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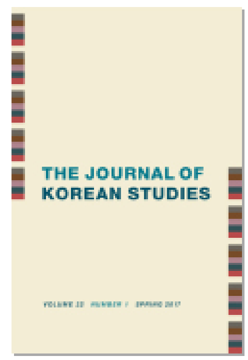

Making Sense of Fiction: Social and Political Functions of Serialized Fiction in the *Daily News* (*Maeil sinbo*) in 1910s Korea

Jooyeon Rhee

Modern Korean newspapers played a decisive role in transforming the Korean fiction genre in the early twentieth century—a transformation that was carried out in two distinctively different cultural and political environments. In the 1900s, reform-minded Korean intellectuals translated and authored fictional works in newspapers primarily as a way to instigate Koreans to participate in the nation-building process during the Patriotic Enlightenment movement (Aeguk kyemong undong) period. When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, the Daily News *(*Maeil sinbo*) continually used fiction as a vehicle to deliver the colonial government's assimilation policy, that is, to raise Korea's socioeconomic and cultural status, with the aim of civilizing the society. The rhetoric of civilization is a common feature in fictional works produced during the period. However, what characterized the works serialized in* Maeil sinbo *was their increasing focus on individual desire and domestic affairs, which manifested itself in the form of courtship and familial conflicts. The confrontation between private desire and family relationships in these fictional works represented the prospect of higher education and economic equity while invoking emotional responses to the contradictory social reality of colonial assimilation in the portrayal of domestic issues in fiction. Looking at* Maeil sinbo *and its serialization of fiction not as a fixed totality of the Japanese imperial force but as a discursive space where contradicting views on civilization were formed, this paper scrutinizes emotional renderings of individuality and domesticity reflected in* Maeil sinbo*'s serialized fiction in the early 1910s.*

Keywords: *Maeil sinbo*, translation, political novel, New Fiction, domestic fiction

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INTRODUCTION

From January to July 1913, *Maeil sinbo*, in a column called "Chosŏn inmulgwan" (Introducing Great Koreans),[1] featured about sixty "talented Koreans" who were regarded as good models of society. The section introduced forerunners and emerging leaders in various professional fields, describing their families and educational backgrounds and including portrait photos. A few Koreans who had received titles like marquis, viscount, and baron from the Japanese government appeared at the beginning of the column,[2] but most Koreans introduced there were lawyers (*pyŏnhosa*), medical doctors (*ŭisa*), entrepreneurs (*sirŏpka*), nurses (*kanhobu*), female students (*yŏhaksaeng*), and philanthropists (*chasŏn saŏpka*). Although professionals somewhat equivalent to these did exist in Chosŏn, the designations used in the paper were neologisms that had traveled mostly from Japan to Korea since the late nineteenth century. The frequent appearances of these neologisms signaled the reorganization of legal, medical, economic, and educational institutions undertaken shortly after Korea became Japan's protectorate state in 1905. By the end of March 1913, the column shifted its focus to young people and included more women,[3] describing their intelligence and their extraordinary resilience in pursuing their professional goals despite the material and physical hardships they faced.[4] Throughout the serialization of the column, these talented people were most frequently described as "diligent," "excelling at their studies," "good-natured," and "virtuous"—qualities deemed to be essential for success.

The introduction of these young, upwardly mobile people cannot be separated from the colonial government's goal of encouraging Koreans to make diligent efforts to elevate their level of civilization to that of the Japanese. *Maeil sinbo* aimed to educate Koreans about the importance of Japan's assimilation policy,[5] arguing that Koreans needed to make a genuine effort to reform their society. As these exemplary young men and women demonstrate, *Maeil sinbo* aimed to instruct Koreans on taking the initiative to reform Korean society and economy through education and hard work. In describing the Viscount Yi Hayŏng, for example, the paper emphasized the ways in which he advanced to his current position "through his resilient spirit and diligence" despite his "lowly family background" (*mich'ŏnhan sinbun*).[6]

The fact that the columns were printed in the newspaper's society section is noteworthy since it meant the "greatness" of these young men and women stood out in contrast to the reports of various Koreans' crimes and family tragedies that derived from Korea's old customs and manners. The juxtaposition of "good" and "bad" people, customs, and manners was meant to emphasize the level of civilization Koreans would need to achieve by distancing themselves from their disorderly and "backward" past. The introduction of successful Koreans was just one segment of the *Maeil sinbo* that delineated the gap between the educated and the uneducated, and by extension, the productive and harmful members of society.

The possibility to advance oneself through education, however, was presented in a contradictory manner in the newspaper. An editorial published in *Maeil sinbo* warns young Koreans and their parents to be "realistic" about their expectations of education: the goal of education is not to make children into lawyers and politicians, it says. Rather, Koreans must concentrate on "practical" (*sirhaengjŏk*) studies urgently needed to increase the "wealth of Korea" (*chosŏn ŭi puryŏk chŭngjin*).[7] Even with the paper's emphasis on women's education, the editorial argues that the goal of women's education is to produce women who can perform their child-rearing duty well, thus educating their children to become "national subjects" (*kungmin*).[8] The gap between the opportunity to advance oneself as reflected in "Chosŏn inmulgwan" and the editorial's guidelines for Koreans to find a place "appropriate" to their social position in the Japanese empire demonstrates an inconsistency in the colonial administration's message concerning the civilization of Korea.

Framed in a rectangular box with their immovable expressions in portrait photographs, these talented people as "agents of civilization" are brought to life in *Maeil sinbo*'s serial fiction (figs. 1 and 2). By overcoming challenges faced by villains and the ignorant, characters resembling the "agents" demonstrate a resilient spirit that makes it possible for them to participate in the civilizing mission. The stories about entangled romantic and family relationships in particular are narrated with emotionally charged descriptions of their struggles, a technique of persuasion that aims to draw emotional responses from the readers regarding the necessity of civilization. Ann Stoler argues that colonial states intervened in the emotional life of the everyday with regard to both their agents and the people they ruled in order to establish moral order and racial hierarchy between them in


●才子才媛
진명(進明)녀ᄌᆞ고등보통학교
본과졸업싱、류지션(柳志善)
、우등졸업싱즁의
한지원이라、단
뎡ᄒᆞᆫ셩질이、외
모에、낫타나며
총명ᄒᆞᆫ、지덕은
두로예가득ᄒᆞ야、학업과품힝에、항샹
남의、칭찬을밧으며、특히슈학(數學)
에이르러ᄂᆞᆫ、굿ᄒᆞᆫ학급싱도즁에、그우
롤누들자가、업셧다ᄒᆞ며、방년십팔세

Figure 1. A talented young woman, Yu Chisŏn, *Maeil sinbo*, April 10, 1913 (© Korea Press Foundation)


◎才子才媛
ᄉᆞ립보인(輔仁)학교본과졸업오긔
년정근(精勤)ᄉᆡᆼ 손희림(孫熙琳)
금년십오셰의 근실지ᄌᆞ이니 보인학
교에 유치과로
입학ᄒᆞ야 유치
과일년본과ᄉᆞ년
간에 학업의셩
젹도 우슈ᄒᆞ려
니와 뎨일탄복
ᄒᆞᆯ일은 만오긔년간에 일ᄉᆞ의흠셕
(欠席)과 일분의지각(遲刻)이업섯
ᄂᆞᆫ고로 금년졸업ᄒᆞᆯᄯᅢ에 학교에셔
은으로 긔념샹품ᄒᆞ야 줌과 교ᄉᆞ와밋
리빈의특별ᄒᆞᆫ샹품과 찬양ᄒᆞᄂᆞᆫ츅ᄉᆞ
에 영광ᄋᆞᆯ밧앗더라

Figure 2. A talented young man, Son Huirim, *Maeil sinbo*, April 30, 1913 (© Korea Press Foundation)

their colonies.[9] The Japanese colonial state's investment in the establishment of moral order among Koreans in *Maeil sinbo*'s serial fiction rationalized the idea of social reform, yet it also embodied the racial hierarchy between the Japanese and Koreans, which was determined by the level of civilization each demonstrated. In the selected fiction of my investigation, young professionals and students, just like those introduced in "Chosŏn inmulgwan," move the narrative of civilization by traversing from one place to another. The spatial condition in which characters express their emotion is crucial here since the source of their emotional struggle is their feudal past and since their struggle is resolved through the help of modern law enforcement and education. During this process, a movement to a newly constructed space is imperative: more often than not, characters voluntarily and involuntarily traverse geographical and cultural boundaries in the form of journey, escape, and exile. *Maeil sinbo*'s fiction not only projected the possibility of pursuing upward social mobility but also became a conduit for placing one's personal desires and emotions against the backdrop of the nation-building process.

An examination of serial fiction cannot be undertaken separately from the print media that endorsed it—in this case, *Maeil sinbo*—since, as Benedict Anderson argues, they both played a crucial role in spreading the imagination of the "shared time and space" of national communities.[10] In that "shared time and space," however, the hierarchy between the colony and the metropole is not something that can conveniently be blotted out; rather, I argue that the hierarchy, be it racial or cultural, is contested in fictional works because of the nuanced discrepancy created between fiction (i.e., fictional works) and reality (i.e., reportages) in the newspaper itself. In this paper, I will provide historical context in which newspaper-serialized fiction was produced in Korea in the 1900s and 1910s and demonstrate the way in which *Maeil sinbo* provided a discursive space for presenting the discourse of civilization in a contradictory manner through its serial fiction.

NEWSPAPERS AND NEW FICTION (*SINSOSŎL*)

The emergence of modern newspapers in Korea coincided with Korea's national crisis in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[11] During this time, between the mid-1890s and 1910, Korea fell prey to Western and Japanese imperial powers. Newspapers and journals were established and run mostly by reform-minded Korean nationalist intellectuals. As Andre Schmid's research demonstrates, Korean journalist-intellectuals' active engagement with print media allowed them to establish channels for expressing their political vision to strengthen national politics and the economy and for their reinterpretation of national culture and history so as to legitimize Korea's independence in the new global order. The trend of nationalistic thinking about domestic and global politics, which converged on the legitimization of national culture and history, is now referred to as the Patriotic Enlightenment movement (Aeguk kyemong undong).[12] Although the "movement" was by no means a unified front against the perilous force of imperialism, it is unquestionable that newspapers and journals played a central role in producing national discourses at the time.

Apart from intellectual discourses on national politics and history, newspapers provided momentum for Korean literature by promoting and developing the literary genre previously disdained by the Confucian literati of Chosŏn—that is, fiction (*sosŏl*),[13] and especially fiction written in the Korean vernacular—using it as an effective tool to educate the general populace about the importance of a patriotic attitude. Unlike the previous era, when the audience for literary productions had been limited to literati, during the Patriotic Enlightenment movement, reform-minded intellectuals began to value literature for its ability to reach the general populace.

In Chosŏn, *literature* (*munhak*,文學) referred to a broad range of intellectual and artistic activities, such as Confucian classics, poetry, calligraphy, music, and painting. The term was also used when referring to educational training, bureaucratic positions, and even culture.[14] Those categories of literature, however loosely defined, fell in line with the Confucian worldview; thus, there was a strong tendency among Confucian literati to scorn forms of writings that dealt with sensual or fictional matters. Generally considered as "nonsense stories," the status of fiction was low, and it was dismissed as a suitable pastime for women and lower-class people.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a gradual change in terms of the development and perception of fictional works, a change partially caused by the growing number of imported Chinese novels.[15] And by the eighteenth century, the burgeoning interest in fictional works, particularly romance fiction, was advanced by the appearance of book-rental depots (*sech'ekka*).[16] Despite the increase of fiction and its readership, reading "nonsense stories" was largely regarded as a "woman's pastime" and was criticized by literati,[17] who believed that the content of such works was entirely "inappropriate" by Confucian standards.[18] Given this disdainful view of fiction, it is not an insignificant phenomenon that reform-minded intellectuals, most of whom were trained in the Neo-Confucian intellectual environment, were willingly authoring vernacular fiction at the turn of the twentieth century.

The vernacular fiction produced by intellectuals and writers, however, was different from the kind of fiction produced and circulated in the late Chosŏn. The reform-minded intellectuals were preoccupied with the thought of "enlightening" the country, concentrating on producing didactic narratives that would motivate Korean readers to make an effort to advance their society. These intellectuals' use of Korean vernacular went beyond simply accommodating less learned people; it was a manifestation of the national culture that set Korea apart from other countries. Sin Ch'aeho, for example, argued that national script (*kungmun*, the Korean vernacular) must be used more widely in order to help Koreans maintain their nationality (*chaguk ŭi kukchŏk*) and to uplift all Korean people's (*chaguk ŭi inmin*) patriotism.[19] Sin himself wrote vernacular fiction that features exemplary figures from Korean history, such as the famous military leader of Koryŏ, Ch'oe Yŏng, of Koguryŏ, Ŭlchi Mundŏk, and of Chosŏn, Yi Sunsin. Except for his work based on a fictional figure, Hannom, in *The Heaven I Dream Of* (*Kkum hanŭl*, 1916), Sin's historical fiction works were serialized in the *Korea Daily News* (*Taehan maeil sinbo*), of which he was the chief editor.[20]

Writers like Sin firmly believed that the value of fiction rested on its moral importance in serving a nationalistic purpose, arguing that fiction was "a compass for national subjects" (*kungmin ŭi nach'imban*) since it had the power to determine the moral character of *kungmin*.[21] Sin was not alone in his promotion of the didactic value of fiction. Chang Chiyŏn (1864–1921) was especially interested in educating women, as they would become mothers of *kungmin*. Just like Sin, Chang was driven by nationalistic passion and motivated women to be patriotic. Chang produced a number of fictional narratives and Korean adaptations of stories about patriotic women from Europe and compiled biographies of exemplary women from East Asia, Western Europe, and the United States.[22]

Besides Sin and Chang, there were other groups of writers who dealt with diverse subjects in their works, ranging from domestic issues to exemplary political leaders in the West, marriage and family relations, gender equality, and the importance of Western-inspired education. This range of subject matter, regardless of the degree of nationalistic fervor, distinguished the new body of vernacular fiction from that of the popular vernacular fiction of Chosŏn, which in fact did not dissipate at the turn of the century.[23] The historical circumstance in which the body of vernacular fiction was produced led to the emergence of the neologism New Fiction (*sinsosŏl*, 新小說).[24]

New Fiction was heavily influenced by the political novels (*seiji shōsetsu*) produced in Japan during the 1880s and 1890s, a time when intellectuals believed fiction was "the best means" to enlighten society and be a catalyst for patriotism. They accomplished this by having the works embody the political views put forward by the leaders of the Liberty and People's Rights movement.[25] In the 1900s, Korean translations of Japanese political novels (*chŏngch'i sosŏl*) flourished: many reform-minded nationalist intellectuals such as Pak Ŭnsik, Sin Ch'aeho, and Chang Chiyŏn translated Japanese political novels, though they used Chinese intermediary texts when translating. Both political novels and New Fiction came into existence almost at the same time, and both embodied writers' calls for "civilization and enlightenment."

However, scholars of New Fiction in South Korea seem to characterize New Fiction as featuring contemporary social and political events and detailed description of characters' moral struggles and social experiences. In contrast, these scholars see political novels as having bluntly didactic content featuring exemplary historical figures in European and Korean history and relatively flat depictions of characters. There seems to be little dispute among the scholars that the first New Fiction was Yi Injik's (1862–1916) *Tears of Blood* (*Hyŏl ŭi nu*), which was introduced as a New Fiction for the first time in Korea and serialized in the *Independence News* (*Mansebo*) in 1906.[26] In its juxtaposition of the past and the present through featuring the lives of a young and an older woman in one family against the backdrop of the first Sino-Japanese war, Yi's novel handles the issue of gender equality in a national context by positioning women as "citizens" of the Korean nation.[27]

The young female protagonist's transnational mobility in *Tears of Blood*—moving from Pyongyang to Japan and to the United States—and her endorsement of Western learning in particular are defining elements that differentiate Yi Injik's novel from nationalist writers such as Sin Ch'aeho and Chang Chiyŏn in the 1900s. Yi was especially critical of the centuries-old customs and manners that brought tragic consequences to women: concubinage, patriarchal violence, and superstition. He continually dealt with these issues in his ensuing novels, such as *Voice of the Ghost* (*Kwi ŭi sŏng*, 1906) and *Ch'iak Mountain* (*Ch'iaksan*, 1908), in which young and innocent women go through various challenges in the form of expulsion, physical and emotional abuses, and flight but then get rewarded for their hardships through the aid of modern law enforcement and Western-inspired education—reflecting Yi's desire to Westernize Korean society in order for it to attain leverage in the new international order.

Soon after the publication of *Tears of Blood* in *Mansebo*, the term *New Fiction* began to be used frequently in other newspapers such as *Taehan maeil sinbo* when referring to their serial fiction, be it a translation or original. This lexical inconsistency reveals that no unifying effort was made to define the genre at the time.

It was only in the late 1930s that the first systematic attempt to define the genre was made by Im Hwa.[28] It is noteworthy that newspapers frequently used the word *new* in order to appeal to readers by emphasizing the novelty of information and knowledge. The term *New Fiction*, according to Kim Yŏngmin, thus can be regarded as a rhetorical device (*susa*) used to promote newspapers through serial fiction that could appeal to a larger audience.[29] Kim's critical reevaluation of the historical significance of New Fiction, especially in its relationship with modern newspapers, bears significance since the concept of the novel was being reconstructed through the advance of modern print media.

Most New Fiction works were authored by newspaper journalists and editors whose interest in fiction did not rest solely on their literary curiosity. Although these authors were concerned about the political function of fiction, we cannot assume they had a clear concept of fiction, New Fiction specifically. Making sense of fiction itself took some time for authors, thus it is important to understand the status of New Fiction as it was perceived by writers at the time. In their newspapers, works like critical essays (*nonsŏl*) and explanatory articles (*sŏlmyŏngmun*), for example, were also classified as "fiction" (*sosŏl*) in the 1900s.[30] At times, *nonsŏl* and *sŏlmyŏngmun* elements were incorporated in fiction, as seen in Sin Ch'aeho and Chang Chiyŏn's historical and biographical fiction. Furthermore, no specific categorization was given to fiction in terms of its length: short stories, novellas, and novels were all called *fiction*.

All these factors indicate that fiction writers used the term *new* loosely when referring to their works; their self-awareness of the "newness" of their time was a catalyst for the use of the term. In other words, journalists and editors situated their writings in the purview of the political function of the newspaper, which was the very site where the concept of fiction was being newly reconfigured. As this transition demonstrates, newspapers provided a discursive space for writers to explore the concept of fiction by engaging with matters that went beyond the realm of literature.

SCRIPTING "EVERYDAY" IN *THE DAILY NEWS* (*MAEIL SINBO*) IN THE 1910S

The native Korean publication industry came under the colonial state's tight control, especially towards the end of the 1900s. The Korean Newspaper Law (Shinbunshihō, 1907) and the Publication Law (Shuppanhō, 1909) were promulgated by the state, suppressing the circulation of nationalistic texts that encouraged Korea's independence from foreign power.[31] The publication industry, as a consequence, concentrated on a relatively innocuous genre of writing, that is, fiction.[32] While most of the formerly prominent publishing houses were having financial and management crises, some prospered by shifting their editorial focus. *Tongyang sŏwŏn* and *Sinmun'gwan* are good examples: the former successfully monopolized the publication of New Fiction while the latter concentrated on translating European and American literature. As Pak Chinyŏng notes, the increased number of fictional works did not necessarily elevate the quality of fiction, which became a cause for the serious decline of the industry in the mid-1910s.[33] However, fiction—and New Fiction in particular—was still a "niche" market in which Korean publishing houses and *Maeil sinbo* competed against one another until the end of 1912, when the highly innovative and skillful translator of Japanese domestic fiction, Cho Chunghwan (1863–1947), began to take a leading role in popularizing fiction with the serialization of his translations of Japanese domestic fiction. Cho's emergence was a catalyst for the increase of *Maeil sinbo*'s readership. *Maeil sinbo*'s initial focus on serializing New Fiction and its subsequent shift to translations of Japanese domestic fiction were strategic moves made by combining the forces of the publishing environment and the political climate.

Immediately after Japan annexed Korea, nearly all Korean newspapers were forced to close down, leaving three newspapers that came under the direct control of the governor-general of Korea (hereafter GGK): the English paper the *Seoul Press*, the Korean-language paper *Maeil sinbo*, and the Japanese-language newspaper *Seoul News* (*Keijō shinpō*). The Japanese inspector general (*t'onggambu*) tried for some time to purchase *Taehan maeil sinbo* from its owner, Ernest Thomas Bethel (1872–1909). The purchase was instigated by the paper's anti-Japanese stance[34] and by its high subscription rate. Two months before the inspector general acquired the paper, the number of subscribers was about 13,000. The subscription rate, however, sharply declined to 2,646 immediately after the annexation, despite the fact that the government had taken drastic measures such as forcing township offices all over the peninsula to subscribe the paper.[35]

The GGK recruited Tokutomi Sohō (1863–1957) to manage both *Keijō shinpō* and *Maeil sinbo* for the first eight years. Sohō was a leading journalist who was also the publisher of the *People's News* (*Kokumin shinpō*) in Japan. His fervent support for Japan's military expansionism and colonialism made Sohō a good choice to undertake the task for the GGK.[36] Although each paper targeted a different readership, the power hierarchy between the two papers was clear: *Keijō shinpō* oversaw the editorials of *Maeil sinbo*, and it took care of other things such as advertisements and sales. Thus those who held the decision-making power at *Maeil sinbo* were the Japanese (with Sohō at the top), most of whom were familiar with journalism in Korea and fluent in the Korean language, while its general editors and journalists were Koreans.[37]

Even though *Maeil sinbo* tried to present the GGK's assimilation policy—namely, by portraying the harmonious existence between the Japanese and Koreans—its construction of the power hierarchy between Japan and Korea was also evident in its editorial scheme. The first page was dedicated to editorials, reports of the GGK's promulgation of laws and regulations, and fiction. The second page was usually allocated for domestic and international political events and relations. The third page was similar to today's society section, and the last page was primarily used for advertisements. It is on the first page that the GGK's assimilation strategies were most clearly laid out, and they were accompanied by visual materials such as photographs that delineated Korea's subordinate position in the Japanese empire. The first photographic image that appeared in *Maeil sinbo* was, not surprisingly, a portrait photo of the Meiji emperor with another photograph of the Tokyo Imperial Palace in the background.[38] Key Japanese officials in the colonial state were introduced by the paper intermittently throughout the first few years of colonial rule.

The visualization of the political hierarchy between Koreans and the Japanese also became clear with the introduction of photographic images of former Chosŏn palaces that appeared in the paper during the first few years of colonial rule. The transformation of Rear Garden (Huwŏn) to Secret Garden (Piwŏn), for example, denoted the end of the Chosŏn monarchy's history, bringing what was once the private property of the royal family to the public. The royal garden lost its secretive image by being fully exposed to common folks; the changed name of the garden accentuated the absence of secretiveness. Special public events were held in Kyŏngbok Palace, inviting Koreans to the interior of the once-forbidden place; now they could navigate the palace while viewing flower arrangements.[39] Furthermore, the Kŏnch'ŏng Palace was a symbol of Korea's national humiliation since it was there that Queen Min had been brutally murdered by Japanese assassins in 1895.

While the public exposure of these places projected the dissolution of Korea's monarchy, the colonial administration also tried to create a sense of equality, as well as emphasizing the increasing availability of leisure time among Koreans through constructing public parks[40] and holding spectacular events such as nationwide bicycle-race competitions.[41] The inclusion of all classes and the celebration of leisure time culminated in the nationwide Chosŏn Industrial Exposition (Chosŏn Mulsan Kongjinhoe) in 1915, which was advertised by *Maeil sinbo* for nearly three months. As Hong Kal argues, the exposition visualized the improved economic and social status of Korea under the tutelage of Japan while simultaneously constructing the hierarchy between Korea and Japan using exhibition techniques.[42] Kal's analysis of the reception of the exposition also shows how the time and space stimulated Koreans' "desire for progress." The creation of the progress-desiring subject was a crucial element in the nation-building process, which is reflected in *Maeil sinbo*'s serial fiction.

Maeil sinbo's serialization of fiction may appear off the grid at first glance in terms of the time and space allotted to it. Allocated space on the first page, the fiction section stood out visually due to its use of pure vernacular, whereas editorials and essays predominantly used Chinese scripts. The use of pure vernacular had been a distinctive feature of New Fiction in the previous era, and by using the same term, New Fiction, *Maeil sinbo* might have been trying to gain a wider readership through fiction's popular appeal.[43] The entertaining element of fiction may have also been an important factor for *Maeil sinbo*—especially in its selection of

Yi Injik's and Yi Haejo's (1869–1927) fictional works. While most nationalist intellectuals lost the space to publish their writings, Yi Injik continually published his work in *Maeil sinbo*, although the period of his absence was considerably long: only one of his works of fiction, a sequel to *Tears of Blood*, *Peony Hill* (*Moranbong*), was serialized in *Maeil sinbo* in 1913.[44] In this regard, Yi Haejo stood out since his novels enjoyed continuous popularity throughout the early 1910s. Praising him as "the best fiction writer in contemporary Korea,"[45] *Maeil sinbo* stressed the "entertaining quality" (*chaemi*) of Yi Haejo's fiction. No other writers were given such a privileged opportunity by *Maeil sinbo* between 1910 and 1912; during these years, Yi Haejo's works were serialized consecutively.

Yi Haejo's works have been evaluated negatively in South Korean scholarship mainly for his shift in focus from the promotion of enlightened thoughts prior to the annexation to topics that contained sensational and popular appeal, such as human trafficking, concubinage, murder, and troubled family relations. His lack of creativity in choosing to adapt traditional popular folktales such as *The Tale of Ch'unhyang* (*Ch'unhyangjŏn*), *The Tale of Hŭngbu* (*Hŭngbujŏn*), and *The Tale of Changhwa and Hongnyŏn* (*Changhwa hongnyŏnjŏn*)—all of which were serialized in *Maeil sinbo*—was also harshly critiqued.[46] In fact, compared to Yi's earlier works such as *Freedom Bell* (*Chayujong* 1908) and *The Twin Flutes* (*Ssangokchŏk*, 1908), in which he vehemently advocated the value of education for national development, his works in *Maeil sinbo* did not carry a strong message on nation building.

The position of Yi Haejo's works in modern Korean literature, however, remains ambiguous. It is apparent that his works in *Maeil sinbo* are less experimental in terms of their narrative structure. Rather than exploring the moral and social struggle of their protagonists, Yi's stories underscore the reward-the-good-and-punish-the-evil narrative (*kwŏnsŏn chingak*).[47] However, Yi's concentration on crimes and troubled family relations forces us to investigate the value of his works within the purview of newspapers since *Maeil sinbo* provided a heuristic space for readers to recognize their shared time and space through fiction and the society section. Family disputes, the kidnapping of young girls, the murder of spouses and family members, and female suicides were daily events reported in the paper during the time (so they were not unfamiliar topics to Yi's readers). The distinction between fiction and reality becomes unstable in this sense; from time to time, *Maeil sinbo* carried nonsensical news reports[48] or stories demonizing the Righteous Army (*ŭibyŏng*) as mere bandits (*chŏkto*).[49] Yet the value of fiction can be found in the power of postulating the temporal and spatial gap between the "old" and the "new" realities, catapulting the readers in the direction the characters are moving; the readers move along with the time and space of the characters. The reward-the-good-and-punish-the-evil theme, in other words, lies along the linear path of progress *Maeil sinbo* tried to convey.

The protagonist in Yi Haejo's *The Flower World* (*Hwasegye*, 1910), for example, displays her vulnerability, which has been formed by old customs and traditional moral values; born into a poor family, this young woman, Sujŏng, is about to be sold by her parents to be a concubine of a high-ranking military officer. Sujŏng runs away from home to avoid this ill fate but then faces a series of hardships on the road until she is "saved" by her soulmate and future husband. Her soulmate, Ku, is a former soldier of the Chosŏn army who now travels around the peninsula aimlessly; he has transformed from a greedy and corrupted official to "a man of integrity and virtue" by the time he meets Sujŏng. Ku criticizes the old customs Sujŏng is bound to as he argues that "the world has changed" and now people have the freedom to choose their marriage partner. In this story, the "changed world" refers to a society in which individuals enjoy the freedom to express their intimate feelings regardless of gender differences—and, more important, a society in which that freedom is "protected" by law. In the climax of this story, the false accusation that Ku is a bandit is resolved by a public prosecutor (*kŏmsa*) at a trial, a crucial outcome that secures the couple's bright future, allowing them to form a happy family.

Frequent appearances of police (*sunsa*) and prosecutor in Yi Haejo's stories are an important apparatus for making a happy ending, signifying the institutional change constitutive of civilization. These appearances are not merely a means to inform the readers about the colonial government's effort to civilize Korean society by modern legal standards; they rather represent the moral authority given to the colonial administration in establishing social order by correcting the morality of Koreans. In another of Yi's stories, *Youth in Spring* (*Ch'unoe-ch'un*), a young, talented woman, Yŏngjin, is about to be sold to a brothel by her stepmother. She decides to kill herself rather than become a prostitute but regains her will to live after conversing with a kind woman who also provides her with shelter. At the end, Yŏngjin's former teacher helps her to go to Japan to study, where she meets her future husband. Yŏngjin's transgression of the "old time and space" is made by her travel from Korea to Japan, leading her to enter a civilized world. While this innocent and vulnerable woman becomes empowered by being relocated to Japan and encountering her soulmate, those who made her suffer receive punishment. What is noteworthy about this fiction is the description of a court trial in which the chief of police displays moral superiority over the accused.

An illustration inserted in *Youth in Spring*, for example, depicts a cross-examination in a police station (fig. 3).[50] A man in uniform in the illustration is a chief of police, and a man in a traditional Korean jacket is Yŏngjin's father, who is being interrogated for his wife's involvement in the kidnapping of Yŏngjin. In the image, the chief, with his sword by his side and a stern expression, is positioned above everyone in the room. The chief talks down to Yŏngjin's father, who in turn answers in formal speech. It goes without saying that the uniform and the sword symbolize the law and its enforcement, and the way the chief of police addresses Yŏngjin's father is overtly condescending, criticizing his inability to maintain domestic affairs. The moral lesson for the father, who is ashamed of his negligence of his daughter, was not expressed in fiction only. Headlines during

Figure 3. A cross-examination in *Youth in Spring*, *Maeil sinbo*, March 10, 1912 (© Korea Press Foundation)

this time from reports on domestic violence, robbery, and gambling, for example, were also judgmental, describing the immoral character of those involved in the crimes.

It is not an unusual practice for modern empires to attempt to characterize the ruled as ignorant and immoral,[51] yet it would be too simplistic to judge the moral lessons embedded in Yi Haejo's fiction as part of the colonial administration's effort to circulate the image of Koreans as ignorant. Yi's handling of moral concern about society through domestic settings in his fiction, in fact, began early in his writing career; he openly expressed that the most important value of fiction is "to correct wrong customs and habits and awaken the society."[52] Yi's attitude toward fiction after annexation was no different from that expressed in the body of New

Fiction he produced prior to annexation in terms of its imagination of the Korean community as morally renewed. Thus it is questionable whether we can accept Yi's emphasis on the moral reconstruction of society as a "moral defeat" by the colonial power.[53]

The civilization discourse was not formed with the colonization of Korea; rather, it emerged when the necessity to enlighten society was first presented by New Fiction writers like Yi Haejo. This is where the dilemma of civilization reveals itself in colonial Korea: reform-minded Korean intellectuals tried to convey their will to civilize society, and the colonial authority tried to display the same message. Although the difference between the two is a problem of agency, it is not clear whether a writer like Yi can be evaluated as an accomplice of the colonialists. It is possible writers like Yi faced the dilemma of producing fiction to "enlighten" their fellow Koreans while continuing to write for the colonial power. Inculcating shame cannot be interpreted solely as the colonial administration's intervention into the daily life of the ruled in order to establish moral order based on racial hierarchy. These concerns reveal the need for investigation into writers' subjectivity in the colonial newspaper, a vehicle that was formed in ideological contradiction and that adds a layer of complexity to the function of fiction. Yi's concentration on domestic life in particular shows how home became both a metaphorical and physical place where personal and political interests overlapped and clashed. As Betty Joseph points out, home is an "in-between space, both inside and outside the system of power"[54] because of its representation of privateness, which in fact is closely related to sociopolitical systems. Yi's fiction in *Maeil sinbo* demonstrates that fiction contains the possibility of claiming something beyond the private realm; his presentation of domesticity was a facet of colonial society where private life came to the fore as a barometer of civilization.

TRANSLATING ROMANCE: DOMESTIC FICTION (*KAJŎNG SOSŎL*)

Maeil sinbo stopped serializing Yi Haejo's works starting in early 1913. Instead, it began focusing on Korean translations of Japanese domestic fiction (*katei shōsetsu* in Japanese and *kajŏng sosŏl* in Korean). Yi Haejo in fact dealt chiefly with domestic matters in his works, which were not introduced as domestic fiction. What *Maeil sinbo* promoted as domestic fiction refers to *katei shōsetsu*, a body of fiction produced between the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5 in Japan. As noted earlier, two of the most representative private publishing houses, Sinmun'gwan and Tongyang sŏwŏn, failed to diversify their fiction genres and develop translation techniques, thus losing significant portions of their readership by late 1912. In this regard, Cho Chunghwan emerged as a unique figure at the time due to his decision to publish Japanese fictional works through a prominent Japanese private publisher.[55] The editorial directions of the native publishing houses did not fit with his goal to publish *The Cuckoo* (*Puryŏgwi*),[56] as none was willing to venture into the new genre—and the fact that the work was unusually long also created doubt for these publishing houses in terms of its marketability.

By the time Cho published *The Cuckoo*, he was already working for *Maeil sinbo* as a journalist. He may have influenced the editorial direction of *Maeil sinbo* in its fiction section through his professional connections; however, the serialization of his domestic fiction would not have been possible had the newspaper been passive about the new venture. It turned out that *Maeil sinbo*'s new choice of writer not only appealed to the readers in terms of his sensational subject matter, such as premarital pregnancy and marriage fraud, but also in terms of the strong desire for expressing individuality embedded in Cho's domestic fiction. Cho's works were more "entertaining" than Yi Haejo's works, resonating with the newspaper's aim to draw wider readership. As Pak Chinyŏng notes, Cho's presence in *Maeil sinbo* became a turning point in the literary scene in Korea at the time: Cho's skillful translation techniques, together with provocative subject matter, revitalized readers' interest in fiction.[57] Partly because of the popularity of Cho's fiction, *Maeil sinbo*'s sales increased from approximately twenty-five hundred subscribers in 1910 to more than ten thousand by the mid-1910s.[58]

The emergence of Japanese domestic fiction came at the turn of the century, a time when a vast quantity of Western fiction, and particularly fiction about romance and marriage, flooded into Japan.[59] These works primarily consist of troubled romantic relationships, familial conflicts, and marriage; their target readers are believed to have been middle-class women, urban workers, and students, though recent studies suggest there is insufficient evidence for this assumption. Newspaper sales figures often do not match their readership, and it is difficult to precisely assess the diversity of readership for this reason since it was common for a group of people to share a single newspaper by circulating it among themselves.[60] Nonetheless, the expansion of the publishing industry during this period can be attributed to the burgeoning popularity of domestic fiction since most of these works were serialized in newspapers.[61] Also, the rise of an urban middle class was another factor that boosted the sales of newspapers and journals[62] and increasingly popularized the consumption of *katei shōsetsu*. In fact, most heroes and heroines in *katei shōsetsu* come from middle-class backgrounds—a class whose social roles were being redefined in an urbanized and industrialized living environment.

The rapid circulation of popular fiction was a concern for the Meiji government, which labeled the stories "nauseatingly vulgar" and socially dangerous, especially for young women.[63] In addition, the New Civil Code of 1898 emphasized patriarchal authority within the family, legalizing the head of the household's control over female members.[64] Thus, legally categorized as "incompetents," married women lost their agency over their own property.[65] Yet the government's censorship of morally harmful materials that challenged the patriarchal order does not seem to have been very strict. In a number of *katei shōsetsu*, heroines seek marriage without receiving approval from the male head of their household. As Ken Ito points out, heroines in a number of popular *katei shōsetsu* contradict the state ideology of home and family through their desire to satisfy self-interest.[66]

Urbanization, the nuclear family, consumerism, and technologies of communication are crucial contexts in *katei shōsetsu*, and Korea had yet to experience them. Thus it was a peculiar decision for *Maeil sinbo* to serialize Korean translations of *katei shōsetsu*. However, the unfamiliar became familiar through Cho's "innovative" translation; except in his first translation of *The Cuckoo*, Cho changed the geographical backgrounds and characters of original texts into Korean, and he experimented with syntax that naturalized dialogues. I believe that, in addition to Cho's translation techniques, three factors motivated *Maeil sinbo* to concentrate on serializing *katei shōsetsu*. First, main characters in *katei shōsetsu* are young men and women who have received Western-inspired education. Newly emergent ideas such as free love and marriage by choice appealed to young readers not because they were likely to experience such freedoms but because exposure to such freedoms gave moral justification to young people's desire to pursue them. Second, the urban settings and the stories of professionals in these works, which included themes of consumerism, might have motivated young people to pursue upward social mobility. Last, but not the least, the pleasure of conjugal love portrayed in *katei shōsetsu* was a step towards the construction of domestic space as a harmonious unit in society.

In Meiji Japan, *katei* was understood not as a physical building but as a living environment for a family where a new set of practices for family life—mainly Western based—was recommended and advertised as a process of reforming society.[67] Although the state was not directly involved in the construction of the new concept of *katei* in Japan,[68] the project of reforming home (*kajŏng* in Korean) in Korea became a great concern for the colonial state. *Maeil sinbo* promoted the importance of the conjugal relationship (*pubu ŭi kwan'gye*), publishing a series of editorials that emphasized the "respect and love" (*kyŏngae*) between husband and wife. Using a Confucian precept, it argued that the nation could not be regulated if families were not regulated.[69] According to these articles, the "beautiful custom" of respect and love, which had been passed down by Koreans for many generations, was being "deteriorated" by those "morally corrupt" men and women who were not fulfilling their duty of regulating their families. The editor was doubtful about allowing women to divorce and remarry since he felt the system was being exploited by the corrupted, thus producing dysfunctional families.[70]

The challenge *Maeil sinbo* faced, however, was to "translate" the socioeconomic contexts of home in the Japanese original into Korean contexts in order to make sense of the moral struggle of young men and women manifested in romance. Yi Haejo dealt with romance in his works, yet the happy pairing of young couples almost always came as a "reward" for suffering heroines in his fiction. On the other hand, romance becomes the cause of suffering for young characters in *katei shōsetsu*; it is their encounters with love that bring them a series of hardships they must overcome. In this regard, love is a synonym of civilization in these works since it is a reality young people desire—a condition that guarantees a happy conjugal relationship, and by extension, a happy family life. *Love* (*ren'ai*) was a very popular term that captured the liberal mood of the late Meiji period, and writers emphasized its spiritual dimension based on their observations of a "civilized West" where men and women, in these writers' understanding, maintained partnerships based on equality, freedom, and respect rather than erotic attraction.[71] *Ren'ai*, a neologism of *love*, was "translated" for use in Korea, beginning to appear in the public media and literature in the early 1910s. Before long, the term was used in a spiritual context and understood as the fundamental condition for entering into an "ideal marriage."[72]

Cho Chunghwan contributed to the spreading of love's spiritual dimension (*yŏnae*) through his translation of *katei shōsetsu*. Not only was his command of Japanese excellent,[73] but he also possessed the literary ability to domesticate the original texts using cultural familiarities so the texts' contents could appeal to his readers. In his translation of Kikuchi Yūhō's *My Crime* (*Ono ga tsumi*, 1899–1900), for example, he changed the names of characters and geographical locations to Korean equivalents, although the overall narrative did not change much. Entitled *Tears of Twin Jade* (1912–13), this fiction deals with a series of tragedies faced by a young woman, Kyŏngja. Kyŏngja's ill fate begins with her desire to pursue free love, yet her innocent dream is shattered when her lover deserts her after she becomes pregnant. Without her knowledge, the child is adopted. She marries a man with whom she has another child. Yet, her secret past is eventually revealed to her husband, who leaves her as a consequence. Through a coincidence of fiction, both of her children die in an accident. Kyŏngja tries to repent for her sins by helping the sick at a hospital in Pyongyang. The fiction ends with the happy reunion of a repentant Kyŏngja and her husband, who is deeply moved by his wife's dedication and caring for him.

In *Tears of Twin Jade*, most characters are students and professionals. The female protagonist, for example, becomes a nurse at a time when the opportunity for women to become nurses is extremely rare, working side by side with Korean medical doctors at the hospital.[74] These middle-class young people's stories of betrayal, premarital pregnancy, and repentance revolved around the theme of free love—stories all-too familiar in today's soap operas—and were perceived as sensational, thus gaining high popularity among readers.[75] What is noteworthy is that both male and female characters in *Tears of Twin Jade* weep constantly, displaying their intense emotional responses to tragic events. Here, tears become an important device that conveys the humanness of characters. It is through tears of repentance and regret that the reunion between husband and wife becomes possible.

Cho's next translation, *A Dream of Long Suffering* (*Changhanmong*, 1897–1903), was probably the most popular fictional work in the 1910s. Originally written by Ozaki Kōyō (*Konjiki yasha*, 1868–1903), the popularity of *A Dream* was remarkable. Following its serialization in *Maeil sinbo* in 1913, it went through numerous printings until at least 1956. In the same year as its serialization in *Maeil sinbo*, it was staged as a theater production, and it was adapted into films in 1925 and 1965.[76] The success of the fiction was due in part to the way it was translated, which familiarized the foreign elements through an indigenizing process. The extensive use of Christian morality and female chastity, for example, is a distinctive feature that differentiates the translation from the original. Compared to Cho's previous work, *A Dream* is more of an adaptation than a translation. In this work, characters oscillate between money and love: a young girl named Sunae betrays a poor, yet promising, young man named Suil when she marries a rich banker instead. Sunae regrets her decision, but Suil's wounded heart cannot accept her apology. Sunae is driven by guilt; thus, she refuses to have a sexual relationship with her husband. When she is then raped by her husband, she tries to kill herself due to the shame and guilt. The rape and the suicide attempt are entirely Cho's inventions, and the failed suicide becomes an important event that makes Suil forgive Sunae. The ending, which was also altered by Cho,[77] shows the reunion between Suil and Sunae as they find true happiness in their "home" (*kajŏng*), promising each other they will dedicate their wealth and knowledge to the public good (*kongik*).[78]

The term *kongik* was an important element in establishing a harmonious social order in the colony: from its inception, *Maeil sinbo* introduced wealthy Koreans almost daily in its pages, describing their goodwill in helping fellow Koreans through their philanthropic acts. In *A Dream*, it is self-centered, materialistic desire that initially destroys the young couple. Sunae decides to betray her lover when she sees a rare gem she has never seen before, a diamond. And Suil inflicts pain on himself by entering the moneylending business, where he experiences the dark side of human nature. While materialistic pursuits are disdained in *A Dream*, however, the portrayal of the middle-class lifestyle is not something young Korean readers would have regarded with disdain. Suil's circle of friends is alluring: by obtaining their education in Japan, they become government officials and lawyers, professions Suil could have achieved had he continued his studies. The signs of material wealth appear in the illustrations as well: donning a trendy chignon hairstyle from that period, *hisashigami*, and carrying the symbol of wealth, a parasol, Sunae appears to be a woman following the most current fashion (fig. 4).

The advertisement section of *Maeil sinbo* was filled with consumer goods like Western-style shoes, hats, and parasols that targeted the wealthy former *yangban* class. Inasmuch as the editorials expressed concern over moral order in the colony, reports on divorce and dysfunctional families constantly appeared in the paper. Likewise, while materialistic desire was denounced in *katei shōsetsu*, the availability of luxury consumer goods invited readers to the pleasure of material affluence. In *Maeil sinbo*, the moral lesson that Koreans should be frugal and diligent for national progress appeared side by side with the encouragement of consumerism, conveying the ambivalence of the colonial state's policies on establishing

Figure 4. Sunae in *A Dream of Long Suffering*, *Maeil sinbo*, May 30, 1913 (© Korea Press Foundation)

moral order. Furthermore, native writers' participation in *Maeil sinbo* and their appropriation of Japanese original texts challenged the notion of the Japanese empire as a fixed totality.

The translator Cho Chunghwan, for example, recalled his motive for translating *My Crime* and *The Gold Demon*: "I had a hope that I would encourage young men and women in Korea to be spiritually uplifted through *My Crime* and *The Gold Demon*. In order to achieve this, I felt compelled to make it entirely Korean."[79] It is questionable whether Cho's decision to translate the works was made solely on his own. Nevertheless, Cho's intention to "spiritually uplift" young Korean men and women indicates that the social space in which he produced fiction was perplexing to Korean writers. The individual and familial conflicts reflected in *katei shōsetsu* were bound to state politics, yet they also reveal Korean writers' desire to overcome the power asymmetry embedded in an imperial text by "making it entirely Korean." Cho's fiction and his statement demonstrate the ways in which notions of the margin and the center become blurred in the cultural production of a colonized society, thus enabling us to acknowledge the limits of interpreting colonial culture in binary oppositions.

Korean translations of *katei shōsetsu* dominated *Maeil sinbo* until 1915, when a new body of works began to appear in the form of Korean adaptations of European fiction—such as Mary Elizabeth Braddon's (1837–1915) *Diavola*, or *Nobody's Daughter* (1866–67), titled *A Virtuous Woman's Resentment* (*Chŏngbuwŏn*, 1914–15), and Alexander Dumas's (1802–70) *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1845–46), titled *Neptune* (*Haewangsŏng*, 1916–17). These works were adapted from Japanese intermediary texts penned by Kuroiwa Ruikō (1862–1920)[80] and were translated by Yi Sanghyŏp (1893–1957) in Korean. Domestic violence and vengeance are main themes of these works, yet domestic time and space are expanded to a global scale as the translator attempts to convey the foreignness of these European fictions. Like Cho Chunghwan,Yi Sanghyŏp changes the characters' names from European to Korean in both works but preserves the foreignness by leaving the European setting intact in *A Virtuous Woman's Resentment*, and the growing interaction between East Asia and the Western world is emphasized in *Neptune*. Korean heroes and heroines in European, East Asian, and American contexts appear quite odd from today's perspective, yet this odd hybridity seems to have been received well, gaining much interest from readers.[81]

It is questionable whether the positive responses from readers were genuine, as *Maeil sinbo* might have simply been highly selective about publishing responses. However, the formation of the hybridity and the space for readers' responses indicate *Maeil sinbo* was a discursive space in which writers and readers came into contact with the imperial hegemony beyond the political. This was a discursive space, which Mary Louise Pratt defines as a "contact zone," a social space "where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination."[82] *Maeil sinbo* provided the contact zone in which the modern and the colonial coexisted in contradiction and ambiguity. The readers' reception of fiction is an important area that should be investigated further for a more comprehensive view of the formation of the discursive space, which deserves detailed attention. The domestic order and social reality manifested in the name of love in *Maeil sinbo*'s serial fiction demonstrate that love was a communicative device that delineated overlapping and contradictory expectations of the modern as it was imagined by the colonial authority and native writers.

CONCLUSION

The social and political dimensions of early modern Korean fiction cannot be examined without investigating its affiliation with the modern newspaper. The content of New Fiction, as I have examined, reflected the reform-minded intellectuals' and writers' propagation of Enlightenment thoughts and ideas. Targeting the general populace, New Fiction was deployed by *Maeil sinbo* shortly after Japan's annexation of Korea, and it continually produced the rhetoric of civilization that echoed intellectuals' and writers' nationalistic concerns that had been circulated prior to the annexation. The rhetoric of civilization indicates the ways in which Korean nationalists and the colonial administration shared a similar view in terms of their methods of elevating the level of Korea's civilization. The fundamental difference is the leading agency in the civilization discourse. The representation of social reality constructed in *Maeil sinbo* delineates the colonial government's attempt to establish domestic order, which at times was delivered ambiguously.

As shown in Yi Haejo's works, the handling of the private domain was increasingly noticeable in the early 1910s in *Maeil sinbo*, which underscored the "lagging time and space" of Korea in contrast to the "civilized time and space" constructed in the newspaper. This necessity to transcend the "old" time and space was often presented by heroines' crossing of geographical and cultural boundaries, moving in linear time towards the future where their social position will be empowered by education and modern legal and social institutions. With the introduction of *katei shōsetsu*, the act of crossing involved the expression of intense emotion manifested in heterosexual romance and familial conflicts. The seemingly private and intimate feeling of romance intensified the importance of domestic order in which heroines' loyalty, spiritual support, and dedication to family functioned as key feminine qualities for the construction of harmonious families. The socioeconomic environment in which heroes and heroines expressed their romantic feelings also conveyed the era of consumerism, which might have motivated young Korean readers to pursue upward social mobility. The mingling of moral lessons urging Koreans to be frugal and at the same time stimulating them to become active consumers challenges our view of the existence of *Maeil sinbo* as a biased colonial archive. Imbued with contradicting messages and ideologies, *Maeil sinbo* rather is a source that reveals the ways the colonial and national, private and public, economic and moral interests overlapped and contradicted each other in a dynamic way.

NOTES

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1. This title of the column changed at the end of March to "Chaeja chaewŏn" [Talented men and women].
2. Eighty-four high Chosŏn officials and *yangban* received titles in the Japanese peerage as well as stipends from the governor-general of Korea. Michael E. Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey*, 38.
3. About sixteen young women were introduced during this period. Some women were the first graduates of *Chosanbu yangsŏngso* (Institute of Midwifery Education), which was established in 1909 by Yun Ch'isŏng, but many were girls' high-school students and graduates such as Na Hyesŏk and her younger sister, Na Chisŏk, who demonstrated excellent intellectual ability.
4. Among others, a story of a young blind woman is noteworthy: it discusses her successful completion of the high-school curriculum and her plan to study in Tokyo, an event that was "happen[ing] for the first time in Chosŏn." *Maeil sinbo*, July 12, 1913.
5. Mark Caprio, "Marketing Assimilation," 12.
6. *Maeil sinbo*, January 28, 1913.
7. *Maeil sinbo*, November 27, 1912.
8. It even uses Mencius's mother as a good example for young female students to model themselves after by dedicating their lives to their children. "Yŏja kyoyuk" [Women's education], *Maeil sinbo*, March 3, 1912.
9. Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 22, 69.
10. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 9–36.
11. The first modern Korean newspaper, *Hansŏng sunbo*, was established in 1883 by the Chosŏn government. It was part of the government's attempt to adapt to the changing world; the aim was to "enlighten" (*kyemong*) the country's people and "open its door to the West," which meant adopting Western knowledge and interacting with the West. Yi Haech'ang, *Han'guk sinmunsa yŏn'gu* [A study of the history of Korean newspapers], 19. The total number of newspapers was 136, and 37 of them were published between 1881 and 1904. See the list of newspapers that existed during the period in Han Wŏnyŏng, *Han'guk kaehwagi sinmun yŏnjae sosŏl yŏn'gu* [A study of newspaper-serialized fiction in the enlightenment period], 20–25.
12. Andre Schmid, *Korea between Empires*, *1895–1919*.
13. In late Chosŏn, *sosŏl* was commonly called *p'aegwan chapsŏ* (storytelling on trivial matters, 稗官雜書) or *p'aesŏl* (stories on insignificant matters, 稗說).
14. Kwŏn Podŭrae, *Han'guk kŭndae munhak ŭi kiwŏn* [The origin of modern Korean literature], 29.

15. Imported fiction from China was translated into the Korean vernacular and read mostly by women, though its audience also included lower-level government officials, merchants and professionals such as doctors, technicians, and scientists. Im Sŏngnae, *Chosŏn hugi ŭi taejung sosŏl* [Popular fiction works in late Chosŏn], 23.

16. These depots were concentrated in Seoul, though romance novels were also circulated in other commercial cities such as Ansŏng and Chŏnju. In rural areas during this period, there was an emergence of professional traveling storytellers (*chŏn'gisu*) who earned their living by telling stories to groups of people (ibid., 48). See also Michael Kim's "Literary Production" for the reception of fiction at the time.

17. Based on these literati's views, the existing scholarship claims that reading fiction was a predominantly female activity, though this claim has not been supported sufficiently. Ji-Eun Lee, "Literary, Sosŏl, and Women in Book Culture in Late Chosŏn Korea," 44.

18. Ch'ae Chegong (1720–99), a high-ranking government official during the reign of King Chŏngjo, for example, wrote, "The only pastime for women these days is reading fiction . . . women, because they lack good sense, sell their jewelry, and even borrow money from others in order to check out books [at the depots]." Im Sŏngnae, *Chosŏn hugi ŭi taejung sosŏl* [Popular fiction works in late Chosŏn], 27.

19. Sin Ch'aeho, "Kuk-Hanmun ŭi kyŏngjung" [The importance of *han'gŭl*].

20. Both works were serialized in 1908.

21. Sin Ch'aeho, "Sosŏlga ŭi ch'use" [On contemporary fiction writers].

22. Chang adapted the story of Joan of Arc, *Aeguk puinjŏn* [The story of a patriotic lady], which was serialized in *Hwangsŏng sinmun* in 1906. Although the translator was not identified at the time, scholars believe it is also Chang who adapted the story of a female leader in the French Revolution, Marie-Jeanne Philippon Roland (better known as Madame Roland), in *Raran puinjŏn* [The story of Madame Roland], which was serialized in *Taehan maeil sinbo* in 1906 and published as one volume in 1907 by *Taehan maeil sinbosa*. Chang also published a two-volume textbook entitled *Yŏja tokpon* [Reading for women] in1908, which consists of exemplary women in the history of Korea, China, England, France, and America.

23. Many book-rental depots existed well up to the 1930s, and the improvement in printing technologies resulted in the sale of cheap vernacular fiction. See Michael Kim's "Literary Production" for a detailed account of the circulation of vernacular fiction in the early 1910s. Also, the period between 1915 and 1919 saw a significant increase in the circulation of traditional fiction such as *Ch'unhyangjŏn* [The tale of Ch'unhyang] by private publishing houses. The exact number of fiction books published between 1915 and 1919 is not known, but the number of traditional fiction books published between 1912 and the late 1930s reached about 250 by sixty private publishers. So Chaeyŏng et al., eds., *Han'guk ŭi ttakchibon* [Korean pulp fiction], 11.

24. This term, 新小說, appeared in Japan in 1889 and in China in 1902, in both cases as the title of a literary magazine. It is only in Korea that the term was continually used for approximately three hundred individual novels produced between 1906 and the early 1910s. Partly due to the larger volume of fiction and the longevity of the term, scholars tend to view New Fiction as a Korea-specific literary form. Kim Yunsik and Kim Hyŏn, *Han'guk munhaksa* [The history of modern Korean literature], 158.

25. Translations of Western political philosophy influenced political novelists in their development of liberalism, particularly among those who were involved in the Liberty and People's Rights movement (*jiyū minken undō*, 自由民權運動); yet as the movement

was quelled in 1890, its initial philosophy of freedom and equality was replaced with the success stories of young Japanese people who dedicated their lives to their country's welfare. Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 76–95.

26. This paper was funded by a Ch'ŏndogyo leader, Son Pyŏnghŭi, and its chief editor was Yi Injik. It only existed for one year, from June 1906 to June 1907.

27. Yoon Sun Yang, "Enlightened Daughter," 103–30.

28. Im defined New Fiction as a body of fictional narratives that was written in traditional narrative form but with Western thoughts and ideas. In his essay, however, Im does not seem to be consistent when referring to New Fiction despite his argument that Yi Injik was the first New Fiction writer. Im Hwa, "Kaesŏl sinmunhaksa" [Establishing a history of new literature].

29. Kim Yŏngmin, *Han'guk ŭi kŭndae sinmun kwa kŭndae sosŏl 1* [Modern Korean newspapers and modern Korean fiction, vol. 1], 147–48.

30. Kim Yŏngmin, *Han'guk kŭndae sosŏlsa* [A history of modern Korean fiction], 56.

31. Yi Soyŏn, "Ilche kangjŏmgi yŏsŏng chapchi yŏn'gu" [A study of women's journals in colonial Korea], 219.

32. Pak Chinyŏng, *Pŏnyŏk kwa pŏnan ŭi sidae* [The age of translation and adaptation], 202.

33. *Sinmun'gwan* and *Tongyang sŏwŏn* failed to maintain an innovative edge in terms of their translation techniques and the diversification of fiction genres, thus gradually losing a substantial portion of their readership by the 1910s. Ibid., 226.

34. Since Bethel was a British citizen, the paper was relatively free from the Japanese inspector general's censorship compared to other papers. The real hand behind the paper, however, was Yang Kit'ak, who was one of the founding members of the Independent Club and Sinminhoe. Chŏng Chinsŏk, *Han'guk ŏllonsa yŏn'gu* [A study of Korean journalism], 246–49.

35. Ham T'aeyŏng, "1910–yŏndae Maeil sinbo sosŏl yŏn'gu" [A study of Maeil sinbo serial fiction], 33.

36. See his view on Japanese imperialism and military expansion in East Asia in John D. Pierson, *Tokutomi Sohō 1863–1957*, 234–47.

37. Ham T'aeyŏng, "1910–yŏndae Maeil sinbo sosŏl yŏn'gu," 18–19.

38. *Maeil sinbo*, November 3, 1910.

39. "Kyŏngbokkung nae kukhwa kwansang taehoe ŭi chapkwan" [A view of the chrysanthemum viewing in Kyongbok Palace], *Maeil sinbo*, November 5, 1912.

40. The newly constructed parks included Namsan Park, the Taegu Talsŏng Park, the Inch'ŏn Park, and Hanyang Park, to name a few. *Maeil sinbo*'s introduction of these parks came in 1911 and 1912.

41. "Ponsa chuch'oe Kaesŏng chajŏnch'a taegyŏngju" [The grand Kaesong bicycle race competition in Kaesŏng, organized by *Maeil sinbo*], *Maeil sinbo*, May 7, 1913; "Inch'ŏn chajŏnch'a kyŏngju taehoe ŭi chŏn'gyŏng" [The view of the In'chon bicycle race competition], *Maeil sinbo*, April 16, 1913.

42. Hong Kal, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism*, 13–31.

43. Kim Yŏngmin, "1910–yŏndae sinmun ŭi yŏkhal kwa kŭndae sosŏl ŭi chŏngch'ak kwajŏng" [The role of the newspaper and the establishment of the modern novel in the 1910s], 152–53. The subscription rate subsequently rose, reaching almost ten thousand

at its peak in the 1910s. Ham T'aeyŏng, "1910–yŏndae Maeil sinbo sosŏl yŏn'gu" [A study of Maeil sinbo serial fiction], 33.

44. Yi Injik worked for pro-Japanese newspapers, *Mansebo* and *Taehan sinmun*, prior to 1910, and the pro-Japan and anti-Qing tendency embedded in *Tears of Blood* may have worked favorably for his writing career. However, it is not clear why there was a relatively long absence of his work in print media, including *Maeil sinbo*. Even his *Peony Hill* ended incomplete in 1913. His absence may have to do with his illness, neuralgia, which was the cause of his death in 1916.

45. "Pon sinbo ŭi taeswaesin" [A great innovation of *Maeil sinbo*], *Maeil sinbo*, June 14, 1911.

46. Kim Yunsik and Kim Hyŏn, for example, criticized fiction like Yi's, saying it "contaminated" Koreans' national sentiment. *Han'guk munhaksa*, 174.

47. Cho Tongil, *Han'guk munhak t'ongsa 4* [A comprehensive history of Korean literature 4], 358–61.

48. "Inŏ p'ohoek" [A mermaid captured], *Maeil sinbo*, July 12, 1912.

49. From a detailed story of a "bandit" who participated in the military campaign against the Japanese in 1906. Reports of the capturing of bandits appeared frequently in 1910 and 1911, during which time the Righteous Army was still providing resistance against the Japanese. "Chŏkto ŭi pulbok" [A bandit's denial], *Maeil sinbo*, July 12, 1912.

50. *Maeil sinbo*, March 10, 1912.

51. Ann Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 248.

52. This line is inserted at the end of his fiction entitled *Haw ŭi hyŏl* [The blood of a flower]. *Maeil sinbo*, June 21, 1911.

53. Ham T'aeyŏng argues that Yi's fiction aimed to lead his readers to succumb to colonial power. "1910–yŏndae Maeil sinbo sosŏl yŏn'gu" [A study of Maeil sinbo serial fiction], 99.

54. Betty Joseph investigates British women's writings on India as a site where women's subjectivity existed at the margins between the public and the private in *Reading the East India Company*, 95.

55. It was published by a Japanese publisher in Yokohama, Keiseisha shoten (Keisha Books) and printed by Fukuin insatsu gōshi kaisha (Fukuin Printing Ltd. Partnership), also in Yokohama. Pak Chinyŏng, *Pŏnyŏk kwa pŏnan ŭi sidae* [The age of translation and adaptation], 93–98.

56. The original text is Tokutomi Rōka's *Hototogisu* [The cuckoo, 不如帰], which was published in 1898 in Japan.

57. Pak Chinyŏng notes that *Maeil sinbo*'s concentration on serializing Yi Haejo's works resulted in the author's growing insensitivity to readers' demands for newness, along with readers' waning interest in his conventional plotlines. *Pŏnyŏk kwa pŏnan ŭi sidae* [The age of translation and adaptation], 120–21.

58. *Maeil sinbo* announced that its sales reached almost one hundred thousand subscribers at one point, which seems exaggerated to an extreme. According to Ham T'aeyŏng's research, it likely maintained about ten thousand subscribers during the 1910s. "1910–yŏndae Maeil sinbo yŏn'gu" [A study of *Maeil sinbo* serial fiction], 32–34.

59. Kathryn Ragsdale, "Marriage," 233.

60. Ibid., 234.

61. Between 1897 and 1911, 236 papers were published. Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myth*, 171.

62. The commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and the middle class, groups that emerged between the Sino-Japanese war and the end of Meiji period, played a significant role in producing cultural capital and knowledge. Their participation in education within the perimeter of state structure, in particular, is noteworthy in terms of their direct and indirect influence on policy decisions. See David R. Ambaras, "Social Knowledge."

63. Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myth*, 170.

64. For example, marriage decisions for any woman under age twenty-five and any man under thirty, and the subsequent distribution of inheritance, were in the hands of the male head of the household. Kathryn Ragsdale, "Marriage," 23.

65. The law applied to the property women brought into their marriage, though it could be protected if they specified their right to the property in a marriage contract. Vera Mackie, *Feminism*, 23.

66. Ken Ito argues that the ideological contradiction of "home," in fact, is one of the most salient characteristics reflected in *katei shōsetsu*. "Class and Gender."

67. See how the concept of home was constructed during the Meiji period through the reformation of the architectural space of house, family etiquette, and the role of housewives in Jordan Sand, *House and Home*.

68. Jordon Sand argues that the idea of home was rather cobbled together by experts of Western domestic practice, who disseminated it through popular magazines and other commercial vehicles (ibid., 54).

69. "Kajok chedo ŭi kaesŏn" [Reforming the family system], *Maeil sinbo*, January 14, 1911.

70. "Pubu ŭi kwan'gye" [On conjugal relationship], *Maeil sinbo*, April 11, 1911.

71. In Meiji literature, sexual intercourse for the sake of pleasure tended to be downgraded, and the spiritual bond between lovers was emphasized. This clear hierarchy between the physical and the spiritual characterized *katei shōsetsu*. Junko Saeki, *Ren'ai no kigen* [The origin of love], 13–17.

72. Kwŏn Podŭrae, *Yŏnae ŭi sidae* [The age of love], 11–18.

73. Cho studied Japanese at the Kyŏngsŏng haktang, a private school established by the Japanese. The school curriculum was carried out mainly in Japanese. After he completed his schooling at the Kyŏngsŏng, he went to Japan and studied at Nihon University. Pak Chinyŏng, "Yi Suil kwa Sim Sunae iyagi" [The story of Yi Suil and Sim Sunae], 206.

74. The term that referred to nurses was *kanhobu*. There were only a handful of nurses on the peninsula by the time this fiction was serialized.

75. This fiction was adapted into a play. According to *Maeil sinbo* and memoirs left by people who were in the theater industry, the play was enormously popular at that time.

76. The book was published in three volumes. The second volume was printed at least six times and the third volume seven times until the 1930s. Pak Chinyŏng, "Yi Suil kwa Sim Sunae iyagi" [The story of Yi Suil and Sim Sunae], 234–41.

77. The original ends with a letter from the female protagonist, Miya, to her lover, Kan'ichi, asking for his forgiveness. There is a hint of Miya's impending suicide in the letter.

78. See Jooyeon Rhee, "The Politics of Romance in Colonial Korea," for a detailed comparative analysis of the Korean translation of *The Gold Demon*.

79. Cho Chunghwan, "Oeguk munhak chwadamhoe" [A roundtable discussion on foreign literature], 537–41.

80. Kuroiwa Ruikō was one of the leading translators of European fiction in the late Meiji period. He translated *The Count of Monte Cristo* (*Gankutsuō*, The king of the cave, 1902–5) and *Diavola* (*Suteobune*, A small drifting boat, 1895) for a newspaper, *Yorozu chōhō*.

81. Readers' responses to social and cultural events began to appear in 1913, and their responses to fiction began to appear with the serialization of *Chŏngbuwŏn*. Most of them are addressed to the translator, praising his ability to translate the piece and expressing their impressions of the story, characters, events, and so on. See Heekyoung Cho, "Imagined, Transcultural, and Colonial Spaces in Print" for a detailed analysis of the readers' responses to *Chŏngbuwŏn*.

82. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7.

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