeon Kyu-tae  
 Chöng Ch'öl, 67, 68  
 Chöng Chong-hwa. See Chung Chong-wa  
 Chöng In-söp. See Zöng In-söb

- Chong Pyöng-uk, 75  
 Choon Hyang, 87  
 "Choon Yang", 84  
 Chu Yo-sup, 76, 110  
 Chun-hiang: *Opera*, 86  
 Ch'unhyang, 27, 50, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 94, 97, 105  
 Chun-hyang Song, 88  
 Chung Chong-wha, 168  
 Classical Novel Ch'un-hyang, A, 89  
 Cloud Dream of the Nine, The, 80  
 Collected Short Stories from Korea, Vo. I, 160  
 Committee for the Compilation of the History of Korean Women, 25  
 Contemporary Korean Poetry, 133  
 "Corean Books and their Authors," 36  
 Cry of the Cuckoo, The, 169  
 Dawning, 195  
 Days of Happiness, The, 184  
 "Declaration of Independence," 3  
 Detour, 192  
 Diving Gourd, The, 185  
 "Dual Cultural Background of Korean Literature, The," 20  
 "Early Days of Western-inspired Drama in Korea, The," 178  
 East Goes West: *The Making of an Oriental Yankee*, 198  
 Elrod, J. McRae, 43, 43a  
 Ever-White Mountain, The, 72  
 "Exceptional Poems on Non-Poetic Themes," 74  
 Far Eastern Quarterly, 48  
 Flowers of Fire: *Twentieth-Century Korean Stories*, 165  
 Flute Player, A, 136  
 Folk Culture in Korea, 121  
 Folk Tales from Korea, 101  
 Folk Tales of Old Korea, 105  
 Folk Treasury of Korea, The, 106  
 "Footprints of the Wildgoose," 83  
 Forest of the White Cock, The, 76, 110  
 Fourteen Poems, 152  
 Fragrance of Spring, 85, 87  
 Frost, Robert, 155  
 Gale, James S., 9, 50, 80, 81, 83, 84, 90, 112  
 Gompertz, G., 42  
 Grass Roof, The, 196, 197, 199  
 Great Books of Korea, 37  
 Griffis, William E., 95



- Grigsby, Joan S., 57  
*Guide to Eastern Literatures, A*, 5  
*Guide to Korean Culture*, 27  
 Ha Tae Hung, 27, 61, 70, 76, 105, 111, 115, 119  
 Hahn Moo-Sook, 167, 168  
 Hamelmann, H.A., 199  
 Han Mu-suk. See Hahn Moo-Sook  
 Han Yong-un, 142, 143, 144, 145  
*Han'guk Kamyŏn'guk* 126  
*Han'guk Sin'gŭksa Yŏn'gu*, 177  
*Han'guk-ŭi Myŏngjŏ*, 37  
 "Hanmun—Korean Literature in Chinese," 58  
 Han-um, 118  
*Han-yŏng Ilbung Sŏn Sisŏn*, 141  
*Happy Days, The*, 184  
*Happy Grove, The*, 197  
 Henthorn, William E., 6, 178  
*Heroines of Korea, The*, 117  
 Heyman, Alan C., 127  
 Higashi, Setsu, 104  
 "Historical Survey of Korean Literature, An," 11  
*History of Korea, A*, 6  
*History of the Korean People*, 9  
 Hŏ Kyun, 79  
 Hŏ Nansŏrhŏn, 25  
*Home-thought*, 194  
*Hong Kil-tong*, 79, 94, 97  
 Hong Myoung-Hee, 166  
 Hong-Tjong-ou, 91  
 "Horak Hongjo," 83  
*Hour of the Tiger, The*, 201  
 Hoyt, James, 64, 66  
 Hulbert, Homer B., 96  
*Humour in Korean Literature*, 17, 62  
*Humour in Literature: East and West: Proceedings,*  
*37th International P.E.N. Congress*, 18  
*Hungbu and Nolbu*, 102  
*Hunmin Chŏngŭm*, 77  
 Hwang Chini, 25  
 Hwang Soonwon, 169  
 Hyŏn Chin-gŏn, 173  
 Hyŏn Ung. See Hyun, Peter  
 Hyun, Peter, 26  
 Ilbung, 141

- Ilyön, 76  
 Im Bang, 112  
 Im Yöng-sin. See Yim Louise  
*Immortal Voice, The*, 134  
*In the Depths*, 167, 168  
*In the Vinyard*, 135  
*Index: Korea Journal*, 45, 52  
*Index to English Language Periodical Literature Published  
 In Korea, 1890-1940, An*, 43  
*Index to English Periodical Literature Published in Korea,  
 1945-1966, An*, 43a  
*Inhyön Wanghu Chön*, 82  
*Inmun Kwahak: Journal of the Humanities*, 155  
*Innocent, The*, 190  
*International Journal of Korean Studies*, 173  
*Introduction to Korean Folk Drama*, 124  
*Introduction to Korean Literature, An*, 14  
 "Introduction to the Sijo, An," 71  
 "Introductory Study of Kim Tong-in, An," 171  
*James Scarth Gale and his History of the Korean People*, 9  
 Jeon Kyu-tae, 23  
 Jewett, Eleanore M., 103  
 Joe, Wanne J., 8  
 José, F. Sional, 31  
*Journal of Asian Studies*, 48  
*Journal of Korean Studies*, 54  
*K'ain-üi Huye*, 169  
 Kang, Younghill, 142, 196, 197, 198  
 Keely, Frances, 142  
 Kim Chae-hyön. See Kim Jaihiun  
 Kim Chin-man, 17  
 Kim Chöng-sik. See Kim Sowöl  
 Kim Chong-un, 82, 164  
 Kim Dong Sung, 117, 146, 150, 151  
 Kim Jaihiun, 134, 139, 140, 147, 192, 193, 194, 195  
 Kim, Joyce Jaihiun. See Kim Jaihiun  
 Kim Man-jung, 80, 81  
 Kim, Richard E., 189, 190, 191  
 Kim Sakkat, 61, 62  
 Kim Se-chung, 124  
 Kim So-un, 104  
 Kim Sowöl, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150  
 Kim Tong-in, 171, 173  
 Kim Tae-sung, 106

- Kim Tong-sōng. See Kim Dong Sung  
 Kim U-ch'ang, 157  
 Kim Yangshik, 139  
 Kim Yong Ik, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188  
 Kim Yung-Chung, 25  
*Kkokdu Kaksi Nori*, 123  
 Ko Won, 133, 135, 138  
*Kodae Sosōl*, 40, 84  
 Koo Sang, 158  
*Korea: Fact and Fancy*, 94  
*Korea: Its Land, People, and Culture of All Ages*, 2  
*Korea: Its People and Culture*, 2  
*Korea Journal*, 19, 44, 45, 46, 52, 58, 60, 74, 79, 83,  
     105a, 156, 157, 164, 176  
*Korea Magazine*, 43, 50, 84  
*Korea Past and Present*, 7  
*Korea Repository*, 43  
*Korea Review*, 43  
*Korea Times*, 51, 166  
*Korean Affairs*, 16, 44  
*Korean Cultural Reader*, 27  
 "Korean Culture Series," 27  
*Korean Decameron, A, I*, 113  
*Korean Decameron, A, Vol. II*, 114  
*Korean-English Poems by Ilbung*, 141  
*Korean Folk Tales: Imps, Ghosts and Fairies*, 112  
*Korean Folklore Reader*, 105a  
*Korean Herald, The*, 23  
*Korean Heritage*, 23  
*Korean Literary History*, 12  
*Korean Literary Reader*, 3  
 "Korean Literature," 5  
 "Korean Literature: A Comprehensive Bibliography," 44  
 "Korean Literature Issue," 30  
 "Korean Literature: The rise of the vernacular," 66  
*Korean Literature: Topics and Themes*, 12, 13  
*Korean Lore*, 102  
*Korean Mask-Dance Drama*, 126  
 "Korean Mask Plays," 125  
*Korean Nights Entertainments, The*, 115  
*Korean Odyssey: Gleanings Since the War*, 180  
*Korean P.E.N., The*, 53, 158  
 Korean Poets Association, 129, 130  
*Korean Sex Jokes in Traditional Times*, 116

- Korean Short Stories*, 166  
"Korean Short Story of the 1920's and Naturalism, The," 173  
*Korean Studies Forum*, 56, 68  
*Korean Studies Guide*, 38  
*Korean Studies Today*, 4  
*Korean Tales*, 94  
*Korean Verses*, 69, 129  
"Korean War As Seen Through Korean Poetry, The," 158  
*Koreana Quarterly*, 44  
Ku Sang. See Koo Sang  
Kūmwōn, 83  
*Kuunmong*, 80, 81  
Lang, David M., 5  
"Lay of King Tong-myōng," 60  
Lee Duhyōn, 126, 127, 177  
Lee, Helen. See Lee, Sang Ran Helen.  
Lee Jai Hyon, 102  
Lee Jeong Ho, 77  
Lee Ock-soon, 120  
Lee, Peter H., 12, 13, 22, 29, 63, 65, 165  
Lee, Sang Ran Helen, 67  
Lee Sang-sup, 11  
"Legend Becomes a Story, A," 92  
*Legends from the Hills and Valleys of Korea*, 108  
*Legends of Korea*, 100  
Levy, Howard S., 116  
Li Mirok, 199  
"Life and Thought of Han Yong-woon, The," 144  
*Life of a Rainhat Poet, The*, 61  
*Listening to Korea: A Korean Anthology*, 162  
*Literature* (Korea Background Series), 10  
*Literature East and West*, 30, 157  
*Lost Love: 99 Poems by Sowol Kim*, 148  
*Lost Names*, 191  
*Love in Winter*, 187  
*Mail Box, The*, 183  
Marcus, Richard, 38  
Martin, Keith A., 170  
*Martyred, The*, 189  
"Mask-Dance Dramas," 127  
Matsuhara, Iwao, 86  
*Maxims and Proverbs of Old Korea*, 119  
McCann, David, R., 68  
*Meditations of the Lover*, 142

- Mentor Book of Modern Asian Literature, The*, 32  
 Meskill, John, 78  
 Mesler, David, 54  
 Metzger, Berta, 97  
 Miller, Robert P., 169  
*Minjök Munhwa Nonchong*, 83  
 Mintz, Grafton K., 76  
*MLA Bibliography*, 49  
 Mo Yun-suk. See Moh Youn Sook  
*Modern History of Korean Drama*, 177  
 "Modern Korean Fiction in English," 46  
 "Modern Korean Poetry," 15  
*Modern Korean Poetry*, 132  
*Modern Korean Short Stories and Plays*, 161  
*Modern Short Stories from Korea*, 159  
 Moh Youn Sook, 140  
*Moons of Korea*, 188  
 Moore, Margaret M., 124  
 "Moulder and Moulded: Some Extra-Literary Forces in  
     Korean Literature," 16  
*My Forty Year Fight for Korea*, 200  
 "Night and Rain, Tone and Structure in Two Contemporary  
     Poems," 155  
*Nim-üi Ch'immuk*, 142, 143, 144, 145  
*Nine Cloud Dream, A*, 81  
 O Yöng-jin, 175, 176  
 O Yöng-su, 161  
 "Occidental Literature on Korea: A Partial Bibliography," 42  
 Oh Young-jin. See O Yöng-jin  
 Olmsted, D.L., 105a  
*Omjee the Wizard: Korean Folk Stories*, 96  
*Ondol Yahwa*, 115  
*Opera Choon-hyang*, 27  
*Orchid Door, The*, 57  
 O'Rourke, Kevin, 152, 153, 154, 163, 173  
 O-sung, 118  
*Pageant of Korean Poetry, A*, 28  
 Pahk Induk, 201  
 Pai, Inez Kong, 72  
 Pak Chi-wön, 21  
 Pak Hwa-söng. See Park Whasung  
 Pak In-dök. See Pahk Induk  
 Pak Tae-yong, 113, 114, 116  
 Pak Tu-jin, 137

- Park Whasung, 117  
 Park Yongjun, 109  
*Partial Bibliography of Occidental Works on Korea*, 42  
*P.E. News*, 47  
 Pi, C.D. (Ch'ön-dük), 136  
*Pigsty Happiness, A*, 193  
 Pihl, Marshall, 79, 92, 93, 162, 175  
*Plays from Korea*, 174  
*PMLA "Bibliography,"* 49  
*Poems from Korea: A Historical Anthology*, 29, 63  
*Poems from Modern Korea*, 130  
*Poetry and Music of the Classic Age*, 70  
 Poitras, Edward W., 137  
*Postwar Korean Short Stories*, 164  
 "Problem of Permanence and Impermanence as reflected in the concepts of Man and Nature in the Poetry of William Wordsworth and Ch'ong Ch'öl, The," 67  
*Proceedings from the International Comparative Literature Conference, Taipei, 1971*, 19  
*Proceedings, 37th International P.E.N. Congress*, 18  
*P'yohaerok*, 78  
 Pyun Yung-ro, 180  
 Pyun, Y.T. (Y'ong-t'ae), 69, 98  
 Quiery, William H., 88  
*RAS Transactions. See Transactions of...*  
*Readers Guide to Korean Literature*, 41  
 "Right Sounds to Educate the People," 77  
 Rockstein, Edward D., 145, 156  
*Running Water Hermitage, The*, 168  
 Rutt, Richard, 9, 17, 20, 58, 59, 60, 62, 71, 73, 81, 83, 90, 131  
*Samguk Sagi*, 110, 111  
*Samguk Yusa*, 76, 110 111  
*Sarangi Kagi Ch'one*, 150  
*Sea of Tomorrow*, 137  
 "Seaside Village," 161  
 Sejong, King, 64  
*Selected Poems: Ghost Music and Other Poems*, 181  
*Selected Poems of Kim Sowol*, 146  
*September Monkey*, 201  
 Shimer, Dorothy B., 32  
*Shoes from Yang San Valley, The*, 188  
 Sim Chai Hong, 87  
*Sim Ch'ong*, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 102  
 Sim Woo-sung, 124

- Skillend, W.E., 5, 40, 172  
 Sŏ Chŏng-ju, 15  
 Sŏ Kyŏng-bo, 141  
 Sŏ Tu-su. See Suh Doo Soo  
 Solberg, S.E., 16, 30, 143, 155  
 "Some Notes on the Founders of Modern Korean Poetry," 156  
 Son Kil-Yong, 183  
*Song of a Faithful Wife, Ch'un-hyang, The*, 90  
 Song Yo-in, 24, 176  
*Songs from Korea*, 69  
*Songs of Flying Dragons*, 65  
*Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*, 64  
 "Sorrow and Stillness: A View of Modern Korean Poetry," 157  
 "Sowel and Western Poetry," 149  
*stopping by*, 151  
*Story Bag, The*, 104  
*Studies in the Saenaennorae*, 63  
 "Study of Korean Folktales, A," 120  
 "Study of Korean Sijo Vocabulary, A," 75  
*Study of the Korean Puppet Play, A*, 123  
*Study of the Mask Play of Hahoe, A*, 122  
 Suh Doo Soo, 3  
*Survey of Korean Arts: Literature*, 15  
 "Survey of the Proletarian Literary Movements in Japan and Korea, 1921-1935, A," 170  
*Synopses of Korean Novels*, 41  
*Tales from Korea*, 98  
*Tales from the Three Kingdoms*, 111  
*Tales of a Korean Grandmother*, 99  
 "Tale of Hong Kil-tong, The," 79  
 "Tale of Sim Ch'ŏng, The," 93  
*Tales Told in Korea*, 97  
*Tamkang Review*, 19  
 Taylor, Charles M., 91  
*Ten Korean Short Stories*, 163  
 "Texts of the First New Novel in Korean, The," 172  
 Thawley, William J., 141  
 Thorpe, Norman, 46, 152  
 "Tongmyŏng, The Lay of King," 60  
*Topics and Themes: Korean Literature*, 12, 13  
*Traditional Culture and Society of Korea: Art and Literature*, 22, 75  
*Traditional Korea: A Cultural History*, 8  
 "Traditional Korean Poetry Criticism: Fifty Sihwa," 59  
*Traditional Performing Arts of Korea*, 127

- Traditional Tales of Old Korea*, 109  
*Translation: Theory and Practice*, 24  
*Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.  
 36, 42, 43, 59, 62, 71  
 Trollope, Mark N., 36, 37  
*True History of Queen Inhyön, The*, 82  
*Turn of Zero, The*, 138  
*Twenty Poems*, 154  
*Twenty-three Poems*, 140  
*Twilight*, 182  
 Underwood, Horace H. (I), 42  
 Underwood, Horace H. (II), 46  
*UNESCO Korean Survey*, 1, 2  
*Unmannerly Tiger and Other Korean Tales*, 95  
*Upper-Class Culture in Yi-dynasty Korea*, 21  
 Urquhart, Edward J., 85  
*Virtuous Women*, 81, 82, 90  
*Voices of the Dawn*, 26  
*Waiting Wife, The*, 87  
*Wedding Day*, 175, 176  
 "Weighing the Balance: Form and Content in the Korean *Kasa*," 68  
*Where Clouds Pass By*, 153  
*Which was Witch*, 103  
*Winning Buddha's Smile*, 91  
*Wisdom of the Dragon, The*, 201  
*Wit and Wisdom of O-sung and Han-um, The*, 118  
*Women of Korea*, 25  
 Wood, Robert S., 44  
*Woon Yong's Romance*, 107  
 Wordsworth, William, 67  
 "Writers Series," *Korea Times*, 51  
*Yalu Flows, The*, 199  
 Yang S.M. (Sung-mok), 181  
*Yangban-chön*, 21  
*Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*, 149, 178  
 Yen Yuan-Shu, 19  
 Yi Chai-hyön. See Lee Jai Hyon  
 Yi Chöng-ho. See Lee Jeong Ho  
 Yi Hak-su. See Lee, Peter H.  
 Yi Kyu-bo, 50, 60  
 Yi Mirok. See Li Mirok  
 Yi Ok-sun. See Lee Ock-Soon  
 Yi Ryuk, 112  
 Yi Sang-nan. See Lee, Sang Ran Helen



- Yi Sang-söp. See Lee Sang-sup  
Yi Tu-hyön. See Lee Duhyon  
Yim, Louise, 200  
Yoh Suk-kee, 17, 125  
Yöm Mu-wcong, 144  
Yöm Sang-söp, 173  
*Yongbi Och'ön-ga*, 64, 65  
Yoo Chi-jin, 179  
"Your Silence — Doubt in Faith," 145  
Yu Ch'i-jin. See Yoo Chi-Jin  
Zóng In-söb, 14, 28, 101, 128, 159, 174

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE KOREA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR 1976

The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society this year celebrated its 76th birthday.

*Membership* — As of December 1, 1976 the total membership was 1,054. This number breaks down into Life 46, Overseas 370 and in-country members 638. During the year we have kept in touch with our overseas members by means of our quarterly newsletter and with our local members by our monthly activities notice.

*Meetings* — During 1976 we held 32 meetings, 22 in Seoul and 10 in Taegu. The average attendance in Seoul has been 126 persons. A variety of programs have been offered namely 5 films, 2 dance presentations, 13 lectures and 8 slide lectures. Taegu, among others, had a demonstration lecture on Acupuncture.

*Tours* — We had 13 day tours and 7 weekend tours. The average number of participants on day tours was 41 persons and for weekend tours, 27. Some highlights of the Tour program were the train trip to Pusok temple, the tour to Silsang-sa tucked away up in the Chirisan range, two hiking tours, two tours up the North Han valley and the Chongpyong Dam, and an outing to the Kaya hills. The tour program is dependent on the members of our council and others who so freely give of their time to act as leaders.

*Publications* — New books published:

*RAS Transaction*, Vol. 50.

*The Changing Korean Village* — Pak Ki Hyuk with Sidney Gamble.

*The Voyage of Discovery* — Basil Hall (first published in 1816).

*Korean Repository* (five volumes) — first published in 1898.

*Douglas Fund* — This year we distributed two Douglas scholarships to Mr. Chang Moo Koo and Mr. Yim Joong Ho of Sung-Kyun-Kwan University. These students are both engaged in graduate work in Korean studies.

## 1976 Meetings

| Date        | Event   | Attendance |
|-------------|---|------------|
| January 7   | Korean Buddhist Painting<br>(Mr. Carl Strom)  | 180        |
| January 21  | Film evening — Treasures of Haeinsa   | 320        |
| February 4  | Farmers Dance Programme<br>(Mr. Gary Rector & Mr. Kim Byung Sup)  | 140        |
| February 18 | Let's re-do Hangül<br>(Prof. Pae Yang Seo)  | 40         |
| March 10    | Korea's 1946 Semi-Election:<br>Too Little and Too Soon<br>(Mr. Donald S. Macdonald)                       | 84         |
| March 24    | Cranes and Conservation in Korea<br>(Korean Council for Crane Preservation)                               | 176        |
| April 7     | Contemporary Korea in the Light of<br>the Traditional Value System and World View<br>(Mr. Michael Kalton) | 100        |
| April 21    | Blood and Stone:<br>the story of the Yi dynasty's Foundation<br>(Mr. Donald N. Clark)                     | 76         |
| May 12      | Christian Beginnings in Korea<br>(Dr. Samuel H. Moffett)  | 300        |
| May 26      | World Perceptions of Korea<br>(Dr. Shannon B. McCune)   | 97         |
| June 2      | New Religions of Korea after 1850<br>(Dr. Gernot Prunner)   | 98         |
| June 23     | The Effects and Implications of the<br>Japanese Cadastral Survey 1910-1918<br>(Mr. Edward J. Baker)       | 52         |
| July 21     | Trends in Interpretation of Korean<br>Confucianism<br>(Dr. James Palais)                                  | 70         |
| August 18   | Film evening — Treasures of Haeinsa   | 250        |
| September 1 | Art of Korean Furniture<br>(Dr. Pai Man-sill and<br>Dr. Edward R. Wright)                                 | 170        |

|              |   |     |
|--------------|---|-----|
| September 22 | Early Korean Magazines and the<br>Research for National Identity: 1910-1930<br>(Mr. Michael Robinson) | 48  |
| October 6    | Slavery in the Koryŏ Dynasty<br>(Ms. Ellen Unruh)   | 60  |
| October 20   | Some Little Known Korean<br>Ornamental Trees<br>(Mr. Carl Miller)                                     | 63  |
| November 3   | Journey to Ullŏng-do<br>(Mr. Cornelius Choy)  | 65  |
| November 17  | Korean Celadon<br>(Mr. G.M. Gompertz)   | 158 |
| December 1   | Confucian Thought Forms<br>(Dr. Han Tae Dong)   | 105 |
| December 15  | Film evening — Korea: the Unexplored Orient   | 96  |

### 1976 Tours

| Date             | Place                  | Participants |
|------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| April 3-4-5      | Kyŏngju                | 33           |
| April 11         | Yŏju & Silluksa        | 39           |
| April 17         | North Fortress         | 36           |
| April 24         | North Han Valley       | 112          |
| May 1-2          | Pusŏk-sa               | 35           |
| May 8            | Pokwang-sa             | 28           |
| May 15-16        | Kyeryong-san Sindoan   | 33           |
| May 23           | Sujŏng-sa              | 28           |
| May 29-30-31     | Sillsang-sa & Vicinity | 26           |
| June 5           | Inch'ŏn                | 30           |
| June 12-13       | Kangwha island         | 26           |
| June 19          | Restaurant (Hyang-wŏn) | 15           |
| September 4-5-6  | East Coast             | 20           |
| September 11     | Chŏng Pyŏng            | 73           |
| September 18-19  | Kangwha Island         | 23           |
| October 3        | Taedun Mountain        | 34           |
| October 16       | Yŏju & Yongmunsa       | 33           |
| October 23-24-25 | Muchu Kuch'ŏn-dong     | 18           |
| October 30       | Kwanak-san hiking      | 24           |

|             |                  |    |
|-------------|------------------|----|
| November 6  | Sudöksa          | 26 |
| November 13 | Emille Museum    | 60 |
| November 20 | Shard collecting | 15 |

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