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Before and after the "Age of Literary Coteries": *A Diachronic Analysis of Writers' Networks in Korea, 1917–1927*

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Abstract

The 1920s was a period when Korean writers entered the literary scene in collective form. Conventional literary history has examined social and literary groups from a perspective of dongin*, a small number of "like-minded" writers in artistic orientations who ran a journal for their exclusive publication venue. Close reading, traditionally employed to highlight the historical importance of* dongin*'s collective aspect, however, cannot fully demonstrate how such* dongin *began to rise and the role they played in establishing the literary sphere during the early stage of modern literature. Therefore, instead of accessing* dongin *through close reading, this study considers it as a form of social network, which had open links to different periodicals, and thus was always changing according to the writers' publication activities. Based on the record of fiction submissions to newspapers and magazines from 1917 to 1927, this study aims to create a writer-periodical network. By diachronically tracing the three major groups of writers —Changjo, Pyeheo, and Baekjo—in the making, I reveal the position of women writers as a prehistory to the formation of male-centered* dongin*, in contrast to the existing account wherein women writers are treated as an accessory for their male counterparts. The almost simultaneous appearance of both male and female writers in the late 1910s, I argue, should receive due attention as a question in literary sociology and that reveals the hidden foundations of the literary reproduction system during the formative years of modern Korean literature.*

Keywords: *dongin*, Changjo, Pyeheo, Baekjo, Korean periodicals, writers' networks, diachronic approach, distant reading

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Introduction

> One afternoon in November [1918], Kim Dong-in and Ju Yo-han, whom I had rarely met, paid a sudden visit [to my boarding house]. After some small talk, Kim straightforwardly proposed smilingly, "Why don't we run a magazine?" . . . Since I had been thinking about this, I responded, "Okay!" without hesitation. . . . With the introduction of Kim Hwan, who is now wandering around Pyeonganbuk-do province, four of us decided to launch a coterie magazine. (Jeon 1933, 383)

The above passage is from Jeon Yeong-taek's essay, "Yasim manmanhan geu jeho" (The Ambitious Title), in which he recollects the birth of the first literary coterie and magazine in Korea, *Changjo* (Creation) (1919–1921).[1] Kim Dong-in, son of a wealthy landlord, dreamed of being what was known as "a modern writer" while voraciously reading Western and Japanese works. Having published free verses in a Japanese school magazine, Ju Yo-han was interested in running an art and literature journal for young Korean readers. Kim and Ju, close friends from the same hometown of Pyongyang [Pyeongyang], visited the boarding house of Jeon Yeong-taek, another Northwesterner from Pyeonganbuk-do province. With excitement, Jeon agreed to join them and introduced Kim Hwan, a student of fine art. These four young men as would-be artists initiated *Changjo* with "The Ambitious Title." Jeon's enthusiastic response seems to illustrate how thrilled he was to be a member of the first artistic coterie devoted solely to modern Korean literature.

Amongst the many literary coteries (*dongin* 同人), the best known were the three major groups—Changjo, Pyeheo (The Ruins) (1920–1921), and Baekjo (White Tide) (1922–1923). Conventional literary history has demarcated each group by giving a specific name to their active periods, such as "Changjo *sidae*" (period of Changjo) and "Baekjo *sidae*" (period of Baekjo) (Baek 1980, 138, 180), or by calling the late 1910s and early 1920s the *dong-*

1. Changjo, Pyeheo, and Baekjo refer both to the names of literary coteries and the magazines those coteries established. In order not to confuse these two aspects, the names will be italicized only when referring specifically to the magazine.

inji sidae (age of literary coterie magazines) (Y. Jo 2004). By carving out each coterie separately, or the coteries as a collective whole, literary historians have wanted to underline indigenous artistic movements for new and modern literary ideas (Baek 1980; Y. Jo 1977), as well as to trace what Harold Bloom called the "anxiety of influence" of Korean authors (Y. Kim 1987, 1999, 2000).

In looking over the research trends in the formation of Korea's modern literary collectives, one cannot fail to discern methodological changes. Shifting from author studies and conventional history in defining Korean literature in terms of Western literary modernity, new approaches have emerged to embrace conceptual history, periodical studies, as well as literary reproductive systems; all of which were geared toward examining the interactions between writers, aesthetics, and print media as cultural phenomena. Those methods allowed us to understand how writers established the idea of modern literature (H. Kim 2013; C. Yi 2013); what roles magazines played in engaging writers with literary and social ideas (S. Choe 2008; Jae-Yon Lee 2015; Ji-Eun Lee 2015); and in what ways established authors introduced new apprentices and started expanding the world of letters (Bak 2008). Despite the interaction between writers, periodicals, and ideas that were highlighted in previous studies, *dongin* coteries remain as fixed and invariable authorial subjects who putatively shared similar literary orientations, education, and regional backgrounds. Changjo members, for instance, came from Pyeonganbuk-do province, studied in Japan, and moved towards "art for art's sake."

Yet, when it comes to publication activities, the Changjo members did not limit themselves to the pages of their own magazine. On the contrary, perhaps due to the short lifespan of the journal, they actively worked with different periodicals, including general interest magazines, religious journals, and children's magazines, along with the daily newspapers run by Koreans as well as the colonial government. In short, regardless of the fact that Kim Dong-in was a member of Changjo, "his social relations to other writers and writers groups can be differentiated by where he contributed and to which writers and editors he was close" (J. Lee 2014, 269). For instance, Kim seemingly had nothing to do with Na Do-hyang (1902–1926), a

member of another coterie, Baekjo, and yet considering that both of them actively published through *Gaebyeok* (The Genesis) (1920–1926), we can infer some relationship between the different groups mediated by the magazine, despite the closed community of each *dongin*.

My previous research examined data on publication records to ascertain the relations between writers in the 1920s literary sphere. I counted the number of fiction contributions to Korean newspapers and magazines from 1917 to 1927. According to the collected data, there were more than 1,000 writers, including anonymous ones, but less than 100 periodicals, and thus, contributions by different writers overlapped in periodicals. By connecting these simultaneous contributions to various periodicals together in the larger form of network, I was able to present a wider spectrum of writers groups than is presented by *dongin* (J. Lee 2014). This method of network analysis served to visualize not only the links between a body of multiple writers and a set of periodicals, but also the links that were historically unknown even to the writers themselves at that time. While calling such a relational web "the writer network," I demonstrated with synchronic diagrams, that lesser known writers in Korea's literary history, such as Kim Myeong-sun and Choe Seo-hae, played more influential roles than literary icons like Yi Gwang-su in bridging the different clusters of writers in the network. In so doing, I argued that "Korean writers during the formative period of modern literature were not isolated and immobile individuals, but existed in the context of plural social relations that were always ready to work with new literary and journalistic forces" (J. Lee 2014, 262).

If my previous research worked on a larger picture of a literary universe where fiction writers of the 1920s interacted with others through the mediations of periodicals, this study applies a diachronic approach to trace the changing positions of *dongin* in the writer network. I divide the years of 1917 through 1927 into three periods: (1) January 1917 to January 1919, the years before the first coterie Changjo appeared; (2) February 1919 to September 1923, the period when the three major coteries rose and fell; and (3) October 1924 to December 1927, the period after the so-called age of literary coteries. While delving into the major players of the coteries and their locations in each phase, I contend that this diachronic approach enhanced

by network analysis benefits us in examining the pre- and post-histories of the three coteries Changjo, Pyeheo, and Baekjo. The sociograms in the pre-coterie age suggest that female members, such as Kim Myeong-sun and Na Hye-seok, who were overshadowed by the ascendency of male writers in literary history, served to form a hidden nucleus to initiate their respective coteries. Prior to analyzing the relations between writers and periodicals, I will review cases of applying a quantitative approach to literary studies and explain why we need to read the pictures of networks—a specific form of abstraction—rather than texts in literature, especially through what Franco Moretti calls "distant reading."

Distant Reading

Some historians of English literature have tended to select a small number of key works to describe literary events as part of a larger history. Ian Watt, for instance, traced the rise of the novel in England through close readings of Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding (Watt 1957). Although Watt was a careful and meticulous reader, questions remain. One is, "how are we to now account for the works not penned by Defoe, by Richardson, or by Fielding?" (Jockers 2013, 8). Close reading as a literary method is vulnerable to missing what Margaret Cohen calls "the great unread," the vast number of works left out of history (Cohen 1999, 23). If we are to include this large quantity of forgotten works to constitute a more comprehensive literary history then, two questions arise: in what ways can we do so? and what might we discover from such an alternative history? In particular, if we are to refer to literature as "one world literary system (of inter-related literatures)" (Moretti 2000, 56), rather than that of any individual country, what kind of methodology do we need? Here Moretti (2000) proposes distant reading. Now gaining dominance not only in literature and humanities, but also in the social sciences, distant reading was originally intended to make an abstraction out of literary information and knowledge through "a patchwork of other people's research" (2000, 57). By reading the forms of those abstractions carefully, it analyzes social relationships and power, which composes the greater scale

of the literary system.

In his book, *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, Moretti (2005, 1–2) suggests "a trio of artificial constructs" to probe into literary texts and history: "graphs from quantitative history, maps from geography, and trees from evolutionary theory." By gathering secondary sources from the literary histories of Britain, Japan, Denmark, Italy, Spain, India, and Nigeria, he created graphs as a platform for comparing and analyzing the rise of the novel on a global scale. With maps, he demonstrates how people, events, and things interact to form a plot in reading Mary Mitford's *Our Village* (1824–1832). The maps show that the circular world of the main characters' daily lives begins losing its centripetal force and dispersing by the linear world of industrialization, which links the movements of the people and things from a long distance. Trees are chosen to exemplify the growing and bifurcating attributes of literary genres, such as detective fiction. Moretti uses them to excavate the forgotten fiction overshadowed by the dominance of Arthur Conan Doyle's and to explain how particular detective stories survived and evolved to be equipped with more sophisticated ways of presenting clues. In conclusion, Moretti (2005, 56–57, 64) provides a powerful thesis that forms are social forces. This is why we need to look at abstractions as a way of linking texts to social agents in literature.

In interpreting graphs as a way of exploring literary history, scholars began going beyond English literature. Richard So and Hyot Long (2013), for instance, gathered the record of poetry contributions to literary magazines in the United States, China, and, Japan from the 1910s through the 1920s, and compared the rise of the groups of modernist poets through social network analysis (SNA). SNA is a method of looking into "the contacts, ties, connections" that "relate one agent to another" to examine how patterns of ties construct a larger social structure (Scott 2013, 3). A classic example is Mark Granovetter's 1973 paper "The Strength of Weak Ties." Weak ties are the individual's not-so-close friends, friends of friends, and mere acquaintances. Yet those weak ties as information carriers help jobseekers more effectively than strong ties (families and close friends) by building up a larger network of information. Likewise, So and Long (2013) looked at how individual poets linked themselves to form a larger literary

network. On the premise that a poet's regular contribution to a particular magazine created a positive relation between them, the two authors thought that if multiple writers submitted their works to a magazine regularly and simultaneously, then they could form social ties, weak or strong, mediated by the magazines of their choice. By so doing, So and Long (2013) not only visualized the major actors and their interconnections to periodicals in different literatures, but also revealed the little-known players in literary history who worked as mediators to connect larger groups and to form the rising force of modernist poets.

Inspired by So and Long's work specifically and by Moretti's distant reading in generic terms, here I look into tracing how a small number of *dongin* expanded to form a larger domain on the 1920s literary scene. There are two reasons I use the number of fiction contributions as data for network analysis. As Moretti did in *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, I also intend to reread literary history by excavating and revisiting the anonymous, unidentified, and lesser-known writers who had been long excluded from scholarly attention. Such a larger picture of the world of fiction will demonstrate how major authors interplayed with unknown writers. Secondly, the number of fiction contributions allows us to see *dongin* from a relational perspective rather than from an attribute viewpoint. The attribute values mainly refer to the characters of a research object; here they mean the specific features of the "like-mindedness" of a literary collective, which include same or similar hometowns, educational paths, and literary orientations. Yet, a relational perspective helps us examine the unfixed, active interactions between the two moving targets—here, writers and periodicals. The 1920s was the formative period of modern Korean literature, and a relatively small book market could not financially support professional writers to come. Thus, writers had side jobs, such as newspaper reporter, magazine editor, or regular columnist. This yet-to-develop production system of literary works draws us to the writers' affinity for periodicals more than books. For this study, I gathered data on fiction contributions from 1917 to 1927. The year 1917 was when Yi Gwang-su contributed the first full-fledged Western-style novel *Mujeong* (The Heartless) to the *Maeil sinbo* (Daily News) (1910–1945), and 1927 was the year when *Joseon mundan* (Literary Sphere of

Korea) (1924–1927), one of the two major Korean magazines of the 1920s, ceased publication. This decade marked the explosive rise of writers, works, and periodicals as well as the bifurcations of various literary ideas and styles in Korea's modern literary history.

Data: The Number of Fiction Submissions

In order to present the writers' network mediated through 1920s periodicals, I list 2,284 works contributed by 1,019 fiction writers, including anonymous authors, to four newspapers and 87 magazines. First, I referred to the database entitled, "Hanguk geundae japji sojae munhak tekseuteu" (Literary Texts in Modern Korean Magazines). It has the entries of 50,939 literary works published in 368 magazines from 1906 to 1945.[2] Boasting the most comprehensive range of periodicals, the database includes lesser known magazines that are not listed in the existing archival researches, such as *Hanguk japji gaegwan mit hobyeol mokchajip* (An Overview of Korean Magazines and the Table of Contents of Each Issue) and *Hanguk munhak japji sasangsa* (Intellectual History of Literary Magazines in Korea). I then extracted lists of fiction from all literary works, including poetry, drama, and critical writings, published from 1917 to 1927. For unknown reasons, some of the most influential magazines of the 1920s, such as *Changjo*, *Hak ji gwang* (The Light of Learning) (1914–1930), *Yeojagye* (World of Women) (1917–1921), *Samgwang* (Three Lights) (1919–1920), and others, are omitted from the "Literary Texts in Modern Korean Magazines" archive. Hence, I manually added the titles of stories from the missing journals to my archive. Together with fiction published in magazines, I also compiled a database of fictional works published in the four major Korean newspapers of the period: *Maeil sinbo, Chosun Ilbo, Dong-A Ilbo,* and *Sidae ilbo* (1924–

2. "Hanguk geundae japji sojae munhak tekseuteu" (Literary Texts in Modern Korean Magazines), accessed July 14, 2013, http://modernjournal.org. The site is no longer available. Instead, the records of fiction publications are printed in book form in Choe and Choe (2012).

1926). As a result, 847 entries of fiction authored by 515 writers were added to the archive. In compiling the list of writers, I tried to match as many pennames as possible to their real names. Though time-consuming, it was also an important task as the titles of fiction were lined up under the name of the author. The existing references were extremely helpful (Kwon 1990; Sanggyeong Yi 2009; Seon-yeong Yi 1993; Sookmyung Women's University 2006). Yet, the number of anonymous and unidentified writers (1,019) was still larger than expected. Many of the anonyms contributed only once, which suggests they may have been readers. It is also possible that some of those contributions were made by single authors using multiple pennames.

Synchronic Analysis of the Writer Network

Based on the data collected, this section will locate the positions of the three major *dongin* in the network graphs which take on the whole period of 1917 to 1927 as a unit. Prior to doing so, I first examine the amount of fiction contributions for each year and determine the implications of changes in the numbers of writers, titles, and periodicals. The rise and fall of Korea's fiction production are shown in Figure 1. Each bar represents an average of half a year's production, and the graph demonstrates the S-shape through which the number of fiction contributions increased dramatically over time. In February 1919, *Changjo* released its first issue, and *Baekjo* printed its last issue in September 1923. Dividing the 11 years into three phases—before the age of the three major coteries (phase one: January 1917–January 1919); during the age (phase two: February 1919–September 1923); and after the age (phase three: October 1924–December 1927)—clearly demarcates that fiction production reaches its peak during the third phase. Only 76 works of fiction appear in the first phase, 521 in the second, and 1,687 in the third, where the field of fiction production increases about 22 times compared to the first. In 1926 alone, 554 works are published, and this is larger than the total sum of fiction published from 1917 to 1922.

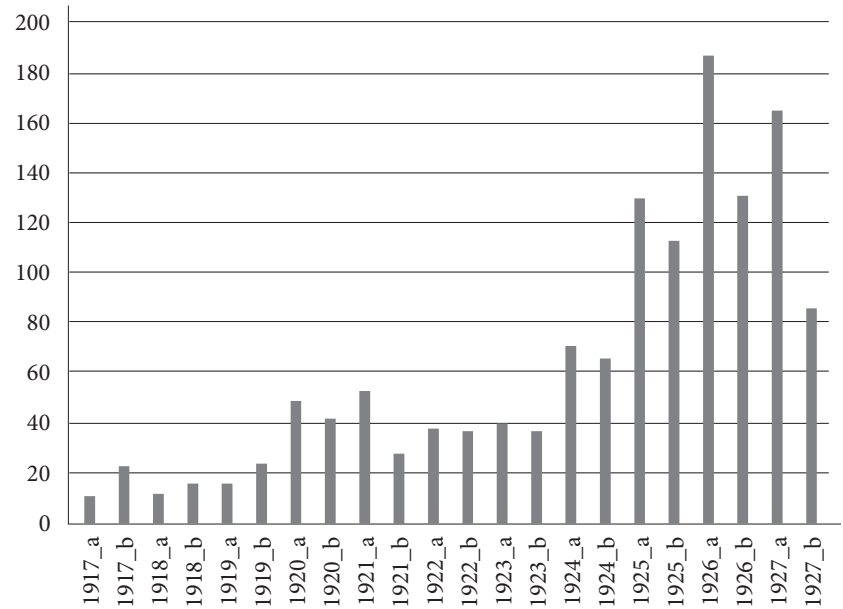

Figure 1. Fictional works published in periodicals in Korea, 1917–1927.

Source: Author's elaboration based on data at http://modernjournal.org.
Note: Numbers or broken down in half-year increments (a=first half, b=second half).

Why does the number of fiction contributions increase? One plausible answer can be drawn from the rising number of periodicals. As for newspapers, *Maeil sinbo* was published throughout the colonial period (1910–1945). Amongst the three major civic newspapers, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo* began printing in 1920, while the *Sidae ilbo* commenced in 1924. The major magazines, such as *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*, which solicited a number of works from renowned authors, also began publication in 1920 and 1924, respectively. Perhaps, the appearance of new periodicals and newspapers can explain a sudden but minor rise in fiction contributions for the years 1920 and 1924. Yet, this fails to explain the surge of fiction in the later period. Another possible answer may lie in the growth of fiction writers. In the first phase, there are 38 writers; in the second, 278; and in

the third, 780. These numbers are higher than expected, because they include anonyms and also because the same authors are repeated in every phase in which they produced works. Without doubt, however, we can see a surge of writers in phases two and three. Nonetheless, this does not necessarily mean that each writer was prolific. In fact, the average number of fictional works per author decreases in phase two—from 2 (76/38) in the first phase, to 1.87 (521/278) in the second—before rising to 2.16 (1,687/780) in the third. These records seem to indicate that along with prolific professional writers, non-professionals also enter into the scene through the readers' pages and then cease writing. Then what role do the writers from the major literary coteries play in fiction production? From 1917 to 1927, 29 coterie writers published 423 works, and thus each author producing 14.6 on average. It is far more than the average number of fictional works per writer, as shown above.

In general, the history of modern literature's emergence in Korea tends to put more emphasis on the age of literary coteries (phase two in this study), because it is through their magazines that a large number of writers simultaneously emerge to regularly produce works. The simple graph of fiction production, however, illustrates that the periods of the pre- and post-coterie age are as important as, if not more important than, the age of the coterie in terms of the number of fictional works produced. In the upsurge of fiction writers and their works in phase three, how do the writers from the three literary collectives relate to each other as well as to non-coterie authors? What are the positions of those coterie writers in phase one when their own collectives had yet to be formed?

As I argued in the introduction, here we need to shift our frame from the small and exclusive communities of "like-minded" writers to the writer network. A network is "a set of relations between objects which could be people, organizations, nations," and so on (Kaudushin 2011, 3). In particular, analysis of social networks is geared towards examining patterns of interactions, expansions, and movements by agents and groups of agents in a larger structural system. In the field of art and literature, this social network analysis allows us to recognize that "art is social" because "it is created by networks of people acting together" (Becker 1974, 775). In other

words, "writers in a social network are always in plural form and are units of influence on others" (J. Lee 2014, 261). The interaction between writers can be visualized in a graph, where nodes (in this case, writers) are connected to other nodes (periodicals) through edges (the number of fiction contributions). The following graph centers on magazines and examines the writer-magazine network from 1917 to 1927.

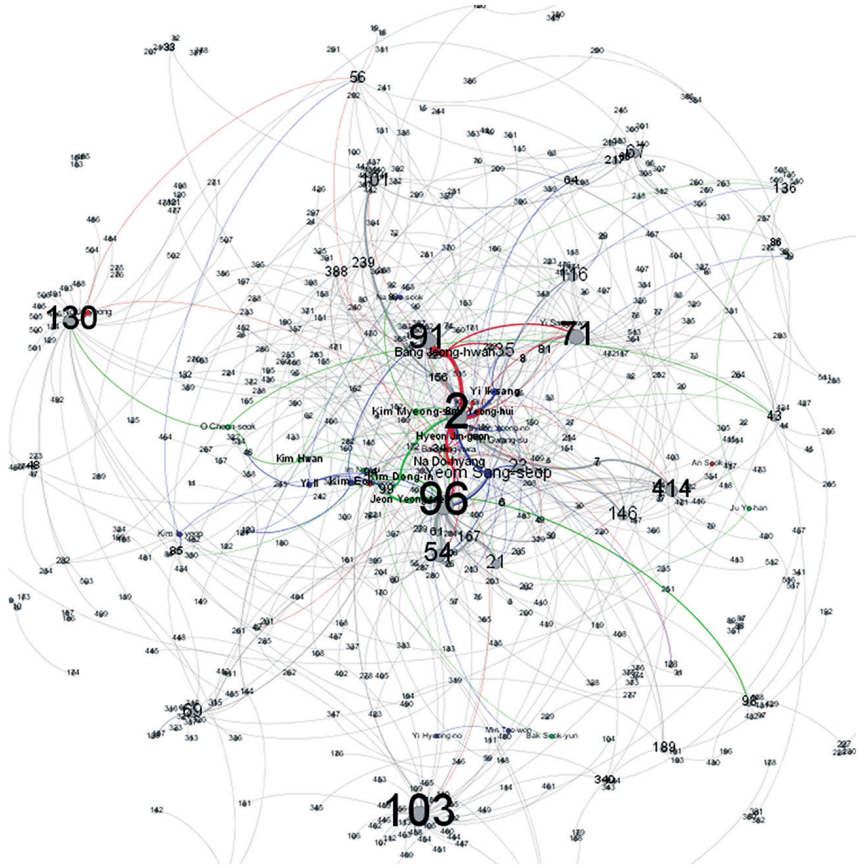

Figure 2. Locations of coterie writers in the writer-magazine network, 1917–1927.

In this synchronic image of the world of fiction production, the larger the nodes, the larger the number of contributions. If the nodes are located at the center, they will be easily accessed from the margins. As seen here, *Gaebyeok* (no. 2 in the graph) and *Joseon mundan* (no. 96) are the major magazines which attract the most fiction writers. Those two magazines are placed in the center with larger nodes. Other noticeable nodes include *Sinyeoseong* (New Women) (1923–1934; no. 71), *Joseon ji gwang* (The Light of Joseon) (1922–1930; no. 414), *Eorini* (Children) (1923–1934; no. 91), and *Haksaenggye* (Students' World) (1920–1924; no. 103). *Sinyeoseong* was a magazine for girls and women with modern ideas; *Joseon ji gwang* was a leftist magazine patronized by KAPF (Korea Artista Proletaria Federacio); and *Eorini* and *Haksaenggye* were magazines for children and young students. Diverse as their primary readers were, one can find reasons why they are closely placed. *Sinyeoseong* and *Eorini*, along with *Byeolgeongon* (Another World) (1926–1934; no. 35) and *Cheondogyohoe wolbo* (Cheondogyo Monthly Bulletin) (1910–1938; no. 101), were so-called sister magazines of *Gaebyeok*, which were also run and printed by the same Cheondogyo publisher. A thicker edge links *Gaebyeok* and *Eorini* by Bang Jeong-hwan (1899–1931), as he worked for both magazines, becoming a son-in-law of Son Byeong-hui (1861–1922), the third leader of the Cheondogyo religion. Bang Jeong-hwan, Bak Dal-seong, and other Cheondogyo editors and reporters contributed to the sister magazines and they also seem to have shared the pool of renowned literary figures as their regular contributors.

Figure 2 shows that what is more important than the type of Cheondogyo magazine is the location of the three coterie writers. Writers from Changjo are in green; Pyeheo in blue; and Baekjo in red. Kim Dong-in, Jeon Yeong-taek, Yi Il, and O Cheon-seok from Changjo contribute to nearby journals, such as *Yeongdae* (Spiritual Pole) (August 1924–December 1924; no. 512), *Seoul* (1919–1920; no. 46) and *Seogwang* (Shine of Dawn; 1919–1921) (no. 43) along with *Haksaenggye* and *Bando siron* (Current Issue of the Korean Peninsula) (1917–1919; no. 132) on the periphery. By doing so, they constitute an important force of *Joseon mundan* at the center and extend it to the network's margin. In addition, Changjo writers served to bridge 1910s and 1920s literature, given the fact that those writers also fre-

quently contributed to 1910s youth journals, such as *Cheongchun* (Youth) (1914–1918; no. 116), an educational magazine for enlightenment, and *Hak ji gwang* (no. 136), run by young Korean elites studying in Tokyo.

In the meantime, the graph shows that the aforementioned Cheondogyo magazines often invited writers from Baekjo, such as Bak Yeong-hui, Yi Sang-hwa, Hyeon Jin-geon, and Na Do-hyang, whereby the Cheondogyo's religious group had a substantive influence in collaboration with Baekjo's prolific writers. The thick edges between *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan* are not only in red, but also in blue. To put it differently, the writers from Pyeheo enjoyed the simultaneous attention from the two leading magazines in the latter half of the 1920s. Although the number of fiction contributions by Pyeheo writers is relatively low (because the magazine highlighted poetry and criticism over prose fiction), they were still called on by the more prestigious magazines. Yeom Sang-seop, as the network visualizes, is especially conspicuous in connecting the leading magazines of *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*. In sum, the synchronic analysis of the 1920s writer network suggests that the authors from Changjo, Pyeheo, and Baekjo played a significant role in linking and extending the literary forces centered between *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*.

The coterie writers' position in connecting *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan* is more distinctive in the contrast between Figures 3 and 4. The former visualizes the contributions of all 29 coterie writers to different periodicals, whereas the latter presents non-coterie writers' positions in the network. In other words, Figure 3 combines edges in green, blue, red, and Figure 4, the remainder of the edges. As the contrast between the two graphs intuitively demonstrates, writers who started their literary careers through the three coterie magazines set up *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan* as their main stages for publication. They fill out the space between the two magazines (i.e., between no. 2 and no. 96 on the diagram) while making a few attempts to reach out to the minor journals in the margins. In contrast, non-coterie writers actively work with *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*, along with the middle-ranged journals in the network, such as *Sinyeoseong*, *Joseon ji gwang*, *Cheondogyohoe wolbo*, and *Cheongchun*, as well as the aforementioned journals in the margin. And yet, very few non-coterie writers can be called on by

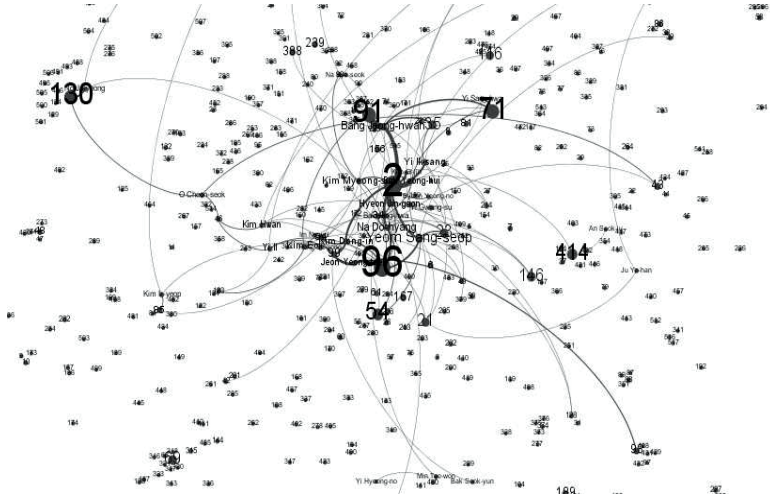

Figure 3. The coterie writer-magazine network, 1917–1927.

Note: Children's stories and folktales are excluded.

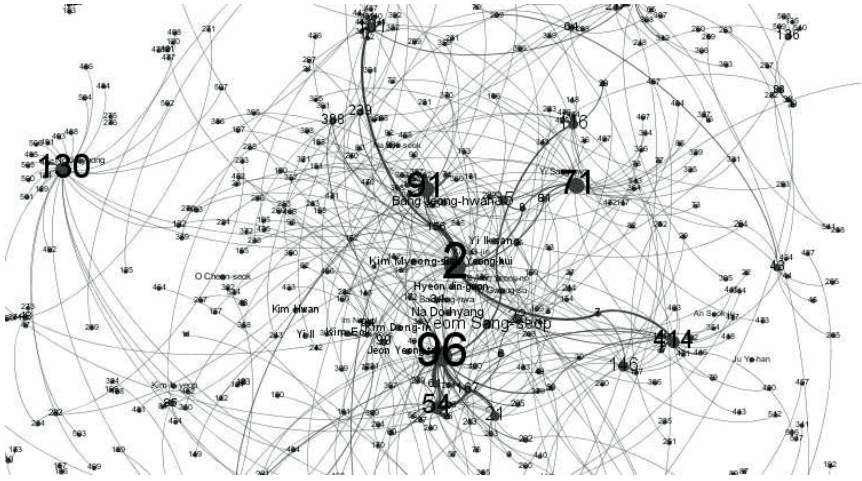

Figure 4. The non-coterie writer-magazine network, 1917–1927.

Note: Children's stories and folktales are excluded.

both *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*, such that their world looks as if it were divided by these two magazine forces. In other words, these diagrams enhance the previous argument that it is the writers from the three major coteries who form a nucleus to bridge two literary groups, represented and extended by *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*.

Diachronic Analysis of the Coterie Writers

The synchronic graphs of the writer network help us to confirm the general positions of the fiction writers from the three main coterie magazines. Strictly speaking, however, they do not represent the actuality of social ties between writers and periodicals as the diagrams do not reflect the lifespan of the magazines. Short-lived journals such as *Changjo*, *Pyeheo*, and *Baekjo* are presented as if they were in publication throughout the entire period from 1917 to 1927. Furthermore, we can neither determine those who were most productive within each group, nor trace the periodicals to which those writers most frequently contributed over time. Thus, this section examines the diachronic changes in the positions of the writers from the three major literary groups, with an increased focus on female members in male-dominant coteries. In order to examine the changes, I divide the years 1917 through 1927 into three periods: January 1917–January 1919, the years before the so-called "age of the literary coteries"; February 1919–September 1923, the years when the three coterie magazines rose and fell; and October 1924–December 1927, the period after the "age." By examining the major actors in forming and expanding the literary group in each phase, I claim that female writers, such as Kim Myeong-sun and Na Hye-seok, indeed played critical roles in the prehistory to the initiation of the male-dominated Changjo and Pyeheo, respectively.

The first phase of Changjo (Fig. 5) shows the activities of its writers prior to the launch of the magazine in 1919. Therefore, "the first phase of Changjo" is not a historically accurate term. Nevertheless, the prehistory of Changjo clearly displays the most active players amongst the future members of the coterie. Surprisingly, only Ju Yo-han is visible of the aforemen-

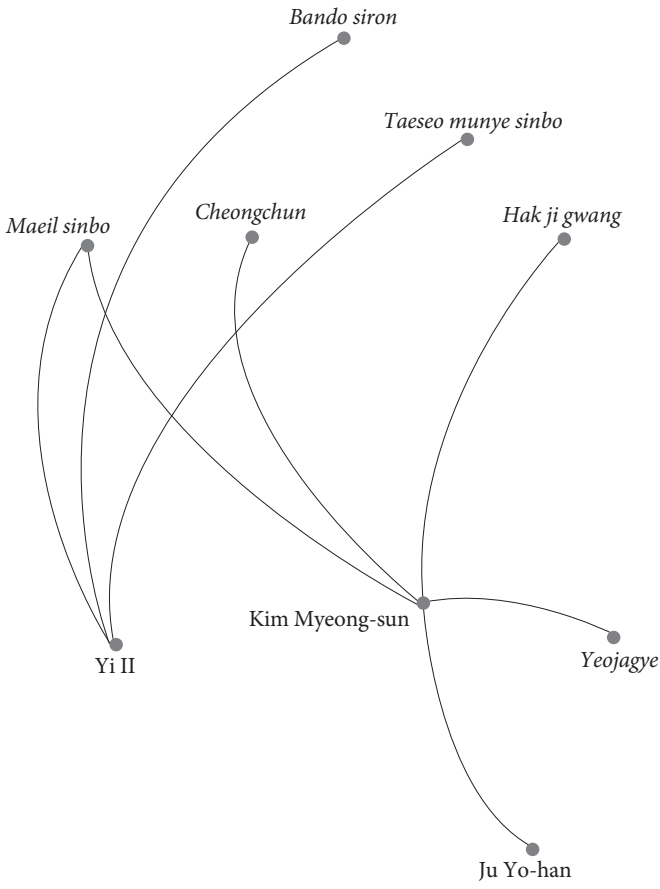

Figure 5. Changjo, phase one (January 1917–January 1919).

tioned initial four who started the magazine, including Kim Dong-in, Jeon Yeong-taek, and Kim Hwan. Furthermore, Ju's contributions are outnumbered by those of Kim Myeong-sun (1896–1951), the one and only female member, and Yi Il, who has been nearly forgotten in today's understanding of the Korean literary scene of the late 1910s. This means that Changjo was already starting to grow at the hands of lesser known writers even before the initial four launched the magazine. In particular, the female writer Kim

Myeong-sun is known to have been recruited later for the issue of July 1920 (no. 7) as if she were an accessory to the male-centered literary coterie. On the contrary, the graph of Changjo's first phase demonstrates that it was Kim who played the role of nucleus to which gravitated the capable male writers' group which later became known as Changjo.

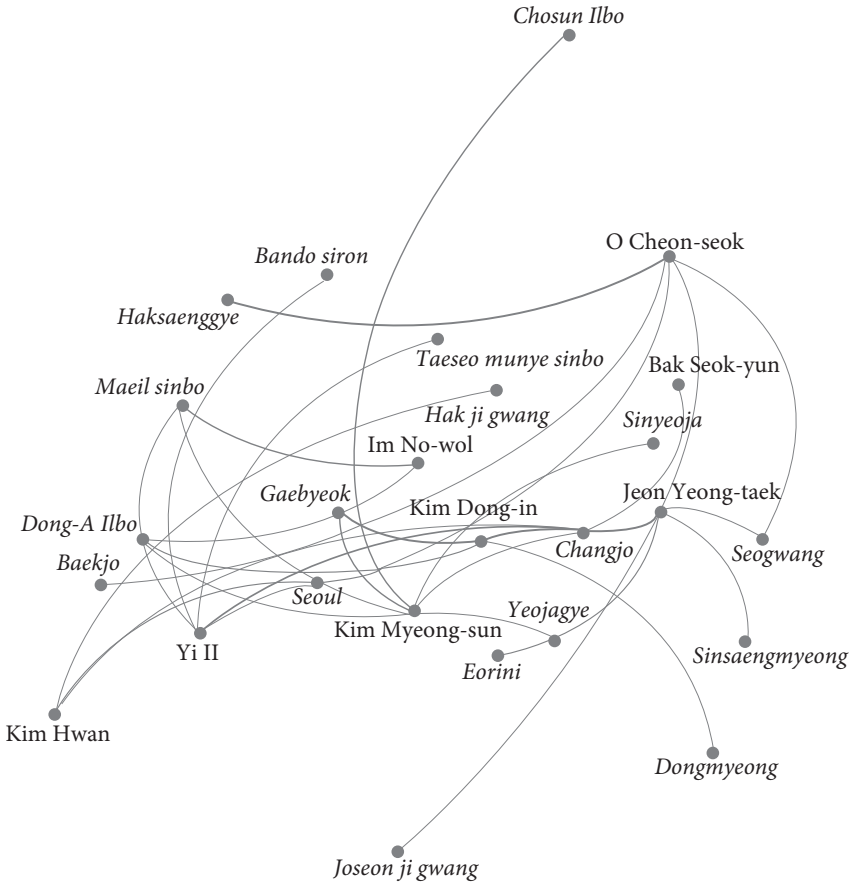

Figure 6. Changjo, phase two (February 1919–September 1923).

From phase two of Changjo's development (Fig. 6), one can infer the way in which it expands its force across the literary network, an expansion mediated through the periodicals of the time. Kim Myeong-sun and Yi Il are still active, and they diversify their publication venues to include *Gaebyeok* and *Sinyeoja* (New Women) (1920), while bidding farewell to *Cheongchun* and *Taeseo munye sinbo* (News of Literature and Arts from the Great West) (1918–1919), the leading magazines of the 1910s. Without a doubt, the initial four members remain conspicuous, being centered around their main magazine *Changjo*. The leader of the coterie, Kim Dong-in, frequently contributes to *Yeongdae*, which he finances and edits, and to the renowned *Gaebyeok*. Jeon Yeong-taek works with Christian-related magazines such as *Seogwang* and *Sinsaengmyeong* (New Life) (1923–1925). In the meantime, Kim Dong-in does not recognize the painter Kim Hwan as a qualified fiction writer and refuses to continue to publish in *Changjo* (Y. Kim 2000, 120–121). Perhaps this is why Kim Hwan is found on the periphery, away from the center of *Changjo* and *Gaebyeok*, even though he continued to publish his works. O Cheon-seok, another active member who later became known as an educator rather than as a literary figure, published through *Haksaenggye*, where he served as an editor, and even through another coterie magazine, *Baekjo*. However, he is also placed on the margins, since he contributed few works to *Gaebyeok* and *Changjo*.

Along with the major players of phase two, Figure 6 also suggests the coterie's preference for particular types of periodicals: colonial newspapers and journals favoring art and literature. In terms of newspapers, the Changjo writers contributed solely to the *Maeil sinbo*, the colonial government's gazette, and not to the *Chosun Ilbo* or *Dong-A Ilbo*, which were founded and supported by Korean nationals (*Sidae ilbo* was not in existence during phase two). This is in striking contrast to Baekjo's strong links to the *Chosun Ilbo*, and Pyeheo's connections to the *Dong-A Ilbo* from 1920 through 1923. Further research is needed to confirm whether it was the editors of the Korean newspapers who attracted the Changjo writers, or whether it was the coterie's decision to work with the colonial government newspaper. Nevertheless, it is certain that in this phase the connection to the *Maeil sinbo* is augmented, as Yi Il continues to publish and the newly recruited

Im No-wol serializes and translates fiction for that newspaper. With regard to magazines, Changjo members were fond of art and literature journals, as evident by the fact that they entitled their own coterie "Creation," proudly proclaiming the slogan, "art for art's sake." More often than not, they worked with *Gaebyeok*, *Seoul*, *Yeongdae*, and *Seogwang*, which regularly published artistic works, despite the different social and religious orientations and target readers of each magazine. In the meantime, the famous children's magazine *Eorini* is not found on the Changjo writers' publication list. Perhaps they considered that children too young to appreciate their passion for high art.

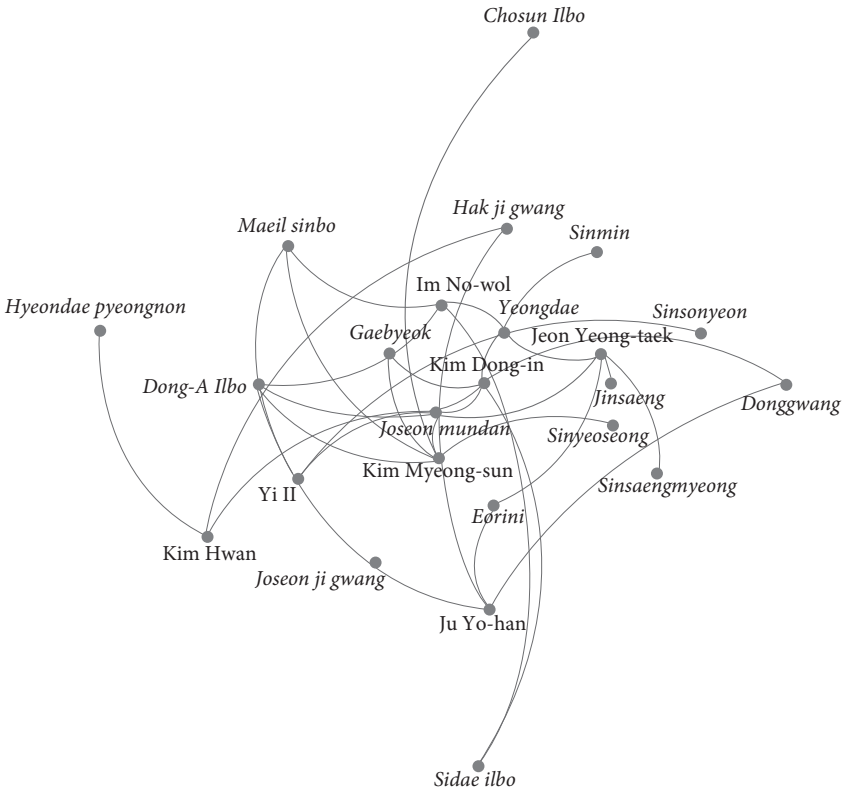

Figure 7. Changjo, phase three (October 1924–December 1927).

It is in phase three that the former Changjo writers expand their influence over all the major newspapers of the 1920s. The central figure of this development is none other than the female Kim Myeong-sun, who frequently contributed to the *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo* while also working with the *Maeil sinbo*. This graph is rather surprising to the reader who remembers that Kim published only a few poems in *Changjo* as she had become a member of that coterie later than the other members. Obviously, the thicker

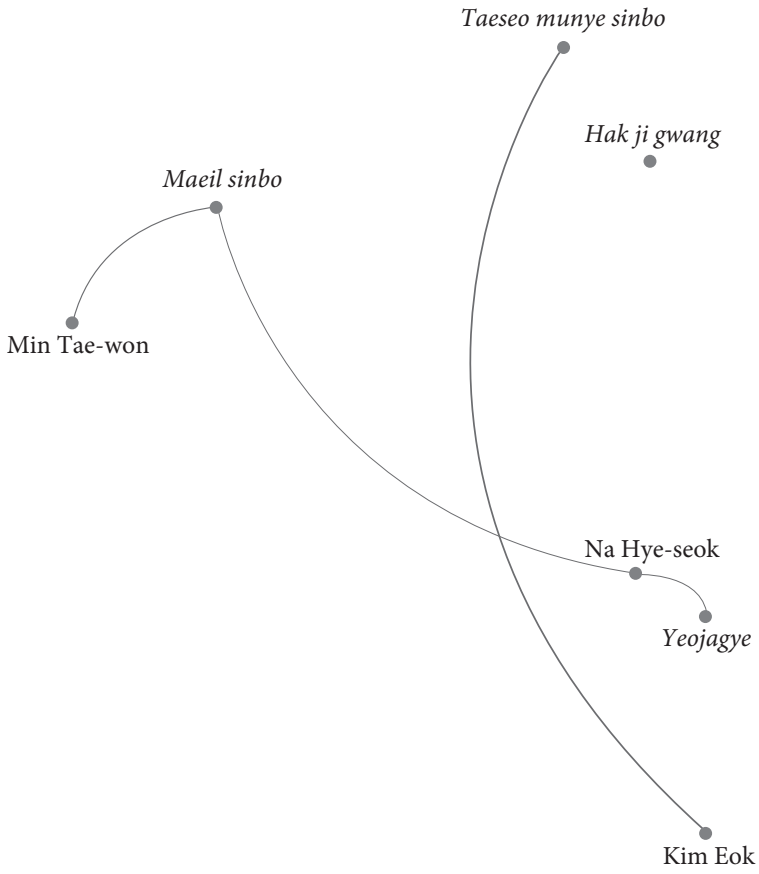

Figure 8. Pyeheo, phase one (January 1917–January 1919).

edges between *Gaebyeok* and the newly rising *Joseon mundan* were maintained by the leading stars of the coterie, such as Kim Dong-in and Jeon Yeong-taek. However, Kim Myeong-sun also engaged with both magazines and worked as a bridge between Changjo's favorite magazines and newspapers. In other words, she played the role of a nucleus in binding male writers in phase one and extending their connections with major newspapers and magazines of the 1920s in phase three. It remains unknown whether Kim's active performance was a reaction to the negative effects of the monopolization of the coterie magazine by male writers and therefore, the diversification of publication venues was a desperate means of maintaining her literary career. It is also unknown whether it was a case of her fame as a rare female writer attracting different periodicals to publish her works. Yet, without doubt, she cannot be excluded from the discussion of Changjo. From 1917 to 1927, the coterie was as indebted to Kim for its growth as it was to its male members.

According to conventional Korean literary history, the Pyeheo coterie was led by the famous critic Yeom Sang-seop and symbolist poets like O Sang-sun, both of whom were inspired by the French decadent movement (Baek 1980, 171). Figure 8, however, presents a different picture. The difference can be partially explained by the magazine's main interest, which is poetry and criticism, and the graph's focus, which is on fiction. Still, one cannot miss the fact that there were fiction writers who were actively publishing prior to the launch of the magazine—the painter Na Hye-seok working with the women's magazine *Yeojagye* and the colonial *Maeil sinbo*; poet and translator Kim Eok, a joint member of Changjo and Pyeheo, which is highly unusual; and a lesser known fiction writer, Min Tae-won. Na's contributions to both the colonial newspaper and the women's magazine appear to be exceptional when considering that male writers worked with either a newspaper or a magazine, but not both. In other words, she bridged different types of periodicals to shape the future of Pyeheo. Here, as in the case of Kim Myeong-sun in Changjo, the existence of a female member working before the launch of Pyeheo reminds us of the forgotten prehistory of the coterie. Na's publication of fiction appears to be an even more valuable achievement in the coterie's prehistory, given that few members

were able to produce fiction.[3]

In the meantime, a celebrity in phase two of Pyeheo is its leader, Yeom Sang-seop. His major publication venues, however, do not include the cote-

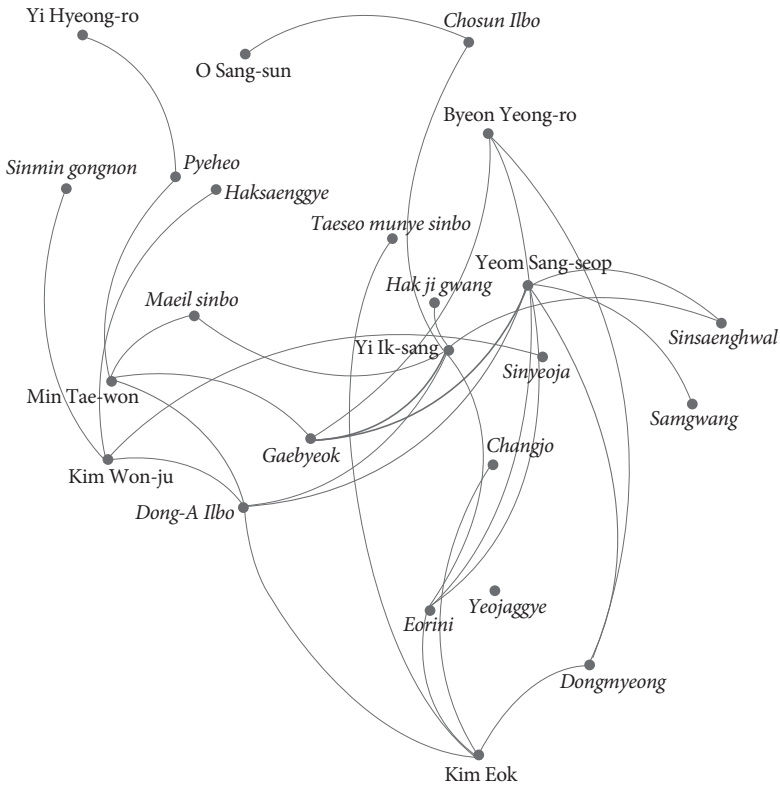

Figure 9. Pyeheo, phase two (February 1919–September 1923).

3. As early as 1918, Na's autobiographical story "Gyeonghui" heralded the coming of the newly modernized woman, just one year after the serialization of Yi Gwang-su's *Mujeong* (The Heartless). Unlike Yi's novel, which depicts passionate youths marching for the great cause of enlightenment, Na's work portrays the daily life of an educated woman in the midst of imposed household chores and an early marriage, and the hopes of becoming an independent person. Such a masterful work leads to a greater appreciation of Na as part of Pyeheo's prehistory.

rie magazine (*Pyeheo*) because it only had a print run of two issues, and furthermore, its focus is more on poetry and criticism. Thus, Yeom contributed his early works, such as "Pyobonsil-ui cheonggaeguri" (The Green Frog in the Specimen Room) (1921), to *Gaebyeok*, and "Haebaragi" (Sunflowers) (1923) to the *Dong-A Ilbo*. In terms of Pyeheo's relationship with newspapers, the *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Maeil sinbo* are distinctive as they carried works by Yeom Sang-seop, Min Tae-won, and Yi Ik-sang, the latter of whom later became a member of the KAPF. Yet, O Sang-sun alone is linked to the *Chosun Ilbo*. This contrast clearly shows the type of newspapers Pyeheo

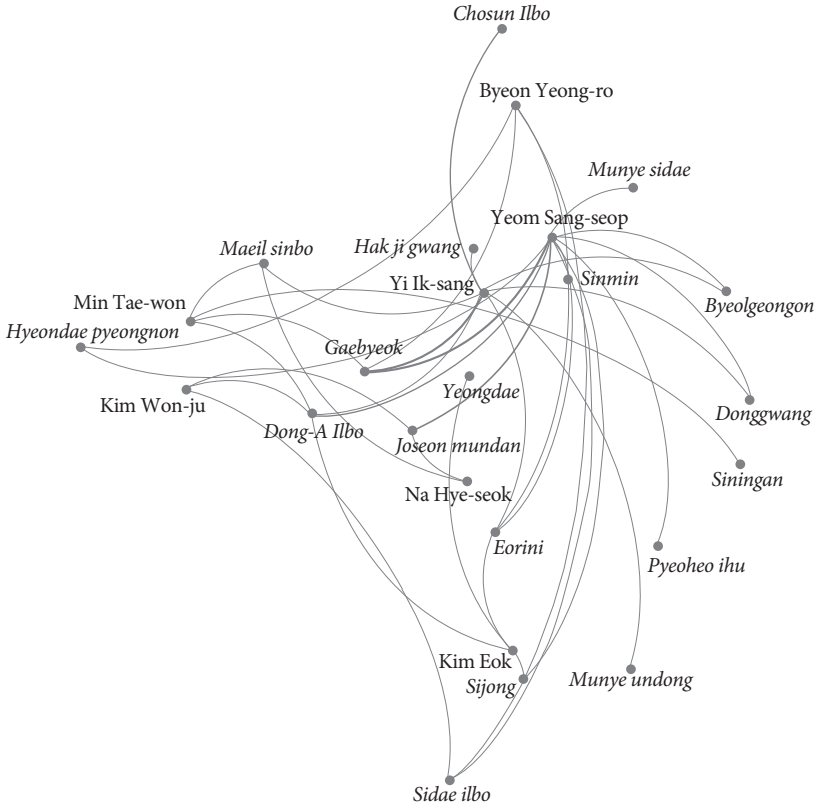

Figure 10. Pyeheo, phase three (October 1924–December 1927).

favored, and vice versa. Na Hye-seok was busy with her marriage in 1920, followed by her relocation to Manchuria in 1922. She rose to fame once more for her controversial essay of 1923, in which she negated the role of motherhood as a key characteristic of a woman's nature, though she was not highly productive during this time (Na 1923). Instead, another female member, Kim Won-ju (penname: Iryeop), published actively through the *Maeil sinbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo*, as well as in the women's magazine *Sinyeoja*, which was financed by her husband. With the activities of these central players, the influence of the Pyeheo coterie extended to include major newspapers as well as important magazines for educated readers as well as women, but the Pyeheo was not at the center of this network.

As seen in Figure 10, Yeom Sang-seop distinguished himself as a bridge between *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*—contributing six works to *Gaebyeok* and five to *Joseon mundan* from 1924 to 1927. He also published through the *Sidae ilbo.* His serialized novella *Myoji* (Graveyard) (1922) was discontinued, as colonial censors shut down the leftist magazine *Sinsaenghwal* (New Life) (1922–1923) in which it was being published. Yeom then resumed serializing this masterpiece of Korean realism, with a new title of *Mansejeon* (On the Eve of the Uprising) (1924), in the newly launched newspaper *Sidae ilbo*, where he himself served as an editor in the national news section. With this strenuous effort, the post-Pyeheo influence reached out to include the *Sidae ilbo* in addition to the existing *Maeil sinbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo*. What of the *Chosun Ilbo*? Here, new attention is given to Yi Ik-sang, who worked with various periodicals, such as the *Maeil sinbo*, *Gaebyeok*, *Munye undong*, and even the *Chosun Ilbo*. Although less well-known than his peers such as Yeom Sang-seop and Na Hye-seok, Yi was active in proto-leftist literary organizations like PASKYULA.[4] He also translated the works by Japanese leftist sympathizers, such as *Nanjira no haigo yori* 汝等の背後より (Behind You) (1923) by Nakanishi Inosuke 中西伊之助 (1887–1958). Through vibrant literary activities, the group of Pyeheo writers, including Na Hye-seok in phase one, Yeom Sang-seop and Kim Won-ju in phase two, and Yi Ik-sang

4. The name of this organization was created as a combination of the initials of the members' names.

in phase three, built strong ties throughout the 1920s literary network, ties that extended far beyond their short-lived coterie magazine.

Baekjo appeared on the literary scene later than the other coteries. Its core members, such as Kim Gi-jin (1903–1985), Bak Yeong-hui, and Na Do-hyang, befriended one another as students of Baejae Hakdang in Seoul (B. Kim 2008, 72). Thus, Baekjo is often compared with and contrasted to the first coterie, Changjo, for the varied regional backgrounds and literary orientations of its members. The members of both groups were of the same generation, all born in the early 1900s, and began their literary careers in their youths, either in their late teens or early twenties. Changjo, whose members came from the Pyongyang area, however, proclaimed "art for art's sake," whereas the Seoulite Baekjo shifted their initial interest in Romanti-

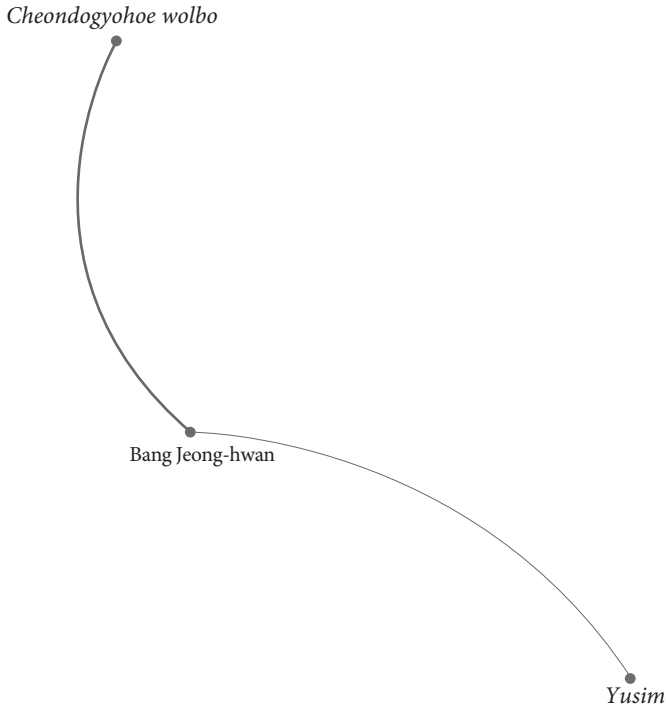

Figure 11. Baekjo, phase one (January 1917–January 1919).

cism to a class-based literature.

For scholars familiar with the above-mentioned historical account, phase one of Baekjo appears striking because it is Bang Jeong-hwan (1899–1931), from an older generation who appears in the network, and not Kim Gi-jin or Bak Yeong-hui, known as the young forerunners of the magazine. Bang is the founder of the Children's Day, who coins the word *eorini* (child) in Korea. As an in-law of the powerful Cheondogyo leader, Bang is a core member of a group seeking to apply the religious ideas of equality to social reformation. For such reasons, during the 1920s, his youth movement is

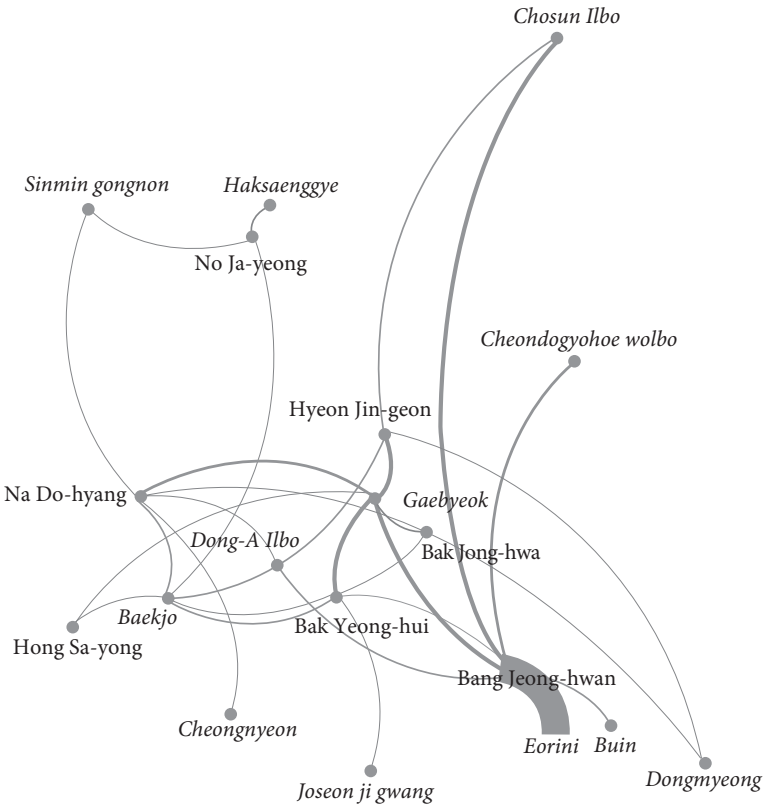

Figure 12. Baekjo, phase two (February 1919–September 1923).

tinged with a leftist color. The graph shows that this important figure starts building up the Baekjo's prehistory while he frequently works with *Cheondogyohoe wolbo*.

The next diagram (Fig. 12) centers on the years when the coterie writers reached out to various periodicals from their base at *Baekjo* in phase two. Na Do-hyang, renowned as genius among fiction writers, successfully serialized the full-length novel *Hwanhui* (Enchantment) (1922–1923) in the *Dong-A Ilbo* after a few attempts at writing short stories. Talented at detailing the psychology of his characters, he continued to enjoy fame as he contributed short pieces to *Baekjo* as well as *Gaebyeok*. Other lines from the two magazines are extended far by Hyeon Jin-geon to the *Chosun Ilbo*. As a skilled short story writer, Hyeon was renowned for the sudden, unexpected, and dramatic turns faced by his characters. The connection from the *Baekjo* and *Gaebyeok* magazines to the *Dong-A Ilbo* and *Chosun Ilbo* was enhanced and extended by Bang Jeong-hwan, who was involved in the publication of *Gaebyeok* while contributing almost 60 children's stories and folktales to *Eorini* as its chief editor. But, most outstanding in Baekjo's phase two, as the sharp-sighted reader may have sensed, is the complete lack of association with the *Maeil sinbo*. Given that the two coteries, Changjo and Pyeheo, form relationships with that colonial newspaper in their prehistory, Baekjo's case appears even more striking. This suggests that the colonial government's gazette influenced cluster literary cohorts differently, and that the *Maeil sinbo* was not a necessary condition for groups of literary apprentices to enter the literary field and maintain their careers.

The links to *Gaebyeok* in phase two were more diversified, as Bak Yeong-hui became the editor of its literature and art section from 1925 and invited colleagues, such as Kim Gi-jin, to make contributions. Once deeply immersed in the "art for art's sake" camp, they now shifted their literary orientation to "art for life's sake" (*saenghwal-eul wihan yesul*) to face the wretched lives of the poor in colonial Korea (C. Yi 2013, 286). Alchemizing Cheondogyo's secular reformist movements with the newly introduced Marxist ideas based on class conflict, Kim Gi-jin and Bak Yeong-hui called for literature to reflect and herald the coming of a society marked by economic equality (Han 2006). The spirit of their undertaking is already con-

gruent with Bang Jeong-hwan, the sower of children's literature who had been active since phase one, and extended to *Sidae ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* as Bang contributed his children's stories there. As a result, the three-way edges which run from *Gaebyeok* at the center to *Baekjo*, the *Chosun Ilbo*, and *Eorini* in phase two look thicker and more complicated in all directions in phase three. And yet, no writer from Baekjo has ever published his writing in the *Maeil sinbo*. In this vein, further study is needed to determine whether the lack of any record of contribution stems from the Baekjo writers' spirit of

Figure 13. Baekjo, phase three (October 1924–December 1927).

resistance against the colonial government or whether it is simply a case of not personally knowing the editors of the newspaper. Alternatively, there is also the possibility that the publication records are incomplete and that necessary data is missing. Yet, it is clear that the three coteries, composed of the major fiction writers of the 1920s, follow different paths of growth in their relationship to various periodicals. Such trajectories, including the prehistory of each cohort, would have remained unexplored without the diachronic analysis of writer-periodical networks in different time periods.

Conclusion

> From my archeology, Balzac and Stendhal will emerge as literary producers among other producers, seeking a niche in a generic market promising both economic and cultural return. . . . Balzac and Stendhal made bids for their market shares in a hostile takeover of the dominant practice of the novel when both started writing: sentimental works by women writers. (Cohen 1999, 6)

Working with data on fiction that was contributed to the different Korean periodicals of the 1920s, this study has revealed two things. A synchronic analysis of the data shows the placement of writers in relation to magazines. In particular, the writers from Changjo, Pyeheo, and Baekjo were found to be centered on the two major journals of *Gaebyeok* and *Joseon mundan*. From the graphs shown above, we can see that the small number of coteries were not isolated from the field of literary production, but interlinked to form complicated associations at the heart of the network. This complexity of the synchronic network engaged us with the process of coterie writers' dynamic expansion over time. Against the backdrop of the writer network, the second approach was laid out to diachronically survey the changing positions of the members of the three coteries in the different periods: prior to, during, and after the "age of coterie writers." I discovered, for instance, that Kim Myeong-sun and Na Hye-seok, who were known to have had a thin connection to Changjo and Pyeheo, played a substantial role in the prehistory of their respective coteries. In addition, newspapers engaged, on dif-

ferent levels, with respect to the formation and expansion of different literary collectives. The colonial government's *Maeil sinbo* was one of the main nuclei for Changjo and Pyeheo writers to associate with other writers, but this was not the case with Baekjo. This diachronic approach to the literary collectives' growth has presented the hitherto veiled interactions of lesser known writers with diverse periodicals, and helped us imagine the intricate formation of the world of fiction writers in 1920s Korea.

Amongst the aforementioned discoveries, the most important is that women writers constructed the prehistory of male-centered literary coteries. In 1917, Yi Gwang-su serialized *Mujeong*, the first full-fledged Korean novel, and that same year, Kim Myeong-sun wrote her first work of fiction, "Uisim-ui sonyeo" (A Girl of Mystery). A year later, in 1918, Na Hye-seok published the famous short story "Gyeonghui." These publications were made even before younger male writers, like Kim Dong-in from Changjo, Yeom Sang-seop from Pyeheo, and Na Do-hyang from Baekjo, made their literary debuts from 1919 onwards. We know that this visibility of Kim Myeong-sun and Na Hye-seok on the literary scene resulted in the attentions—at times uncomfortable—of male authors, as well as an exclusive invitation into their literary circles. And yet, the almost simultaneous appearance of both male and female writers in the formative years of modern literature in Korea seems to have invited mere historical description rather than questions in need of further explanation through literary sociology. Although there have been a number of achievements in feminist literature, including the history of modern literature led by women writers, their rise even before the formation of male-dominant coteries has never been thoroughly examined (S. Yi 2002).

One type of answer to this inquiry can be obtained from Margaret Cohen, who studied the status of female writers in French literature. Questioning how the Balzac and Stendhal styles of realism appeared in the eighteenth century, she argued that such realism did not rise naturally, but came into being through a severe competition with women writers who were well-versed in the grammar of sentimentality (Cohen 1999, 6–10). Her argument is suggestive in many ways of the situation of 1920s Korean literature, where writers attempted to figure the unfathomable self as the beholder of uncurbed feelings, while defying the Confucian model of gentleman, who should be

capable of disciplining his emotions (Hwang 1997). In particular, the male writers of coteries like Changjo shared their tearful stories, both fictive and factual, thereby consolidating their social bonds and creative friendships (J. Lee 2015, 93–95). Considering the rampant appearance of sentimental stories in 1920s Korean periodicals, we may imagine that male authors of the time were competing with their female counterparts in the arena of emotional expression. I expect more quantitative approaches to be applied to literature so that we can uncover the forgotten writers and their events in conventional literary history and deepen our understanding towards an alternative narrative in literary sociology.

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