

Production and Organization of Entertainment Programs in Early Stages of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station*

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This research has its purpose in providing systematic studies on production and organization patterns of radio programs during unified dual language broadcasting era while exploring its social and cultural significance. In particular, this research focused on entertainment programs during the first year since the opening of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station. In view of the production and organization of programs, the first year was a meaningful time for the Station as various materials, formats, and technical possibilities were tried. There are several reasons why the research has its focus on entertainment programs. In terms of program organizations, JODK consistently maintained the principle of 'report,' 'culture' and 'comfort.' Since its establishment, 'comfort broadcasting' has always been one of the most popular programs for Korean citizens. Entertainment broadcasting, which constituted another main pillar of the comfort broadcasting along with music, served as a venue where new types of various programs emerged but there has not been enough research on the broadcasting before the separate broadcasting era. In this research, production and organization of entertainment programs such as 'Book Reading,' 'Script Reading,' 'Movie Review' and 'Radio Drama' were analyzed based on the radio program schedules reported on Maeil Daily and Dong-A Daily from February 16, 1927 when JODK was set up to February 15, 1928. The research newly found that the first radio drama was not Doll's House (Act III) as it is widely known but rather Fame and the Poet and there were two more radio movies tried such as The Way of Sunset and Fallen Blossoms on a Stream in addition to Goldfish. It also found that altogether 20 plays, including foreign and Korean plays, were produced into radio dramas under the Radio Play Research Association. This paper, however, goes beyond delivering such new information and findings yet examines social and cultural context that led to the popular spread of entertainment programs and engages in in-depth discussion on the meaning of the programs in terms of colonial modernity and hybrid characteristics of

* Translated from the article published in *Media and Society* vol. 20, no. 3 (2012), with permission from the Sungkok Foundation for Media and Culture.

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media cultures.

Keywords: Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station, JODK, unified dual language broadcasting era, entertainment program, colonial modernity, hybrid characteristics of culture

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Statement of Issue

One of the most important missing gaps in the research on the history of the Korean broadcasting is probably the unified dual language broadcasting era when two languages (Korean, Japanese) were mixed in one single channel during the Japanese colonial period. In particular, a systematic approach towards the broadcasting programs during that period has been rarely found even though empirical research on the content of JODK during the same period has been gradually accumulating. Two factors lie behind such trend. First, the unique place the unified dual language broadcasting era has. As widely known, since February 1927 when JODK first started its official broadcasting service, programs broadcast in Korean language and those in Japanese language were mixed into a one unified channel. It did so until April 26, 1933 when Korean language broadcasting was set apart and transmitted as a separate channel after the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station changed its name into Korea Broadcasting Association on April 7, 1933. Therefore, the unified broadcasting era, also commonly known as the Gyeongseong Broadcasting era, is evaluated as an era when the identity of 'Koreans' broadcasting' was very unclear.

Given a great deal of controversy over whether the broadcasting during the Japanese colonialism can be included in the 'history of the Korean broadcasting' from a strict 'nationalistic perspective,' relative ignorance or indifference to the unified broadcasting era is not that surprising. It is no exaggeration to say that there has been a consensus reached by the academic circle that the opening of the JODK is the starting point of the history of the Korean broadcasting. (Jong-Soo Rim 2004; Jin-Suk Jung et al. 2008). However,

researchers have constantly raised the issue of nation-state framework of 'the history of Korean broadcasting' and it has led to a tendency of putting greater importance on the era of separate broadcasting than unified broadcasting era since the former one had a separate 'broadcasting in Korean language.'

Apart from having a broadcasting channel where Korean and Japanese language programs were broadcast in rotation, the unified dual language broadcasting era is transitional in many aspects. The number of subscribers to the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station, which started as corporation, increased very gradually and it suffered from financial problems for a long time. The number of subscribers in early February 1927 was 1,115 (among them 212 were Korean citizens) and the number finally exceeded 20,000 in the first half of 1933 when separate broadcasting started (the number of Korean subscribers was only 2,738 in 1932). It means that it failed to secure even 20,000 subscribers for six years. Afterwards, the number of subscribers to radio service exceeded 30,000 in January 1934 and 100,000 in October 1937, which shows how staggering the growth was during the unified broadcasting era (Young-Hee Kim 2002, 165; Jin-Suk Jung 2008, 18-29).

It could be understood that the unified broadcasting era was the era when its social impact was very minimal as broadcasting channel solely for Korean language was not allowed and probably it led the number of subscribers to radio as well as the broadcasting network to be very limited. That is probably why this era has not been considered as an important topic for research.

Second, complete lack of historical records. Almost all of the primary records and documents that show the broadcasting reality of JODK have been lost and there is only a small amount of secondary documents left. And the situation is much worse for the unified dual language broadcasting era. Not only the official statistics and documents necessary to figure out the production process of programs and responses of viewers but also the related newspaper and magazine articles, records, testimony and memoirs scarcely exist. In some cases, we often witness that some clear errors and unconfirmed information have long been established as solid facts after being quoted throughout various papers and books.

Systematic research on broadcasting programs in culture, art and music in JODK is being gradually released these days; however, probably because of those two reasons, recent research mostly focuses on the post unified

dual language broadcasting era (Jae-Gil Suh 2007a; 2007b; Eun-Jee Ko 2009, Yong-Gyu Park 2010, Bang-Song Song 2006; Geum-Sun Yoon 2010) That is why the research on Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station era before the Korea Broadcasting Association era just deals with the overall trend and traits of program organizations rather than engaging in in-depth studies on the era (Hyun-Chul Choi and Jin-Man Han 2004; Jin-Man Han 2008).

In this regard, research conducted by Bang-Song Song (2000) on the quantitative analysis of the Korean traditional music programs broadcast in 1920s and research by Jae-Gil Suh (2006b) on entertainment programs during the Gyeongseong Broadcasting era are exceptional accomplishments. However, research of Bang-Song Song narrowly focuses on the history of music such as genre, song names, and performers with the aim of preserving the Korean traditional music via radio and fails to discuss over the nature, meaning and organizational traits of the Korean traditional music broadcasting as broadcasting programs. Even though research of Jae-Gil Suh specifically reorganized the opening process of JODK and its pilot broadcasting period empirically, its studies over entertainment programs are limited to just overall and colorful description of episodes.

2. Perspective, Target and Methods of Research

This research emphasizes the need for a systematic approach towards programs during the Gyeongseong Broadcasting era. It is not just because of the 'Scholastic Arguments' which calls for filling in the scholastic gaps. If a lack of research is a problem, it is probably because three significant research points of the programs during the unified dual language broadcasting period have not been covered enough.

Most of all, there is a problem of 'formation' of broadcasting content. Unified broadcasting era was the period when various broadcasting content was born and tested. Even though Korean broadcasting was incomplete and aired only for a very small number of listeners and viewers, it was an opportunity to explore on the possibility of broadcasting as a media along with the contemporary artists. From the perspectives of 'production' rather than acceptance, the importance of this period cannot be over-emphasized. The genres and formats of programs and customs established during this

period have long continued on not only for the dual broadcasting era but also post-Liberalization period, which shows a significant impact it had on our broadcasting culture.

From this perspective, research conducted by Jae-Gil Suh(2007a) on broadcasting cultural and art products is not sufficient in itself even though it is one of the most systematic and in-depth studies released so far. Since the analysis focuses on classification of genres and sub-genres of entertainment programs/texts as well as inherent and aesthetic characteristics of radio dramas, it seems as if such genres (classifications) are something naturally or already given. It is not unrelated to the fact that the research mainly deals with the post-separate broadcasting period. Nonetheless, modern broadcasting cultural and art products are an unstable result that has evolved out of various trials and errors within the social and cultural context of Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station era. To understand 'stable' programs of the Korea Broadcasting Association era historically, understanding on the formation and changing procedures of genres during the unified broadcasting era is necessary.

Next is the problem of complicated relationships that have been involved in the formation. In particular, cross-border, mutual media and mutual text perspectives require an extraordinary caution. The fact that Korean programs were produced, organized and accepted along with the Japanese programs during the unified dual language broadcasting era raises the possibility that power and impact of Japan and other western countries (sometimes through Japan) have been exercised through various mechanisms in the process of its formation.

Plus, it is also noteworthy that radio, which emerged as a new sound media at that time, begins to develop its own content as it reconnects other existing media such as books, newspapers, plays, movies, and phonographs. In fact, the process of passing down and innovating existing media or cultural forms served as an important driving force for creating content in the early western history of radio development (Williams 1974, Würffel 1996). It is also important to figure out how the same text has evolved its values, senses and sensibility in the process of going through various heterogeneous media including radio within the entire media matrix.

Finally, the relationship of impact inevitably implies the issue of

(colonial) modernity. How particular content and format are established in radio broadcasting, and how unique patterns developed that structuralize modernity of Korea under colonialism within the entire effect need to be newly examined. Based on such perspective, this research aims to systematically review how radio programs were produced and organized during the unified dual language broadcasting era and what social and cultural significance it has. In principle, all the programs broadcast from the opening of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station until the opening of the separate broadcasting have to be studied; however, for this research entertainment programs for the first year since its establishment has been the major focus. The period has been limited to the first one year for the sake of efficiency on analysis but it is also very meaningful. From the perspective of program production and organizations, the first year was enough time to test and verify various materials, forms, and technical possibilities. Since February 16, 1928 JODK set up four stages for organizing the broadcasting programs celebrating the first year anniversary of its opening. On February 22, at last, it achieved its “first stage goal,” which was exceeding 5,000 listeners.¹

There are several reasons why this research focuses on entertainment programs. As widely known, JODK consistently maintained the principle of dividing program organizations into ‘report,’ ‘culture’ and ‘comfort.’ ‘Report’ entails news, weather forecast, time signal, current affairs, daily price level, industry news, news from government organizations, business news, various on-the-spot broadcasting, notices, etc. and ‘culture’ covers lectures (current affairs, philosophy, economy, law, health, religion, academy, cultural art, music, language, industry, sport, etc.), children’s programs, art, and family programs. Finally, ‘comfort’ includes the Korean court music, western music, entertainment and plays.² The comfort broadcasting always enjoyed the highest popularity among Koreans from its establishment to April 27, 1942 when Radio 2 (Korean language) was closed down. Sometimes traditional music, pop songs, movie reviews, comic talks, and radio plays were criticized and complained but basically they were widely endorsed and loved by the

¹ “JODK,” *The Era of Radio*, April, 1928.

² Special Report, “Analysis on Geongseong Central Broadcasting Station,” *Chogwang*, November, 1938.

public. The entertainment broadcasting,³ which formed central pillars of the comfort broadcasting along with music, was the venue where new types of programs emerged but it has not been officially studied except the research conducted by Jae-Gil Suh (2006b).

For this research, radio program schedules reported at *Maeil Daily* and *Dong-A Daily* from the opening of the broadcasting station on February 16, 1927 to February 15, 1928 were used. Even though it is a secondary document, there are not enough documents and data available apart from that, and it has not yet been systematically studied; it is also the best document available that shows us the reality of broadcasting pattern during that time when there was not a fixed program schedule.⁴ Materials related to programs during the pilot broadcasting period led by the Postal Office before the official opening of JODK were also collected. This research attempted a sort of triangulation approach by collecting and contrasting program schedules of *Maeil Daily* and *Dong-A Daily*. Since all the information was not identical for each newspaper, simultaneous usage of two newspapers enabled mutual complementary comparison and cross control.⁵ Based on the information from *Maeil Daily*, additional information from *Dong-A Daily* was added as it was judged that *Maeil Daily* had a relatively more detailed

³ Japanese Edition of *Radio Yeongam* used terminology of (free time) comfort broadcasting in regards to the programming schedules of JOAK and JODK during 1930s and started to separate comfort broadcasting into music and entertainment programs since 1942 (Hyun-Sob Um 2007; 222). To respect the historical consensus reached on the name of the genre during that time, we maintain the classification of 'comfort' in this paper. However, it does not mean that we are accepting colonial ideology and perspective held by the imperialist Japan. The terminology of 'comfort' indeed needs to be understood critically from a historical point of view.

⁴ Program schedules were delivered from the broadcasting station to the newspaper companies in the afternoon the day before they were broadcast (Hye-Gu Lee 2007, 85). The broadcasting stations released and promoted their program schedules through the newspapers by sending the schedules first to the newspapers. Therefore, the schedules fully reflect the actual broadcasting programs. Seo-Gu Lee, "Behind stories of broadcasting. How it is delivered to your ears," *Samcheonli*, October, 1938.

⁵ In making quotations from program schedules, information from *Dong-A Daily* was put inside [] in case there was significant difference in the information from *Maeil Daily* and *Dong-A Daily*.

program schedules without missing a single issue.⁶ Even though there are not enough testimony and memoirs of cultural artists engaged in production during the early period, they were used as supplementary materials.

II. PRODUCING AND PROGRAMMING DURING THE PILOT BROADCASTING PERIOD OF JODK

Already in December 1924 before JODK started its broadcasting in earnest, radio wave was sent to hold an open radiophone pilot broadcasting from the Postal Office at the Japanese Government General of Korea. For three days starting from December 17, *Chosun Daily* held an open demonstration event of radiophone broadcasting in Korean language three times a day (Mi-Sook Paek 2008, 309-313). After learning about Korean public's interest in radio broadcasting through the event, the Government General started to send regular pilot broadcasting under the name of 'wireless regular broadcasting' from March 14, 1925. It was broadcast two times a week from 11:00 am to 12:00 pm on every Wednesdays, and from 3:00 pm to 4:00 pm on every Saturdays, mostly dealing with "simple music and something like a story."⁷ From June 21, 1925, pilot broadcasts were expanded to the general public from 7:30 pm to 9:00 pm for four days a week (Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, and Sunday), mostly covering "reports, weather forecast, music, and many other interesting things."⁸

Pilot broadcasting services of the Postal Office that used to be broadcast only in Japanese language were expanded into Korean language from July 8, 1926. According to the newspaper reports, the number of Korean listeners out of the total 1,000 listeners was only approximately 100 despite the pilot broadcasting. To promote the service among Koreans, it started to be

⁶ Dates when radio program schedules were omitted *Maeil Daily* during the research period are March 10, 28, April 11, 19, 25, 30, September 13, October 5 in 1927 and January 3 in 1928.

⁷ "Postal Office conducts pilot radio broadcasting for 14 days," *Dong-A Daily*, 13 March, 1925.

⁸ "Regular broadcasting through radios 4 times per every week," *Dong-A Daily*, 26 June, 1925.

broadcast only in Korean on every Thursdays. Moreover, as wireless phone receivers are not widely established among Koreans, the Postal Office decided to disclose the receiver and dilator to the general public by establishing them at Pagoda Park.⁹ What is interesting is that, in contrast to the reports, the Korean language broadcasting was broadcast two times on Thursday and Sundays. The following <Table 1> shows pilot broadcasting schedules, which have been randomly selected and given as an example.

The following table shows that pilot broadcasting service in Korean language which started from the second half of 1926 was mostly composed of music programs, particularly Korean traditional music. There were some times when the Japanese songs were programmed (August 8, September 26, etc.), but it mostly targeted Koreans rather than Japanese to make Koreans familiar to the Japanese culture.¹⁰ In addition, lectures, children's songs, and fairy tales were occasionally included. Movie reviews in Korean language are also noteworthy.

What is unique is that radio dramas were being prepared in earnest during the pilot broadcasting period when music programs dominated. It was prepared by the Radio Play Research Association (called as Wireless Broadcasting Play Research Association, Wireless Play Research Association, or Radio Drama Research Association in the newspapers and magazines at that time). Established on June 14, 1926, Radio Play Research Association was an organization formed by author Seung-Il Choi and Movie Director Gyeong-Sohn Lee, who were close friends to each other, along with play writer Young-Pal Kim. Gyeong-Sohn Lee leaves comments two times at *Shi-Dae Daily* around the time of the Association's establishment. In his writing about his artistic viewpoints, he briefly mentions about the background of the Association's establishment. "At last the Radio Play Research Association is born with our increased awareness and request from the broadcasting station." He also mentions the 'Radio Drama Research Association' in Japan,

⁹ "Broadcasting 'Radio' in Korean language on Thursday," *Shi-Dae Daily*, 8 July, 1926; "Radio Equipment established at Pagoda Park," *Dong-A Daily*, 8 July, 1926; "Disclosing 'Radio' at Pagoda Park," *Chosun Daily*, 8 July, 1926.

¹⁰ Japanese songs broadcast on September 26, 1929 were song by gisaeng So-Hong Chang.

Table 1. Examples of the Postal Office Programming Contents in Korean, 1926

Date	Programming Contents
Jul. 15 (Thu)	Uraku(with the instrumental accompaniment) Zuiraku-bushi(Senraku) folk song (western province folk songs) folk song (eastern province folk songs) soprano solo Chosun melodies film commentary in Korean(<i>Resurrection</i> katyusha) popular songs
Aug. 15 (Sun)	Chosun melodies Violin solo Chosun sounds (gayagum instrumental)
Sep. 26 (Sun)	Japanese songs - Tankai-bushi ¹¹ - Iso-bushi - Yasugi-bushi Children's story Children's song solo
Oct. 7 (Thu)	Chosun songs - Southern province songs (gayagum instrumental) - Western folk songs Household lecture: American's household and Korean's household Children's song solo Chosun melodies
Nov. 21 (Sun)	Love fever songs, spring sleep song Piano solo Violin solo Bamboo flute solo
Dec. 16 (Thu)	Sceneries of Kang-nam, break-up song Laymen song, spring scent song Busangbuil[Rising Sun from Japan] Hwatoga[Rabbit in the portrait song] (gayagum instrumental) Chosun melodies - Chunchukboeum[Treasured sounds from India]

Source: Each date's issue of *Dong-A Daily*

¹¹ Note by translator. Bushi means the traditional Japanese music (Min'yo).

a more advanced country than Korea.¹² In other words, the Radio Play Research Association could be created not solely on increased awareness of Korea's cultural artists but also on 'request from the broadcasting station' and the Japanese Association served as a role model.¹³ As for request from the broadcasting station, maybe it was not a request made by the management team of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station but an individual request raised by Seung-Il Choi, who was in charge of the administrative duties in regards to the Korean language pilot broadcasting programs at the Station during that time (Jin Park 1977).

According to *Shi-Dae Daily*, the research association initially planned to broadcast Korean and foreign plays two times per month from last Sunday of June, which fell on June 27.¹⁴ *Dong-A Daily* issued on June 27 merely reported that the Association would run its first pilot play *Destruction* written by Seung-Il Choi and dramatized by Gyeong-Sohn Lee at the end of June.¹⁵ As it does not give any further information, there is no way to check whether and

¹² Gyeong-Sohn Lee, "Introduction to Radio Dramas (I)," *Shi-Dae Daily*, 21 June, 1926.

¹³ Radio Drama Research Association in Japan was established in August 1925 by writer 長田幹彦, who was working for the Tokyo Broadcasting Station at that time. After the huge success of the radio dramas 'The Captain's Daughter' and 'Danger,' 長田 took the lead in establishing the association and nurturing radio drama researchers who could specialize in voice acting. However, the Association was dismantled just one year later in August 1926, when the Korea Radio Play Research Association was established, as Japanese Broadcasting Association was created by merging stations in Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya and 長田 resigned (Dakeyama Akiko 2002, 234-236).

¹⁴ "Radio dramas broadcast two times per month," *Shi-Dae Daily*, 16 June, 1926.

¹⁵ "Establishment of the Radio Play Research Association," *Dong-A Daily*, 27 June, 1926. *Destruction* is known as a novel written by Seung-Il Choi in 1924 but it is hard to know the story as the book cannot be found these days. Weol-Tan Park, "Gabjamunyejonghweguan," *Gaebuyuk*, December, 1924. Seung-Il Choi joined Yeomgunsa, the first socialist literary organization in Korea, since 1923. Yeomgunsa Drama Team, composed of Seung-Il Choi, Hoon Shim, Young-Pal Kim and Young-Suk Lee, tried performances for half a year with *At Daybreak* written by Hoon Shim and *Porterhouse* written by Seung-Il Choi but failed due to Japanese oppression and financial difficulties. It is presumed that those pieces were novels belonging to the tendency literature. Yeomgunsa Drama Team is considered as the first attempt to engage in plays with clear awareness on proletarian art (Young-Min Kwon 1998, 28-38; Gwang-Hee Ahn 2002, 73-75).



Source: *Dong-A Daily*, 26 June, 1925

Figure 1. Broadcasting music from the Postal Office's broadcast testing room on the night of June 23, 1925.

when the play actually ran. It is also hard to figure out what specific activities the Association was engaged in during the pilot broadcasting. Nonetheless, the Association made significant contributions in the production of radio dramas after the official opening of JODK.

In the winter of 1926 another experiment was conducted. During the night of November 4, actors and actresses belonging to the Korea Play Association recorded a one-act play *Sound of Bell at Dawn* at Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station. According to the program schedule, the cast was members of the Association, including Gi-Jong Byun, Pal Park, I-Seon Son, Tan-Yang Gwak, Il-Chung Kwon, Won-Jae Lee, Seok-Gu Lee, Gyung-Hwan Lee, and Hye-Sook Bok. In the spring of 1926, the Korea Play Association had been established by members of the Towol Association and National Theater Company along with some actors and actresses. According to Hye-Sook Bok, recording was done at a rented room behind the Postal Office with almost no equipment for any sound effects and just a shabby plastic covering for the soundproof.

Announcer Seung-Il Choi also served as a producer. At Act 1, the drama clearly states that it is a tragic comedy and it seems that it dramatized one of the programs of the Association to a 30-minute radio drama.¹⁶ The memoir left by Hye-Sook Bok is significant as it shows how the radio drama was produced during the pilot broadcasting period.

“My role was a ‘street urchin,’ a twelve-year-old boy rummaging garbage from door to door before the bell tolled at dawn. And I remember Gi-Jong Byun played the role of a middle-aged man who carried his cart to the street at dawn and enjoyed some crude liquor. Before the play started, all the corners of the stages were explained in detail - where the pot for crude liquor was, where the bowl was, and that garbage was located beside the house across the street, etc. And then the play started. (...) I personally hated the huge microphone which looked like a big spider, so I intentionally avoided looking directly at the microphone and tried to look the other way, which naturally expressed a sense of distance. And as my voice trembled out of my stage fear, it also naturally expressed the feeling of a boy rummaging garbage in the midst of a cold winter day. My weakness turned out to be a successful factor (Hye-Sook Bok 1960, 86).

Hye-Sook Bok recalls that new types of broadcastings such as script reading and novel reading were tried as well apart from the drama; however, it is not clearly stated whether those types have been broadcast during the pilot broadcasting period and it is also not proven through the secondary documents such as program schedules or newspaper articles.¹⁷ Pilot

¹⁶ Following is the oral record of Hye-Sook Bok: “The Play Association has just been established and they want me to do something for it. [What? The play association?] They asked me to do a 30 minute long drama including comments before and after the play. To make 30 minute-performance, we selected the *Sound of Bell at Dawn*” (Sung-Choon Kim et al. 2003, 161).

¹⁷ “As for recitation, it was called Script Recitation and Jong-Hwa Ahn did the first recitation. Then, Seung-Il Choi suggested to have novel recitation in a way of multi-dimensional novel reading. In other words, one narrator would play multiple roles of mother, father, and elder/young brothers/sisters. In some cases, the narrator had to play six to seven roles and they were mostly 30-minute long pieces. We did not have any 15-minute pieces. However, nobody complained about it and worked so passionately that sometimes we read the parts that had been censored by the Japanese and had to go to the police and submit a written apology” (Hye-Sook Bok 1960, 86-



Source: *Chosun Daily*, 24 July, 1926

Figure 2. Scene of Tapgol Park radio test's live audience

broadcastings continued on until 16 January 1927, just one month before the official opening of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station (Jae-Gil Suh 2006b, 151-152).

III. PROGRAM PRODUCTION AND SCHEDULES DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF JODK

JODK Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station was opened at 1:00 pm on February 16, 1927 with four Japanese officials and 50 staff members. There were some Koreans among the staff members including Chang-Sung Roh and Duk-Bong Han, in charge of technical matters, and Seung-Il Choi, responsible for program scheduling and administrative duties and Announcer Hyung-Gyeong Ma, and Ok-Gyeong Lee. Among them Chang-Sung Roh and Ok-Gyeong Lee as well as Seung-Il Choi and Hyung-Gyeong Ma were married couples. At some point in 1927 writer Young-Pal Kim worked as a male announcer as well. Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station basically ran their programs from 9:40 am to 4:00 pm, and from 6:00 pm to 9:30 pm; on Sundays and holidays, it ran from 12:30 pm to 2:00 pm, and from 6:00 pm to 9:30 pm. As there was a usual pause of 5-20 minutes between programs, the actual broadcasting time was approximately six and a half hours. At the beginning, the broadcasting was mostly about “weather forecast, time signal, stock exchange markets, price level, current affairs, lectures, music, entertainments and other general reporting issues.”¹⁸ Actual programs were more diversified such as news, weather forecast, stock movements, western classic music, band music, traditional Japanese music, Seodojabga, traditional Korean poetry, pop songs, script recitation, English lectures, traditional Japanese plays, movie reviews, children’s songs, and children’s stories.

At the time of the opening, Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station did not have any strict rules on program schedules, but under the motto of contributing to the development of the Korean culture, it focused on entertainment programs and proclaimed to divide the proportion of broadcasting in Japanese and Korean exactly 5:5.¹⁹ In fact, however, the proportion turned out to be 7:3 between Japanese and Korean language

¹⁸ “Radio Call of Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station Corporation,” *The Japanese Government-General of Korea News*, 9 December, 1926.

¹⁹ Japan intended to help the Japanese living in Korea, whose number radically increased from 170,000 in 1910 to 530,000 in 1930, to adjust to Korean culture while spreading the Japanese culture to Koreans as well.

and the overall broadcasting time in Korean was approximately one and a half hours. It was not surprising as the station was managed by Japanese imperialists and the majority of the subscribers to the radio in the early days was also Japanese.

More specifically, the general broadcasting format was that extension broadcasting programs were inserted between Japanese programs such as real-time rice exchange market, news and weather forecast (Yong-Gyu Park 2010, 164-165; Jae-Gil Suh 2006b, 297; Hyun-Sob Um 2007). In extension broadcastings, programs were first broadcast in Japanese and Korean announcer would translate that into Korean language. Even though the number of Korean subscribers was very small, they seemed to be highly dissatisfied with the overall broadcasting schedules.²⁰ In its early days, Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station was more like a ‘profit-making organization’ rather than an organization for political propaganda of Japan, so it endeavored in various ways to lower the dissatisfaction of Korean subscribers (Sung-Ho Kim 2007). For instance, the Station received advice from Ki-Se Lee, then the Head of the Korean Phonograph Store, in mid-March, after inviting him as a part-time consultant, to “provide broadcasting schedules more satisfactory to the Korean subscribers.”²¹ Furthermore, as shown in <Table 2>, program schedules were changed several times.

On April 27 an announcement was made that the current broadcasting schedules “were set in January and since these days sun rises early and around 6:00 pm when children’s programs are broadcast, most of the kids are outside hanging out with their friends unable to keep themselves close to radio; so the children’s programs will be delayed at 6:30 pm and entertainment programs will also be changed to 7:30 pm.”²² It seems that the first revision of broadcasting schedules on May 15 and the second revision on

²⁰ Barely one month after the establishment of Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station, *Dong-A Daily* reports that listeners’ fee was too expensive and the program schedules had less regard for Koreans’ taste as programs that Japanese preferred were broadcast during the dinner golden time. “Debt-laden broadcasting station, reducing the listeners’ fee to 1KRW,” *Dong-A Daily*, 28 May, 1927.

²¹ “Ki-Se Lee recommended as part-time employee for the broadcasting station,” *Maeil Daily*, 17 March, 1927.

²² “Revision of program schedules,” *Chosun Daily*, 28 April, 1927.

Table 2. JODK Programming Schedule Adjustment in 1927

Date	Adjusted Content
April 27	Following the change of the season, changing start time of children's programming, which marks the start of evening programming, from 6 to 6:30 and postponing the entertainment broadcast time to 7:30
May 15	JODK first broadcasting revision Stepping up weekday morning broadcast start time from 9:40 to 9:05 Delaying weekday afternoon broadcast start time from 12:05 to 12:30 Delaying weekday and weekend night broadcast start time from 6 to 6:30 Broadcast end time remains same as previous
July 11 or 12	Clearly differentiating the time between entertainment broadcast in Korean and in Japanese Altering every other the before-after position of their programming order
October 18	JODK second broadcasting revision Delaying the weekday morning broadcast start time from 9:05 to 9:40 Stepping up the weekday afternoon broadcast start time from 12:30 to 12:05 Stepping up weekday and weekend night broadcast time from 6:30 to 6 Broadcast end time remains same as previous

October 18 were either bringing forward or putting off morning, afternoon, and evening programs depending on the changes in daily living hours in different seasons. From July 11 (or from July 12) extension broadcastings also were under changes. In other words, Korean and Japanese languages were jointly used during the entertainment programs, but “upon the wishes of regular fans” the Station decided to completely separate the two. One day they would broadcast the programs in Korean first, starting from the news and the announcement of the next day's programs. It would then be followed by programs in Japanese. On the other day, they would do it in an opposite order, broadcasting the programs in Japanese first.²³ However, the method of running the broadcasts at a different language order every other day could not fundamentally address the inconvenience both the Japanese and Korean listeners suffered under the unified dual language broadcasting.

²³ “Change in the program schedules,” *Dong-A Daily*, 13 July, 1927; “Entertainment programs schedules,” *Maeil Daily*, 13 July, 1927.

There were sometimes when JODK prepared special programs such as *Children's Day Special* (5 May, 1927), *Western Music Special* (24 July, 1927), *Traditional Narrative Song Contest* (12-16 August, 1927), *Movie Special* (24 January, 1927), and *Entrance Examination Preparation Program* (26 December, 1927 – 18 January, 1928). In particular, the *Traditional Narrative Song Contest* gained high popularity as five master singers (Dong-Baek Lee, Geum-Hong Shin, So-Chun Kang, Hwa-Jung-Seon Lee, and Chu-Wol Kim) took turn for each day during the five days and showed their best performance.²⁴ The *Entrance Examination Preparation Program* was for elementary students in their winter vacation to help them prepare for the middle school entrance exam. It was broadcast for one hour from 12:30 pm everyday and taught subjects like Korean literature and language (Monday, Wednesday, Friday) and mathematics (Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday).²⁵

Entertainment programs produced by JODK included radio dramas, stage dramas, radio comedy, movie reviews, lectures, and script recitation. Those programs were also tried by JOAK, which opened up earlier in 1925. It is natural to assume that there were some imitations and transfers of programs between JODK and JOAK. Given the colonial period of Korea under Japan, it may be natural to have the cultural types developed in Japan to be translated and accepted in Korea. What is important, however, is that the import and adoption of Japanese programs in Korea did not take the form of unconditional 'imitation' or 'transplant.' Even though various entertainment programs of JODK were influenced by previous JOAK's programs, they were also heavily influenced by cultural changes and traditions of Korea such as oral culture, new literature, youth movement, modern play movement, and movie production. As Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station struggled to increase the number of its subscribers and suffered under financial problems from its early days, some even went on to argue that the Station should compete as "a program completely specializing in entertaining listeners' pastime."²⁶ Nevertheless, it seems that it took some significant time until

²⁴ "Song contest will be held for five days at DK," *Maeil Daily*, 12 August, 1927.

²⁵ "New plans for broadcasting entrance exam preparation programs," *Maeil Daily*, 24 December, 1927.

²⁶ *Maeil Daily* argues in its editorial in September 1927 that "the success of the

the production system was firmly established. As shown in <Table 3>, the Station's performance fee scheme for actors and actresses seemed to be without any systematic rules and casting seemed to be done by personal relationship.²⁷ In its early days, people who used to engage in the production of entertainment programs apart from music programs were writers, Korean geisha, silent film narrators, actors and actresses for plays and movies. They were on average paid 3.00 KRW for a 30-minute-long program. Even though it might have been different depending on different persons, the fee seemed to be an important economic incentive to some extent (refer to <Sub-Table 1>). In 1927, the price of monthly subscription to newspapers was 1 KRW, 18 liters of rice cost 3.80 KRW, while 18 liters of barley cost 1.20 KRW.²⁸

All such endeavors by the Station's producers, however, did not seem to make the Korean listeners satisfied with the programs' schedules and quality. Most notably, Korean listeners were particularly dissatisfied with the Station's

broadcasting business is determined by its programs" as it highly commends Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station for the inauguration of the new president, reduction in the number of staffs, and efforts to double the number of listeners. "In forming appropriate policies for the broadcasting station, priorities should be set to create 'programs' fully dedicated to entertainment." It should therefore reduce unnecessary workforce. "History of Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station's Struggle," *Maeil Daily*, 21 September, 1927.

²⁷ Gyeong-Sohn Lee, who worked as a 'freelancer' in the early days of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station left the memoir as the following: "I also worked as the station's 'freelancer,' going to the station one or two times per week but it was very demanding. I had to deliver lectures and do serial multi-dimensional recitation. I had to play several roles. After such intensive voice acting, I was completely exhausted. Whenever I went to the station, the head of station would jokingly say to me 'Wow, Hello, Mr. Lee, nice to see you again! (you are here again!)'. At that time, people would have one person deliver a lecture and called him an expert in XX area. There was even an expert in the principle of relativity. What was more interesting was that these people would act as if they were a real expert after delivering lectures several times. One reporter named Seo-Gu Lee followed me around saying he fell in love with my voice." (Gyeong-Sohn Lee 1964, 339-340)

²⁸ In readers' column at *Dong-A Daily*, six family members were living with 150 KRW for every month and saving 14 KRW; and a student who came to Gyeongseong from a rural area to study was affording a comfortable life with 30 KRW per month. Jae-Ho Kim, "Our family's one-month budget"; Chang-Jin Choi, "One-month budget for a student studying in Gyeongseong," *Dong-A Daily*, 21 June, 1927.

failure to reflect the listeners' demand—adjusting the programs' schedules to their daily living hours and improving the qualities—into the programs' production.²⁹ However, given the structural limitations as a unified dual language broadcasting system, insufficient financial resources, and poor cultural conditions under colonialism, those problems persisted on as it was difficult to overcome them just by hard workings of several producers of Korean language programs.

IV. MAJOR TYPES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ENTERTAINMENT PROGRAMS DURING THE EARLY DAYS OF JODK

During the first one year after its establishment, entertainment programs broadcast on JODK in Korean language can be classified into 'Book Reading,' 'Script Recitation,' 'Movie Review,' and 'Radio Dramas.' In some aspects their program types are just upgraded versions of those imported from JOAK but they also display complicated features as they are closely related to the social and cultural context inherent to the Korean society at that time.

²⁹ *Byeolgeongon* Reader's column gives more exact explanation. The reader's complaint towards the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station is as the following. "First, the lectures that Koreans find interesting and meaningful are broadcast in the afternoon on weekdays while the lectures for Japanese are broadcast at night. It will not matter to those who do not work but ordinary workers cannot listen to the program. I would like propose to broadcast the lectures at night. Secondly, traditional folk songs of the northwestern region and southern region have been broadcast too often that I feel sick and tired of it. It would be better to have them just once per week. Thirdly, some people make inappropriate remarks in the children's program. I would like to listen to the children's story considerate and relevant to children's real problems. Fourth, lectures should be delivered by a trustworthy and reliable person and please think of some interesting ideas for the program. Finally, is there any plan to build a connection between the station and its fans? It seems that fans are very interested in the station while the station is so indifferent to us. Even though there are still more things I would like to point out, I will stop here." Chang-Hyun Yeon, "Complaints toward the broadcasting station by youth across the nation, our hope and demand," *Byeolgeongon*, December, 1927.

1. 'Book Reading' and 'Script Recitation' –a literature that lies between oral and written forms

Book reading programs mostly read traditional narratives such as classic novels, whereas script recitation programs read scripts of stage plays (Jae-Gil Suh 2007b, 59-60). As clearly shown on the changes in the names at the program schedule, book reading programs were a genre that followed 'Hon Yo Mi (本読み)' of Japanese broadcasting. It gradually changed its name into 'Novel Reading (or Reading Novel)' and was classified into 'Recitation of Traditional Poetry' The following <Table 3> shows the list of programs of book reading and script recitation for one year after the establishment of JODK.

Table 3. Book Reading and Screenplay Reading Program List

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Cast	Other related information
Feb. 19, 1927(Sat)	Reading	Gokodaisyouki [Five Tiger Generals]	Moon-Won Lee	
Mar. 12(Sat)	Screenplay reading	<Song of the Bishop> in Les Miserables	Yi-Chul Lee	
Mar. 17(Thu)	Reading	Chupunggambyeolgok		
Mar. 26(Sat)	Screenplay reading	Women	Yi-Chul Lee	Written by Young-Pal Kim
Mar. 31(Sat)	Screenplay reading	An Young Lady Going Crazy		Written by Uk-Saeng Pal *Presumed to be Young-Pal Kim's play of the same name
Apr. 6(Wed)	Screenplay reading	Bell Installation Day	Yi-Chul Lee	Written by Hyung-Taek Han
Apr. 18(Mon)	Screenplay reading	Secret of Life	Yi-Chul Lee	Written by Teon Gopurin
Apr. 23(Sat)	Screenplay reading	Hamlet, Act 1, Scenes 4 and 5	-Soo Choi	

Table 3. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Cast	Other related information
Apr. 23(Sat)	Reading	A part of Julius Caesar		English reading, <i>Remembering Shakespeare</i>
Apr. 29(Fri)	Screenplay reading	King Lear	Yi-Chul Lee	Written by Shakespeare
May 3(Tue)	Novel	Guwoonmong	Yi-Chul Lee	
May 7(Sat)	Creative reading	Divorce Story of My Brother		Written by Sung Kim (Il-Sung Kim), Accompaniment by Jong-Jung Kim)
May 12(Thu)	Novel reading	Geumsansa Mongyooga	Jee-Won Lee [Moon-Won Lee]	
May 13(Fri)	Screenplay reading	Whale Catcher Boat	Gyeong-Sohn Lee	Written by O'Neill [Eugene O'Neill]
May 27(Fri)	Screenplay reading	At Daybreak	Dae-Sob Shim	
May 31(Tue)	Screenplay reading	Last chapter of Resurrection	Yi-Chul Lee	
Jun. 3(Fri)	Novel reading	"Thee visits to the thatched cottage" in The Three Kingdoms	Jin-Woo Park	
Jun. 9(Thu)	Novel reading	"Thee visits to the thatched cottage" in The Three Kingdoms	Jin-Woo Park	
Jun 10(Fri)	Screenplay reading of children's story	Owl eyes (ui mok)		Written by Suk-Joong Yoon
Jun. 14(Thu)	Screenplay reading	Inu [Dog]	Gyeong-Sohn Lee	Written by Chekhov

Table 3. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Cast	Other related information
Jun. 17(Fri)	Screenplay commentary	Heuteojinun Futari [Dispersed Two Person]		Akira Sanjyo, Accompaniment: Traditional Japanese music
Jun. 20(Mon)	Novel reading	Secret royal inspector's appearance in Chunhyangeon		
Jun. 23(Thu)	Screenplay reading	The Complete Loser	Yi-Chul Lee	Written Seung-Il Choi
Jun. 27(Mon)	Screenplay reading	A Stronger Person	?	Written by Strindberg
Jul. 31(Sun)	Sijo solo Novel reading		Moon-Won Lee	
Aug. 10(Wed)	Sijo solo Novel reading		Moon-Won Lee	
Aug. 12(Fri)	Folklore	Ohodaejang-eyagi	Han-Soo Han	
Aug. 20(Sat)	Sijo solo Novel reading		Moon-Won Lee	
Aug. 25(Thu)	Folklore	1. One who passed the Examination 2. Oodo	Han-Soo Han	
Aug. 31(Wed)	Screenplay reading		Moon-Won Lee	
Sep. 9(Fri)	Sijo solo Novel reading		Moon-Won Lee	
Sep. 20(Tue)	Sijo solo Novel reading		Moon-Won Lee	

Table 3. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Cast	Other related information
10.5(Wed)	Screenplay reading	Changmihwa [Rose]	Chun-Lin Choi	*Presumed to be Hee-Bong Yoon's play released on August 1927
Feb. 5, 1928(Sun)	Screenplay reading	Destiny	Sung-Hee Ahn	Written by Baek-Nam Yoon
Feb. 10(Fri)	Historical romance	O-round competition	Jin-Gu Kim	

The table shows that 'Recitation of Traditional Poetry Reading Novel' was mostly done by Moon-Won Lee and Script Recitation by Yi-Chul Lee, but there is little known about the exact work experience and other activities of those two persons. The only thing confirmed is that Yi-Chul Lee appeared in a movie in 1930s. Apart from that, Jin-Woo Park participated in 'Reading Novel' and Gyeong-Sohn Lee participated in Script Recitation two times respectively.³⁰ In most of the cases specific titles of the pieces used for 'Recitation of Traditional Poetry' and 'Reading Novel' are not given but it is speculated that it might have been traditional works of Chosun Dynasty or

³⁰ Gyeong-Sohn Lee recited the pieces of foreign playwrights such as Eugene O'Neill and Anton Chekhov. Among them *Inu[Dog]* had been broadcast under the same title on November 24, 1925 at Tokyo Station and the original work was introduced as Chekhov's *Propose* (Dakeyama Akiko 2002, 221). It is presumed that the script Gyeong-Sohn Lee recited was the Japanese radio drama which translated the works of Chekhov. However, there is also another possibility. Cheol Hyun, pioneer for the modern Korean drama, released his play in 1922 under the title of *Inu[Dog]* (Act 1). Cheol Hyun argued that it was his own creation but imitation of Chekhov's *Kuma[Bear]* at the same time. In terms of characters and background, *Inu[Dog]* had many common traits with *Kuma[Bear]* as realism play, calling for modern thinking such as gender equality and freedom of dating. Cheol Hyun established entertainment academy to nurture many play actors/actresses. Gyeong-Sohn Lee joined Cheol Hyun and later established the 'Stage Play Association' and performed short pieces of Chekhov. Given such complicated things, it becomes more difficult to know which script Gyeong-Sohn Lee actually read. (Min-Young Yu 1996, 656-657; Gyeong-Sohn Lee 1964, 322)

China. The pieces whose titles are known are *Ohodaejanggi*, *Chunhyangjeon*, *Chupunggambyeolgok*, *Guwoonmong*, and *Samgookjee*. Among them, *Ohodaejanggi* is a story closely related to *Samgookjee*, which implies that *Samgookjee* was highly popular among Koreans at that time. Moreover, *Chunhyangjeon* and *Chupunggambyeolgok* have many things in common as they are all Korean classic literature and is about a story that criticizes heavily corrupted government officials and characterizes a woman who ultimately achieves her love after overcoming all kinds of difficulties. Under the Japanese colonial rule, Koreans were suffering as they lost their sovereignty but it was also the time when a new perception on women was emerging. As these realities were reflected in the programs, people could closely relate themselves to those stories.

There were also some programs called ‘Godam’ and ‘Yadam’ probably classified into the same genre of ‘Reading Novel.’ However, as the programs have been broadcast too little and information related to the programs are almost non-existent, it is hard to give some specific explanation. It was probably an early form of program which later became ‘Godam’ as ‘book reading’ genre programs were adjusted to fit into the radio format.³¹ Then why was it called ‘book reading’ programs and ‘classic novel’? During 1920s and 30s, a new class of people emerged that enjoyed and shared new reading materials with each other. Until 1920s, however, there were not enough people capable of reading books and newspapers. It was only in late 1920s when *Dong-A Daily* and *Chosun Daily* systematically led the movements of spreading Korean language and eradicating illiteracy. Korean society changed towards a text culture at such a slow pace that the enlightenment movement based on the literacy programs had to be conducted. In particular, the proportion of people illiterate of Korean language (not Chinese characters) was very high. More than half of the country’s population was illiterate, which

³¹ On August 29, 1927 storyteller and singer Chun-Jae Park was invited to the show. Park was a famous singer of Gyeonggi Province folk songs and collected phonograph albums from early 1900s. He was also a very popular storyteller, perfectly imitating merchants and the blinds. It is presumed that the program might have had such content. If so, it is completely different from ‘book reading’ and ‘godam/yadam’ but might have had some similarities in terms of humor, entertainment, performance and broadcasting type.

means the tradition and impact of oral culture still prevailed. (Young-Taek Roh 1994) Despite a change in the way of thinking towards visual images and the spread of silent reading after modernization, reading aloud still remained as an important reading method. People either read aloud for themselves or listened to others reading aloud (Ki-Hoon Lee 2001; Jung-Hwan Chun 2005).³² Even though the newspaper started to thrive in this period, there was a fairly significant number of people reading classic novels. Even ‘Towol Association,’ which proclaimed itself for advancing ‘modern plays,’ performed classic works such as *Chupunggambyeolgok*, *Chunhyangjeon*, *Shimcheongjeon*, and *Janghwahongryeonjeon* in 1925.

It is not an exaggeration to say that ‘Book Reading’ as a broadcasting program came under the direct influence of ‘Hon Yo Mi’ and it is in line with the tradition of story tellers who emerged since the 17th and 18th centuries of the Chosun Dynasty. In other words, far before such programs were created, there have been storytellers who were paid for either presenting the stories in the form of narrative songs or for reading the novels aloud for the audience (Sang-Gil Lee 2008, 36) During the enlightenment period, people used to sit around a person who read newspapers aloud in streets or at home. There were even some booksellers drawing the attention of potential buyers by narrating novels. Therefore, ‘Book Reading’ was created after the traditional way of enjoying literatures in groups through storytellers’ narratives had received new life through radio at a time when the traditional society was just entering into a modern society.³³ The same interpretation could be made

³² Even old print versions of novels, casually called ‘tag versions,’ published before 1910s had word spacing. However, the word spacing disappeared from novels published after 1920s. Ki-Hoon Lee (2001, 25) says that it is the evidence that the readers at that time tended to read books by having others read them aloud for them rather than reading with their own eyes.

³³ It is unclear how the audience overlapped between radio listeners and book readers, but there were both ‘reading readers’ and ‘listening readers’ among the people who enjoyed classic novels in old print versions in 1910s. The old print versions of classic novels started to be published and distributed since the introduction of the new printing technology in 1912 and thrived until 1926. Then, it suddenly declines from 1927 probably due to economic recession, deteriorating managing conditions of small-sized publishers, poor writing conditions and strengthened censorship. While the variety of publications dropped, the number of publications sold increased from

for ‘Script Recitation.’ Compared to the previous recitation and narration, ‘reading’ programs may have had limited exchanges between the orator and the audience. But it may have had its strength in drawing a larger scale of audience with no limitations in space and attracting intensive concentration from the audience just by stimulating listeners’ hearing.

‘Script Recitation’ was different from ‘Novel Reading’ as it was reciting scripts (plays, scenarios) rather than novels. It was also different from ‘radio stage play’ as one person would read aloud all the stage instructions and lines in the script. ‘Script Recitation’ was broadcast every two weeks for one year after the station was established. In early October 1927 the recitation program stopped to be broadcast but it reappeared in February in 1928. According to Jae-Gil Suh, *Chanusuem* was the first program broadcast in the form of script recitation on January 7, 1935 since the separate broadcasting era, during which script recitation was scarce. It is probably because the transitional nature that the genre of script recitation had. In other words, script recitation genre naturally disappeared during the separate broadcasting eras ‘radio novels’ (programs that recited novels rather than scripts) became popular and ‘radio dramas’ (programs in which several actors performed rather than one person reciting the script) were stabilized (Jae-Gil Suh 2007a, 60-61).

What was particularly noteworthy was the nature of the script recited. In Japan, script reading came from Hon Yo Mi and it mostly took the form of reciting stage instructions and lines of the scripts of kabuki (Jae-Gil Suh

late 1920s to 1930s and was reduced to half in late 1930s. It is reported that it was particularly popular among farmers and workers (Ki-Hoon Lee 2001, 36). Radio’s ‘book reading’ programs were suitable for reading/listening the classic novels. Around 1927 when the popularity of old type classic novels started to fell down, the Korean Yadamsa is created with the aim of leading an organized movement to revive Yadams. As Yadams started to be published and distributed, they began to replace the role of old print versions of classic novels. Seung-Yoon Lee remarks that old print versions of classic novels, Yadams and history novels all belong to the same category as they fall into the literary form of popularizing history (Seung-Yoon Lee 2009, 170-172). We therefore cannot totally exclude the possibility that oral presentation of ‘book reading’ and ‘script recitation’ may have been popular entertainment as well as a tool for enlightenment. Baek-Nam Yoon, pioneer of developing Yadams, actively engaged in broadcasting activities during the separate broadcasting era, which can better be understood under such context.

2007b, 60). However, it should be noted that ‘new group’ already emerged in Japan in 1888 and the new play movement was taking place around 1907. In the midst of such trend, script recitation program which recited the scripts of ‘old group’ kabuki emerged as the main type of the program. It is recorded that the program was especially popular among the general public who could not afford an expensive price of kabuki. However, the situation developed in an opposite direction in Korea. Script Reading programs of JODK mostly recited the scripts of western plays or modern Korean plays. As shown on <Table 3>, among foreign plays, those written by Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Victor Hugo, Chekhov, the most representative playwright of that time, Strindberg, and Eugene O’Neill were commonly used. The “Secret of Life”, written by Teon Gopurin and translated by Woo-Hun Nam, was published in the February issue of *Chosun Literary Works* in 1927. Korean pieces were also recited as well and most of them were quite ‘modern’ works.

A Young Lady Going Crazy and *Women*, the two pieces written by Young-Pal Kim, shared a common theme of women’s life oppressed by social prejudice of the pre-modern era. They mainly deal with the tension arising between the Confucian ethics and the individual’s love. *A Young Lady Going Crazy*, a typical modern play, is a tragic story about a young woman whose life ends tragically after falling in love with an early-married student who came to study in Seoul. In *Women* the story is a little bit different as the main character actively overcomes such problem and maintains human dignity. *Destiny* (1 Act, 2 Scenes), a social and tragic play describing the realities of traditional marriage system, was the maiden work of Baek-Nam Yoon, and was first performed in 1921 by ‘Galdobheo,’ a theater group composed of working students. It is a story of Mary Park, a graduate of Ewha Womans University, who betrays her first love and flies to Hawaii to marry a shoe repairer whom she met through photo matchmaking. Mary soon finds herself disappointed in her marriage, reunites with her first love and ends up killing her husband as she stands against her violent husband with her lover.

The Complete Loser written by Seung-Il Choi is neither recorded in the present chronological listing of the author nor found in the actual script form. Given the writing style of Choi, it is presumed that it must be the type of story defending individuals’ freedom while criticizing the society. *Changmihwa* written by Hee-Bong Yoon was released in August 1927 and

was evaluated as a sorrowful and bourgeois work as it dealt with a lonely life of a person struggling against a disease.³⁴ *Divorce Story of My Brother* written by Sung Kim under the title of ‘Story Recitation’ was also noteworthy as the piece was written solely for broadcasting. In case of *At Daybreak* both written and recited by Dae-Sob Shim (Hoon Shim) in May 1927, it is more complicated to make presumption. Was it a draft of the movie with the same title *At Daybreak*, both written and directed by Hoon Shim and released at Danseongsa on October 26, 1927? Such possibility cannot be totally excluded but Shim recalls that *At Daybreak* was written at a time in late July of 1926 when he was faced with the difficulty of releasing into movie the first Korean movie novel *Mask Dance* he wrote and anxiously thinking over a new scenario. He happened to read the story of a romance by an ex-convict in the newspaper and finished the new story *At Daybreak* within one day. Initially the title of the story was *From Darkness to Darkness* but it was later changed into *At Daybreak* due to the Japanese censorship. Therefore it is presumed that there may be little direct relation between the broadcasting script and the movie scenario apart from the title but it is still hard to make clear conclusion.³⁵ As recitation of children’s story, *Owl Eyes* written by Suk-Joong Yoon was recited. After being broadcast, the story, composed of Act 1, was published at *Chosun Daily* in 12 series from January 11, 1928. It was a case of a draft written for broadcasting later being published in paper. Moreover, JODK tried running a series of recitation on children’s story during children’s time by asking Jung-Hwan Bang, Han-Seung Ko, and Jung-Ho Lee to recite the story of *Three Siblings*, one of the most interesting and long stories among the world classic *One Thousand and One Nights* for three times on every other day from August 7, 1927.³⁶

Then, why did the combination of literature and radio take the dual forms of ‘Book Reading,’ mostly reading ‘classic novels,’ and ‘Script Recitation,’ mostly reciting ‘modern plays’? It is probably the result of producers’ efforts

³⁴ Eun-Sung Hong, “Literary works of August,” *Chosun Daily*, 24 August, 1927.

³⁵ “Turning movie novel ‘Mask Dance’ into movie,” *Chosun Daily*, 23 July, 1927; “The Story of an Ex-Convict ‘From Darkness to Darkness,’” *Jung-Oe Daily*, 13 August, 1927; Hoon Shim, *Chosun Movies*, October, 1936.

³⁶ “DK Series of Children’s Story,” *Maeil Daily*, 9 August, 1927.

to meet the diverse needs of listeners, or part of their experiment to move against the prevailing cultural trend of preferring newspaper. In other words, they did not merely broadcast programs that recited the popular classic novels but they probably tried to combine radio's technical potential with the modern Korean and foreign literary works. Suk-Hun Lee, responsible for entertainment programs after joining JODK in 1932, showed great interest in recitation of poetry and in particular novels and wrote in his memoir that "It is a very interesting new genre. It must be much more exciting to have it in the form of the first-person narrator novel."³⁷ Jae-Gil Suh remarks that Lee was having in mind the recitation of modern novels rather than traditional poetry or classic novels though it seems that Lee was either not fully aware of the various experiments conducted before the separate broadcasting era or underestimate them. To take at least some examples of those programs, it is not an overstatement to say that the script recitation programs, broadcast during the unified dual language broadcasting era, were culturally advanced.

2. Movie Reviews-silent movies seeing through sound

Movie review programs which had undergone pilot broadcasting have been constantly aired since the opening of JODK. In the newspaper, movie review programs are marked as 'movie narration' for Japanese programs and 'movie review' for Korean programs.³⁸ Silent film narrators took charge of the movie reviews during the silent film era. Apart from one film narrator (in some cases more than one narrator appeared), there was also an orchestra composed of musicians. Those members of the orchestra, approximately seven, belonged to a certain theater,³⁹ and it is marked as DS (or TS) for Danseongsa, CS for Korea Theater, and UM for Umi Theater. Famous narrators sometimes moved to other theaters so it is hard to check the exact theater each of them belonged

³⁷ Suk-Hun Lee, "On Radio Drama," *Play Art*, April, 1934.

³⁸ During the separate broadcasting era, movie review programs in Korean language were introduced under the title of 'Movie Story' (Jae-Gil Suh 2007a, 61).

³⁹ Dong-Ho Sung records that both the Umi Theater and Danseongsa in early 1920s had seven members, including 3 projectionists, 5 narrators, and 7 musicians (Dong-Ho Sung et al. 2003, 41-42).

to at the time of broadcasting. Nonetheless, it seems that narrators and the orchestra presented the review of the movies that were either showing or had been shown. Therefore, the theater to which the narrator belonged can be guessed by the name of the orchestra. It is presumed that approximately eight persons including the narrator and the orchestra participated in the movie review.⁴⁰ It is hard to say that a significant amount of economic reward was given to the program participants. Narrators were given from 40 to 150 KRW and musicians were given approximately 30-50 KRW (Dong-Ho Sung et al. 2003, 26; 31).⁴¹ It seems that main incentives for the participants were curiosity and charm of engaging in the new broadcasting media or pursuit of honor or interests of the theaters they belonged to.

The Following <Table 4>⁴² is the list of movie review programs broadcast

⁴⁰ Hye-Gu Lee, who worked for JODK, left a memoir in regards to recording the movie review programs during the separate broadcasting era. “[the second floor of the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station building at Jeong-dong] After arriving at the second floor through the southern stairs, a thick double-layered door attached with green belts was found on the right side and it was called the first broadcasting room. A huge ‘grand piano’ stood at the middle of an empty room which showed that it was a room where music was played and an ‘organ’ located at the opposite side seemed to be left out by its owner. At the corner of the room there was a framework used to generate sound effects and it showed that the room was used for broadcasting. The phonograph below the clock had only one ‘turn table’ and was used mainly for ‘radio’ gym and movie review programs. At that time, the narrator would come with five to six ‘albums’ wrapped inside a book wrapper and an assistant who helped with the operation of the phonograph would carry the phonograph and accompany the narrator.” (Hye-Gu Lee 1960, 56-57)

⁴¹ The following article supports the memoir left by Dong-Ho Sung. “As silent-film narrators would wear high-collared suits and have many Korean geisha friends who love movies, they seem to be leading a luxurious life but in fact they work hard behind the darkness and suffer from a lot of side effects, such as having bad eyesight. At first, people who want to be narrators should get the training with their own money. If he/she is a very talented narrator, he/she would soon be the main narrator after just two weeks of training. Otherwise, the training period would extend to two to three years, which is very tormenting. Once he/she becomes a main narrator, the income becomes 40-150 KRW, a decent level of pay.” “Modern Career Exhibition (現代珍職業展覽會),” *Byeolgeongon*, January, 1927.

⁴² Information related to the original movies was obtained from article data base of *Chosun Daily* and *Dong-A Daily*, and in case of Korean movies, production

Table 4. Film Commentary Programming List

Broadcast Date	Title	Cast	Accompaniment and other related information	Related Information about the Original Movie
Mar. 7, 1927 (Mon)	Dong-do [Way Down East]	Young-Hwan Kim		Director D.W. Griffith March 16, 1927 Dansungsa Release
Mar. 15 (Tue)	Chun-hee [La Traviata]	Byung-Ho Lee	CS Orchestra	Chosun Theater screening July 1925
Mar. 22 (Tue)	Piero's Lament	Dong-Ho Sung		October 1926 release
Mar. 29 (Thu)	Oliver Twist	Jo-Sung Kim	CS Orchestra, marked as Syonen Eiga Monogatari [Film-telling for boys]	April 11, 1925 Woomi-gwan release February 17, 1927 Chosun Theater release Screening during the time of broadcast
Apr. 7 (Thu)	Ai no Yamiji [Love in a dark road]	Young-Hwan Kim	TS Orchestra	April 9, 1927 Dansungsa scheduled release
Apr. 20 (Wed)	World of Eternity	Dong-Ho Sung	CS Orchestra	
Apr. 28 (Thu)	Pung-woon-ah		CS Orchestra	Director Woon-Gyu Na December 19, 1926 Chosun Theater release
May 4 (Wed)	Pirates of "Douglas"	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	November 1926 presumed release
May 8 (Sun)	Ssang-ok-ru	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Director Goo-Young Lee, 1925 release

information written especially in *Samcheonli* was referred to. "Korean Cultural Industry Exhibition, Movie Part (朝鮮文化及産業展覽會, 映畫篇)" *Samcheonli*, May, 1940.

Table 4. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Title	Cast	Accompaniment and other related information	Related Information about the Original Movie
May 21 (Sat)	Arirang	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Director Woon-Gyu Na October 1926 Dansungsa release
May 26 (Thu)	Decameron Nights	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Director Herbert Wilcox Dansungsa release on broadcast date
May 30 (Mon)	Sue-sung-woon-ul Pa-hago [Breaking through the comet cloud]	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	June 1, 1927 Dansungsa release with the title of <i>Through the Comet Mist and Fog</i>
Jun. 4 (Sat)	Janghwa-hongryeon-jeon	Jung-Shik Woo	PS Orchestra	Director Young-Hwan Kim, 1923 release
Jun. 10 (Fri)	Resurrection	Sang-Ho Suh	UM Orchestra	May 27, 1927 Woomi-gwan and Hwang-geum-gwan release
Jun. 16 (Thu)	Am-mu-jung [Les Miserables]	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	January 17, 1923; November 20, 1925; September 21, 1927 (French work) Dansungsa release respectively
Jun. 17 (Fri.)	Am-mu-jung [Les Miserables] (the sequel)	Young-Hwan Kim		
Jun. 20 (Mon)	If I Were a Great King	Jo-Sung Kim	UM Orchestra	June 20, 1927 Chosun Theater screening
Jun. 28 (Tue)	Jang-han-mong	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Director Gyeong-Sohn Lee, 1924 release
Jul. 2(Sat)	Late Night Sun	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	July 1, 1927 Dansungsa release

Table 4. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Title	Cast	Accompaniment and other related information	Related Information about the Original Movie
Jul. 6 (Wed)	Paris of Miracle [Roses of Miracle]	Jo-Sung Kim	UM Orchestra	Late March 1928 presumed release
Jul. 15 (Fri)	Shimcheong-jeon	Jung-Shik Woo	PS Orchestra	
Jul. 22 (Fri)	Hwanja-ui Nakwon [Paradise of Patients]	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	
Jul. 30 (Sat)	The Three Musketeers	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	February 1927 screening
Aug. 3 (Wed)	Crown of Phoenix	Jo-Sung Kim	UM Orchestra	Director Gyeong-Sohn Lee, 1926 release
Aug. 9 (Thu)	Nessa-ui Mai [Blood and Sand]	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Rudolph Valentino's last work December 9, 1926 Dansungsa release
Aug. 18 (Wed)	Sassy Zorro	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	May 1925 Chosun Theater release
Aug. 31 (Wed)	Kosung-ui Noreae [Song of the Old Castle]	Dong-Ho Sung	DS Orchestra	
Sep. 4 (Sun)	Sassy Zorro	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	May 1925 Chosun Theater release
Sep. 8 (Thu)	Umi-ui Yajyu [Beasts in the Sea]			
Sep. 12 (Mon)	Gok-ye-dan	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Starring Emil Jannings September 1927 Dansungsa scheduled release
Oct. 4 (Tue)	Pioneer	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	Original work by Kwang-Soo Lee, Director Gyeong-Sohn Lee 1925 release

Table 4. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Title	Cast	Accompaniment and other related information	Related Information about the Original Movie
Oct. 8 (Sat)	Venomous Snake [Cobra]	Dong-Ho Sung	DS Orchestra	By Rudolph Valentino, October 7, 1927 Chosun Theater release
Oct. 12 (Wed)	Pioneer	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	Original work by Kwang-Soo Lee, Director Gyeong-Sohn Lee 1925 release
Oct. 24 (Mon)	Nessa-ui Mai [Blood and Sand]	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Rudolph Valentino's last work December 9, 1926 Dansungsa release
Oct. 28 (Fri)	White Rose of the Rail	Hwa Yoon	CS Orchestra	Director Abel Gance November 24, 1927 Chosun Theater screening
Oct. 30 (Sun)	Arawashi [Eagles]	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	
Nov. 1 (Tue)	Cattle with Missing Horns	Hwa Yoon	CS Orchestra	Original work and directed by Yul-Jin Kim, 1927 release
Nov. 5 (Sat)	Stay Well	Pa-Young Kim	DS Orchestra	First work by Woon-Gyu Na Productions 1927 release
Nov. 12 (Sat)	Beau Geste	Dong-Ho Sung	CS Orchestra	Chosun Theater screening start on November 11, 1927
Nov. 15 (Tue)	Taitei-ui Milsa [The Great's Secret Envoy]	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	Dansungsa Theater screening start on November 12, 1927
Nov. 19 (Sat)	Cruiser Emden	Hwa Yoon	CS Orchestra	German film that screened in Berlin February 1927

Table 4. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Title	Cast	Accompaniment and other related information	Related Information about the Original Movie
Nov. 23 (Wed)	Glory	Pa-Young Kim	DS Orchestra	Scheduled to screen on November 23, 1927 but Dansungsa release on 26 th
Nov. 27 (Sun)	White Rose of the Rail	Hwa Yoon	CS Orchestra	Director Abel Gance November 24, 1927 Chosun Theater screening
Dec. 9 (Fri)	Big Parade	O-Man Park (Ung-Myun Park?)	CS Orchestra	Scheduled to screen early December 1927
Dec. 15 (Thu)	Big Angel	Woo-Heung Lee	DS Orchestra [UM Orchestra]	
Dec. 17 (Sat)	Scarlet Letter	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	January 5, 1928 Dansungsa release
Dec. 21 (Wed)	Romeo and Juliet	Dong-Ho Sung	DS Orchestra	
Dec. 25 (Sat)	Stella Terras	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	
Dec. 29 (Thu)	Sura-ui Bullfighting	Woo-Heung Lee	UM Orchestra [VW Orchestra]	
Dec. 30 (Fri)	Donpan [Money Play]	Dong-Ho Sung	CS Orchestra	January 5, 1928 Chosun Theater release
Jan. 10, 1928 (Thu)	Sea-O	Ung-Myun Park	CS Orchestra, labeled as Young-hwa-mool-uh	
Jan. 12 (Thu)	Last Person	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	January 14, 1928 Dansungsa screening German film

Table 4. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Title	Cast	Accompaniment and other related information	Related Information about the Original Movie
Jan. 16 (Mon)	Avarice	Hwa Yoon	CS Orchestra	Director Erich von Stroheim
Jan. 24 (Tue)	Sifun-ui Onna [Woman wearing makeup]	Woo-Heung Lee	<i>The Movie Night</i> program	
	Kkeo-jeo-ga-nun Tomo-shibi [Dying light]	Hwa Yoon	UM Orchestra, <i>The Movie Night</i>	
	Great Life	Young-Hwan Kim	CS Orchestra, <i>The Movie Night</i>	
Jan. 31 (Tue)	Ok-nyeo	Jung-Shik Woo	DS Orchestra	
Feb. 3 (Fri)	7th Heaven	Dong-Ho Sung	DS Orchestra	Second work of Woon-Gyu Na January 28, 1928 Dansungsa release
Feb. 9 (Thu)	Hou-mou-ul Beo-seo-na-seo [The Seventh Heaven]	Young-Hwan Kim	DS Orchestra	Director Frank Borzage, Original Work by Austin Strong January 28, 1928 Chosun Theater release

for one year after the opening of JODK.

As shown in <Table 4>, a total of 59 movie review programs were broadcast in Korean language for one year. Except on January 24, 1928 when review programs were aired for three consecutive times as part of a special series called *The Movie Night*, movie review was broadcast approximately one time per week. The exact number of Korean movies broadcast which can be confirmed is altogether 12 (*Pioneer* by Woon-Gyu Na was broadcast two times), accounting for only 20%. Pa-Young Kim, who participated in movie review pilot program in Korean on July 15, 1926, as well as Young-Hwan Kim,

Dong-Ho Sung, Jung-Shik Woo, Jo-Sung Kim, Woo-Heung Lee, Hwa Yoon, Sang-Ho Suh, Byung-Ho Lee, and Ung-Myun Park served as narrators. In particular, Young-Hwan Kim, Dong-Ho Sung, and Jung-Shik Woo were the most active participants. Young-Hwan Kim was praised by Hoon Shim as “the best of best narrator acknowledged and loved by everyone with his sorrowful as well as passionate narration.”⁴³ Kim was also talented as movie director, producer and songwriter. He joined the movie narration for 21 times, the highest number among the narrators. He also actively worked as a movie review narrator recorded in gramophones (Dong-Hyun Choi and Man-Soo Kim 1998, 23).

Through the ‘movie review’ program, we witness an interesting change in the role of a narrator. Originally, a narrator used to have only a supplementary role in silent films. As most of the movies were foreign movies, narrators served as a professional presenter to explain to the audience who could not understand subtitles (written in Japanese or other foreign languages). However, movie review programs allowed them to engage in paradoxical recreation or ‘re-writing’ of the scenario as they recreated ‘soundless films,’ ‘only through sounds.’ As the sound media radio recreates sound films into its own content, ‘sound,’ which used to be a supplementary element, becomes a key element; and narrator, who used to have only a minor role, becomes a critical player of the movie by recreating and mediating soundless films through sound.

Even though narrators had decent linguistic and academic background, sometimes they were heavily criticized by intellectuals and students for exaggerating and distorting movies through crude body languages (Sun-Young Yu 2008, 246-247). However, they stood at the center of the screening and showing procedures of silent films and became popular entertainers in the modern era. They also served as a successor to mediators in traditional Korean performances such as mask dance, gag talks, and pansori as well as a producer of culture by translating western modernity (sometimes even using arbitrary comments and misinterpretation) and delivering it to the audience. (Soo-Jin Woo 2008; Chang-Gyu Ju 2007; Dong-Hyun Choi and Man-Soo Kim 1998). In this context, movie review programs in radio

⁴³ Hoon Shim, “Korean movie producers (朝鮮映畫人),” *Donggwang*, July, 1931.

were opportunities for new experiment and expression that maximized the independence of narrators.⁴⁴

It is important to remember that the new role of narrators as ‘auditory author’ was the same as the role of promoters of movie industries. There were three changes going on in the Korean movie industry in 1927. First, the huge success of *Arirang* in 1926 from both commentators and audience encouraged the production of Korean movies. In 1927 alone, 14 Korean movies were produced, the highest number of movies produced during the Japanese colonial period. Movie industries started to thrive as capital poured in to invest in movie production. Second, there was an increasing interest in movies across the society. A larger number of people started to enjoy movies and they acquired a fairly high level of knowledge in movies. People were no longer interested in a limited number of genres such as tragic stories or love stories; a wide range of genres such as action movies, comedy, and literary movies, which used to be less popular among people, became popular. Korean movies could no longer appeal to their audience just for having Korean actors/actresses. The content of the movie itself became an important criterion in selecting movies. Audience preferred common foreign movies to special Korean movies. Thirdly, as the movie market expanded, the number of imported foreign movies increased and the time lag of first running the movie between Korea and the original foreign country became shorter. All these

⁴⁴ Each movie narrator had their own specialties. For instance, Young-Hwan Kim and Dong-Ho Sung were strong at romantic plays and human-nature plays whereas Jung-Shik Woo and Sang-Ho Suh were good at action plays and Pa-Young Kim was strong at historical plays and human-nature plays (Dong-Ho Sung et al. 2003, 75-77). However, it is presumed that different kinds of talents may have been required for radio movie narrators. In other words, there may have been narrators more suitable for the radio media. For example, Sang-Ho Suh was a narrator who had “a very charmingly thick and humorous voice and had an extraordinary sense to match the ‘tempo’ of the screen and the narration right after reading through the script just one time.” (Il-Seon Shin 1977, 506-507). He was one of the most popular narrators during 1910s and early 20s but he suddenly disappeared from the public since 1925 when it was reported that he was addicted to morphine (Soo-Jin Woo 2008, 61). Probably he showed up in the radio movie narration only once due to such reason. But it is also possible that he was probably not suitable for the radio as he became famous for ‘bbung-bbung-ee dance,’ a comic combination of hip dance and tap dance. “Roundtable Discussion on Movie Narrators (活動寫真辯士座談會),” *Chogwang*, April, 1938.

developments were thanks to the dedication by Kishinyanngaeng, the largest Korean company importing foreign movies. Kishinyanngaeng entered into the movie industry, where Japanese brokers and foreign producers used to be the main players, on May 1927 through Ki-Se Lee, the head of the Korean Phonograph Store. After it was established, it dedicated itself for importing foreign movies as soon as they were released such as United Artists' *Resurrection* and *If I were a Great King*. These movies were released in Korea within one or two months since it was opened in Japan and the company also served as proxy distributors for Paramount and Metro-Goldwyn. In the midst of such changes, competition heated up between importers of foreign movies and theaters.⁴⁵ As movie markets expanded and movie culture flourished, competition became intense among companies; it naturally followed that the promotion became highly critical in accordance with the capitalistic principle. Movie review programs were in part playing such a role.

As a repertory of movie review programs settled down, the promotional role became much clearer, which can be confirmed by how much the timing coincides between when the movie was first released and when it was reviewed in the radio. The first movie selected for movie review programs was the *Way Down East* directed by D. W. Griffith. The reason why it was selected as the first movie to be reviewed can be found in various factors

⁴⁵ "Movie circle inside Gyeongseong," *Dong-A Daily*, 22 February, 1924 "Current Status of Plays and Movies (4) imports of foreign movies rise thanks to the increase in profits of movie industry and the audience's interest," *Dong-A Daily*, 10 May, 1927; "Current Status of Plays and Movies (5) leaders should unite for the development of Korean movie industry," *Dong-A Daily*, 12 May, 1927; "Current Status of Korean Movies (朝鮮映畫界現狀) (1) Showing imported western movies and developing Korean movie industry," *Dong-A Daily*, 16 November, 1927; "Current Status of Korean Movies (2) Past and future trends in the production and showing of Korean movies," *Dong-A Daily*, 17 November, 1927; The following article excerpt from *Byeolgeongon* shows how problematic the competition was: A foreign movie titled *Way Down East* whose leading actress was Lilian Gish was imported to Korea a few years ago. Theaters fiercely competed to show the movie and it ultimately led to lawsuits. It is also well known within the movie industry that in some cases theaters even went to Tokyo before the film was handed into brokers, and the one which paid the highest 'film' tax got the deal. Such a fierce competition ultimately benefits no one. And theater managers would indeed suffer from a severe headache to meet such high expectation. "Theater Talk," *Byeolgeongon*, March, 1927.

such as its popularity, high awareness among the public, and individual taste of the narrator, as well as the fact that it was soon to be released.⁴⁶ Among Korean movies, *Pung-woon-ah*[*A Soldier of Fortune*], *Ssang-ok-ru*, *Arirang* and *Janghwa-hongryeon-jeon* were broadcast. *Arirang* was a huge success after it was first released in October 1926 at Danseongsa; it was soon screened 16 times across the major cities and became one of the most famous and popular Korean movies (Ryeo-Sil Kim 2006, 90). At the Korea Theater, the new movie *Pung-woon-ah*[*A Soldier of Fortune*] by Woon-Gyu Na was screened together along with *Arirang* from February 9, 1927 with the head narrator Jo-Sung Kim.⁴⁷ It is therefore speculated that Korean movies were used for movie review programs when they were running again at the theater. However, in early stages, the station tended to select movies that were very popular in the past regardless of the timing of the movie's first release and with no particular timing in mind. Such tendency soon changed and the station minimized the time lag between the first release and the movie review program so that the audience could listen to the movie review through radio just before or after they saw the movie at the theater. In some cases, the movie was reviewed on the very day the movie was to be released; in other cases, it was reviewed one

⁴⁶ *Way Down East* (1920) is a film directed by Griffith and starring Lilian Gish. After importing the print from Japanese merchant, Pil-Woo Lee directly employed musicians and narrators and made a huge success in 1922. It continued to be showed across Korea and enjoyed high popularity until 1929 (Ryeo-Sil Kim 2006, 51). This movie was also changed into a play by Gyeong-Sohn Lee and performed by the Towol Association with the main actress played by Shim-Duk Yoon. "Special Performance by the Towol Association," *Dong-A Daily*, 6 February, 1926; Gyeong-Sohn Lee 1964, 340-341. The movie *Way Down East* was very famous and well-known among the public as it has been shown three times including the local tour show before it was introduced as the movie review show. It was also scheduled to be reopened at Danseongsa on March 16, 1927. (Theater advertisement in *Dong-A Daily*, 18 March, 1927) However, individual taste of Young-Hwan Kim may have had its influence in selecting the movie as he was leading the movie review programs and had the experience of directing radio movie programs two times. Kim recalls that "even though I have been working on this movie for about eight months it is one of the most excellent movies I have seen for several months. I myself as a narrator feel so fascinated by the charismatic scenes of the movies." Young-Hwan Kim, "Fascinating Movies," *Byeolgeongon*, August, 1927.

⁴⁷ "Korean Movies, *Arirang* and *Pung-woon-ah*, to be shown at the Korea Theater," *Dong-A Daily*, 9 February, 1927.

or two days before or after the movie was released.

At that time, there was not only a fierce competition between movie theaters and movie importers but also a certain collaboration and visual media matrix among movie-newspaper-radio. Radio movie review programs can be much better understood under such context. In other words, newspapers used radio for promotion and movie industries used newspapers as an important marketing tool and radios used movies as their main content. More specifically, after the huge success of *Arirang*, Korean movie industries flourished and newspapers started to have closer relationship with movies. Articles about movies, which used to be little more than a few lines of introduction along with some advertisement, became much longer and their qualities also increased. Specific news about the movie, from its planning, casting, and filming procedures, were reported in series and comments, summary of the story, interviews of actors/actresses and director, and critics of experts were also introduced. Newspapers in some ways intensified the competition among movie producers by writing an article comparing different movie producers. For instance, pairs of movies were compared such as *Glory* vs. *Big Parade*, *Donpan*[*Money Play*] vs. *Scarlet Letter*, and *The Seventh Heaven* vs. *Ok-nyeo*.⁴⁸ Furthermore, movie literatures joined newspapers' serial novel corner under the name of movie novels, scenario, shooting scripts, and cine-poem since late 1926 (Ryeo-Sil Kim 2006, 94-98). In the literary corner of the newspapers, there were a lot of advertisement articles using the content of movies soon to be released. For example, *Dong-A Daily* ran a four-time serial novel using the story of the movie *Creed* from June 22, 1927 as well as a five-time serial novel using the story of the movie *Paris of Miracle* from July 17, 1927.

To take the example of movie *Beau Geste*, whose movie review was broadcast on November 12, 1927, one can learn how various media used their interconnectivity for promotion. On November 8 in *Dong-A Daily*, the movie was introduced as the 'masterpiece,' which had been first released in Japan in

⁴⁸ "Competition to import foreign movies between Danseongsa and Korea Theater," *Jung-Oe Daily*, 1 December, 1927. "The Seventh Heaven and Ok-nyeo to be shown at the Korea Theater and Danseongsa respectively, from the afternoon of January 28," *Chosun Daily*, 28 January, 1928.

spring and became a huge success. The newspaper gives a full and detailed story of the movie for four days. After the full story is introduced, a report was made on November 10 that *Beau Geste* will be released on November 11 at the Korea Theater. On November 11, the very day of its opening, there was 'a Voucher for Dong-A Daily subscribers going to the Korea Theater.' On November 12, movie review was broadcast with narrator Dong-Ho Sung and CS orchestra. Even though it was not a product of a highly sophisticated marketing plan, it was clearly the result of commercial instinct and calculation among movie distributor-newspaper-broadcasting station. There were also many similar cases of story introduction, photos, voucher, and movie review programs. In this context, the movie review programs led by narrators could not be without promotional aspect reflecting the interests of the theaters they belonged to. Therefore, it could be said that Korean newspapers, movies, phonographs, and plays under the Japanese colonial rule were all undergoing the process of commercialization and pursuit of capitalistic profits despite some differences in the degree and timing. Interconnection of texts among different media was also a part of such phenomena. The cycle in which readers became audience, and the audience again became listeners was created through the media matrix.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ According to Tae-Won Choi, *Maeil Daily* exerted absolute authority in 1910s in the process of adopting soap operas by monopolizing editorials, reports, critics and information on performance. When adapted novels published in newspapers were turned into movies, they were always very popular. A series of stories published for a long time attracted the audience and when the show started media actively promoted it. Moreover, newspaper subscribers were given a voucher that gave the ticket at half a price. For theaters, it was better for them to secure the help of newspapers even though they had to receive only half the price from newspaper subscribers. For newspapers, vouchers served to attract more subscribers (Tae-Won Choi 2003, 27-28). According to Yoo-Jung Jang, music album industries used newspaper and magazine advertisements, brochures, low-price policies, contest event, gift/coupon, and even mysticism marketing strategies of promoting 'faceless singer.' Sometimes, people were given a movie ticket for buying the music album of the movie' theme song (Yoo-Jung Jang 2004). In this respect, movie review program was a genre not only influenced by Japan but also in line with the commercialization and promotion strategies of media.

3. Radio Dramas – plays through radio, plays for radio

It has been known that the first radio drama produced in Korean language since the establishment of JODK was the *Doll's House Act III* broadcast by the Radio Play Research Association on May 23, 1927.⁵⁰ However, according to the program schedules on newspapers, the *Fame and the Poet* was the first radio drama broadcast on February 28 of that year with the casting of Seung-Jin Park, Il-Seon Shin, and So-Yeon Lee. One of the actors, Jin Park (Seung-Jin Park) left a memoir two times in regards to that. However, specific factors in the two memoirs do not fit into the objective situation and show some incomplete and disorganized memory. The following is the memoir of 1966, which has been edited in a chronological order.

“At that time, Seung-Il Choi came to us. He is much older than us and has been employed as a broadcasting staff at JODK. At the beginning of its establishment, JODK did not have any Korean language programs but shortly afterwards Radio 2 – Radio 1 is broadcast in Japanese – was established to provide broadcasting services in Korean. Choi suggested to have a radio drama as Radio 2’s first program. Even though I agreed to do so, I did not have any ideas how to do it as it was a completely uncharted territory for me. I agreed to do so as I thought I was not totally ignorant of the radio drama, because in the spring of 1924, one year after the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, I had a chance to learn from a young technician as I had to assemble a ‘radio’ while living on the second of the house and also had a chance to listen to a ‘radio drama’ as JOAK was just starting its service and could see the photos of the station in the magazine. Based on such experience I accepted the suggestion courageously. But it was a very trembling experience and the problem was selecting the right piece. If there were too many characters, the allocated reward for each person would be too small. Yet it was more difficult

⁵⁰ Such misunderstanding may have occurred as information from the *The History of Korean Broadcasting* was repeatedly quoted without the process of checking its source. However, as Jae-Gil Suh pointed out, there are several errors found at *The History of Korean Broadcasting*. To rewrite an exact version of the history of Korean broadcasting, we need to start from correcting errors that have been wrongly accepted as facts by collecting broad data, exact facts and information.

to select a piece which had a small number of characters. At that point I suddenly came up with the idea of 'Farmer and Poet' (author unknown) introduced in the Japanese Literature Magazine. It was a play composed of conversation among three people. After translating the script into Korean, So-Yeon Lee, Il-Seon Shin, and I stood before the 'microphone.' The reaction was very good and we were highly praised (?) for our performance. The pay was given in an envelope on which it was written 'doctor.' I signed on the receipt on behalf of all our members and the total amount in it was 10 KRW with no commission for script and performance. Hmm, it was really hard to divide. For honor's sake, men were given 3 KRW and women 4 KRW each. It was a huge amount. At that night, I paid for my overdue hospital fees, and bought a little bit of liquor with some dried Pollack for my lodging-house keeper. However, these days, I see so many people arguing that they are the first one who did the first radio drama. What is really going on?" (Jin Park 1966, 72-73)

Another memoir written ten years later on the same thing:

Under such circumstances the 'radio drama' was started. One person, the head of the Bureau, initially raised objection but Seung-Il Choi, an elderly brother of Seung-Hee Choi, strongly persuaded him and at last the permission was given. What I would like to make clear at this point is that each drama claims that they are the first radio drama, which I completely do not understand. I remember as the following. At that time, Seung-Il asked me to do a radio drama, saying he finally got the permission for that after long struggle and persuasion. As it was also my first time for doing a radio drama, I selected the poetic drama Poet and Farmer from a certain Japanese literary magazine and had it translated into Korean. So-Yeon Lee, Il-Seon Shin and I, the three of us, read the script in a shabby and empty 'studio' which had nothing but a single 'microphone.' And then 10 KRW, put inside the Japanese style envelope, was given to us; a beautiful lady paid her highest honor as she held the envelope on the tray. At that time, people working for the Radio 1 or 2 were picked up and fetched by a car. We got off at Jong-ro and changed the 10 KRW into smaller changes. Since Il-Seon Shin was a woman, she got 4 KRW and since So-Yeon Lee and I were men, we got 3 KRW each. I was wearing shabby shoes with a big hole enough to show my foot. So I bought a new ladder to fill in the hole and held a small liquor party for my friend, Mr. Park, who shared with me half of his living in the lodging house, while singing 'Life is as fleeting as the dew

on the grass; enjoy love, girls.' (Jin Park 1966, 671-672)

Apart from the fact that the first radio drama was not *Doll's House Act III*, Jin Park's memoir tells us several important facts. First off, the production of a radio drama was the result of a power struggle within the broadcasting station, in other words between the Japanese Chief of Bureau and Seung-Il Choi, in charge of organizing program schedules.⁵¹ Furthermore, Jin Park's program was also under the influence of Japan. It can be inferred from his memoir that his experience of listening to the JOAK radio drama play helped him and the play script in the Japanese literary magazine was translated into Korean to be used for the radio drama script. It is also notable that the pay for the radio drama was not that bad given the overall price level and the economic condition of the play actors/actresses during that time. Hye-Gu Lee, in charge of the entertainment programs during the separate broadcasting era, writes in his memoir that it is not clear whether the broadcasting station paid for the script even though the script had to be written again for the 30-minute-long program. He goes on to say that even though the station paid for the script, it was very meager; merely 15 KRW was paid to each actor/actress despite a large number of actors/actresses who participated in the programs. That is why most of the actors/actresses were reluctant to join the radio drama (Hye-Gu Lee 1960, 59). The actors' social and economic status was very low and they often struggled to have their ends meet, which made it all the more difficult to maintain the radio drama group. Given such circumstances,⁵² actors' pay must be evaluated relatively from the perspective

⁵¹ It may be a little bit surprising that the Radio Play Research Association even prepared for the pilot radio dramas but understandable given the uncertainty over the possibility of pilot broadcasting. In other words, if the pilot broadcasting was actually broadcast, script and response to the script may have been not that satisfactory to the management team. Or the script may have been caught in censorship and it may have not been broadcast at all.

⁵² "Current Status of Plays and Movies (3) Play industries impossible to survive," *Dong-A Daily*, 7 May, 1927; low social status of play actors/actresses is again mentioned in the following article in 1934. "Not only the general public but also intelligent people identify actors/actresses as prostitutes or gangsters, which are disgraces to our society but at the same time will be a huge barrier for our cultural development." Woong Lee, "Social Status of Stage Art," *Play Art*, April, 1934.

of actors/actresses.⁵³

However, there are two critical errors in Jin Park's memoir—the memory that he played the radio drama at Radio 2, and the memory related to the title of the radio drama. As Park says that radio drama started not long after JODK opened while mentioning about Radio 2, it seems that he had some misunderstanding on the changes of the broadcasting system. Jin Park recalls that the titles of the radio plays he performed were *Farmer and Poet* and *Poet and Farmer*. However, the title showed in the newspaper's program schedule is *Fame and the Poet*. It is the Act I of the *Fame and the Poet* written by Irish play writer Lord Dunsany and was performed by the Towol Association on May 7, 1925. As Park worked as a member of the Towol Association in 1925 for the development of plays, he might have been aware of this Irish play but there is no way to confirm that at this point. *Fame and the Poet* is introduced in Korean newspapers as “a dream play in which a young poet moves around the fantasy he sees in his dream as if to reach the Goddess of Fame but ultimately ends up falling into a pit of despair.”⁵⁴

The first drama *Fame and the Poet* was written in Ireland, a country not only far from Korea geographically but which did not have any mutual cultural exchanges. It should not be simply concluded that it was a genuine coincidence that the first drama was an Irish play, as Park recalls in his memoir. The modern play movement in Korea started in earnest in 1920s and it was based on the imported western modern plays, among which Irish ones played a significant role. In other words, the Irish Play Movement, which started as part of a national cultural movement under the British colonial rule but soon gained worldwide fame, was an ideal role model for Korean modern play activists. In this context, broadcasting the Irish play itself can be a very ‘meaningful’ activity under the colonial rule. As a result, among the 42 plays originally written in English and translated and released during the

⁵³ Gyeong-Sohn Lee once recalled that ‘I did 150 times of dramas to earn money’ (*Movie Era*, January, 1932). The truth of the memoir cannot be questioned. However, as it was published before the separate broadcasting era, even though Lee may have exaggerated a little bit, his memoir is a proof that a fairly large number of dramas (including script recitation) were broadcast during the unified bilingual broadcasting era and they were a big source of income for actors/actresses.

⁵⁴ “New Play by Towol – starting tonight,” *Dong-A Daily*, 7 May, 1925.

Japanese colonial rule, 17 were Irish modern plays; and over the course of 1920s and 30s approximately 30 papers and articles related to the Irish plays were published in newspapers and magazines.⁵⁵ Such background lied behind the historic fact that the script used for the first radio drama in Korea was a translated Irish play. Following <Table 5> is a list of radio dramas broadcast in Korean and Japanese.

Table 5. Broadcast Station Related Program List

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
Scheduled for late June 1926		Destruction	Seung-Il Choi	Radio Play Art Research Association	Dramatization by Gyeong-Sohn Lee *Gave notice about experimental broadcast performance but uncertain whether actual broadcast happened
11.4 (Thu)		Sound of Bell at Dawn		Geukwoohoe [Friday Meeting]	Comedic play, one act play, directing by Seung-Il Choi, starring Gi-Jong

⁵⁵ In the process of translating and accepting foreign literature, sometimes misunderstanding and modification occurred and *Fame and the Poet* written by Lord Dunsany was the best example. Lord Dunsany, in fact, was not acknowledged as famous modern playwright in Ireland but his works have been introduced in Korea as meaningful and valuable world-famous pieces; they were actively translated and performed frequently and loved by the public. Maybe it was because his plays were short pieces and had consideration for amateurs to produce and perform the pieces and did not have any possibility of being interpreted as having political ideology (representing a minority people while criticizing the British colonial rule) and was written as fantasy which could bypass the Japanese censorship (Won-Jae Jang, 2003; 2004).

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
					Byun, Pal Park, Yi-Seon Sohn, Tan-Yang Sohn, Il-Chung Kwon, Won-Jae Lee, Suk-Gu Lee, Gyung-Hwan Lee, and Hye-Sook Bok
1927.2.26 (Sat)		Karera-ui Kemono [Their Beast]	Zenzaburo Suzuki	Geumyohoe	
2.28 (Mon)	Radio play	Fame and the Poet	Tanseni [Danni]		Starring Seung-Jin Park, Il-Seon Shin, and So-Yeon Lee
3.4 (Fri)	Taikou Heeguek [Comedy of Distinguished Service]				Starring all Gawon members
3.6 (Sun)	Radio Drama	One who Diffracts	Shou Ide	Geumyohoe	
3.18 (Fri)	Broadcast stage drama	Nogi Shogun [General Nogi]			Keichiro Sori, Muhei Fukui, Kusuo Yamada, Kimura Misao Company
3.28 (Mon)	Street sketch	New Popular Song			O-Hwan Jang, Jae-Gook Park
3.29 (Tues)	Radio play sketch play	Some Temporary Fantasy		Geumyohoe	

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
4.3 (Sun)		Martyr	Kwang-O Lee	Radio Drama Grabo	*Presumed to be Kwang-Soo Lee's script
4.17 (Sun)		Poor Couple		Radio Play Research Group	Hee-Soo Park, Chae-Sung Kim and one other
4.23 (Sun)		Romeo and Juliet (Scene OO)		Geumyohoe	
5.3 (Tues)	Radio drama	Rinzin-ui Ai [Love of Neighbours]		Geumyohoe	
5.11 (Wed)		Changye [Jangkken]		Geumyohoe	
5.15 (Sun)		Friday		Radio Play Research Group	Comedy
5.23 (Mon)		Doll's House, (Act 3) [Act 1]	Ibsen	Radio Play Art Research-Group	Hundred year anniversary of Ibsen's birth
5.23 (Mon)		Ghost	Ibsen	Geumyohoe	
5.27 (Fri)	Radio drama	Aounabara ui Kanata ro [Beyond the Blue Sea]		Geumyohoe	Broadcast director: Jiro Tsukushi, Stage Effect: Seichi Tamura, Background Music: Haruo Yamamoto, Conductor: Jung Dong Orchestra

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
5.29 (Sun)		Soon-Gyeong Prince	Yoon-Soo Choi	Radio Play Research Group	Presumed to be type error of Prince Gyeong-Soon
6.7 (Tues)		A Story of a Stage Director	Young-Pal Kim	Radio Play Research Group	Script published in Byeol-geon-gon
6.11 (Sat)	Radio comedy	Sinpei Monogatari [Story of Recruits]		Genei Company	
6.12 (Sun)		Jidong [The Earth's Motion]	Young-Saeng Gu Ahn	Radio Play Research Group	
6.14 (Tues)		Gesshutu [The Rising of the Moon]	Gregory	Shingeki Company	*Presumed to be Irish playwright Lady Gregory's work
6.19 (Sun)	Broadcast film play	Tatibana Daitaichou [Chief Tachibana]			Commentary: Amaki Okada Starring: Kishin Company Accompaniment conducted: Chocho Tanaka Korean lute accompaniment: ?
6.19 (Sun)		Hyun-hae-tan	Young-Pal Kim	Radio Play Research Group	
6.21 (Tues)		Iso-ui Shigure [Intermittent rain in the Surf]			Twelve members of Akamatsu

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
6.22 (Wed)	Broadcast stage play	Jjo-kki-nun Hito [The Chased Person]		Amatsu-ja [Amatsu company]	Executive producer: Takeo Akamatsu
6.22 (Wed)		I Don't Want to Marry		Towol Association	
6.24 (Fri)	Recorded stage play	Jyun-jyo-singwa Onajida [As a God of Pure-hearted]			Total directing: Kumaichiro Tokunaga Stage effect: Jiro Tsukushi Starring: Tokunaga Production
6.26 (Sun)		Ityou-ui Geunuel [The Shade of a Ginkgo Tree]	Gyeong-Sohn Lee	Radio Play Research Group	
7.4 (Mon)		Jang-chung-dan Yo-banashi [Evening Story of Jang-chung-dan]		Chosun Stage Association	
7.6 (Wed)		Holiday		Shin-geuk-ja	Executive producer: Junichiro Kawada
7.8 (Fri)	Broadcast film play	Goldfish [Gold Fish]			Commentary: Young-Hwan Kim Starring: Woon-Gyu Na, Il-Seon Shin, Accompaniment: PS Orchestra

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
7.9 (Sat)		Jang-chung-dan yahwa [Night Scenes of Jang-chung-dan] (Scene of Han River)		Chosun Stage Association	
7.12 (Tues)	Broadcast film play	Way of Nakyang [Nakyang Road]			Commentary: Young-Hwan Starring: Nan-Ju Kim Accompaniment: PS Orchestra
7.12 (Tues)	Comedy	Windmill House 홀개빠진 Father [Windmill]			Fukukun Fusha, Sogayagorocho, Daughter of Fukukun ? []'s secretary and several others
7.13 (Wed)	Broadcast comedy	Shinshi neun Tsushi [Giving up being a Gentleman]			Gyeongseong Theater Soganoya Gorocho Company, ? (Kineya Shatyu?)
7.14 (Thurs)	Broadcast comedy	Barber			Gyeongseong Theater Soganoya Gorocho Company, ? (Kineya Shatyu?)
7.17 (Sun)		Jangchungdan yahwa (Resolution)		Chosun Stage Association	

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
7.18 (Mon)		Golden Demon (Scene of the Sea)			Commentary: Amaki Okada (?), Staging: Kijin?, Western music conductor: Chocho Tanaka, Hwaak (Japanese music) conductor: ?, Korean lute accompaniment: Kyokou Ogawa, Broadcast director: Masao Matsuda
7.22 (Fri)		Onna wa Haejeok [Woman and Pirates] (Scene of Wonju Rebellion)		Continental Art Association	Executive director: Stage effect:
7.23 (Sat)	Broadcast film play	Barber			Soganoya Gorocho Company
7.31 (Sun)	Radio comedy	<i>Ryoshin</i> (One Act)		Bungle Bungle company	
8.2 (Tues)				Continental Art Association	

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
8.6 (Sat)	Sketch	Daily Life of the Barracks			Commentary: Army 중좌 ShigeHaru Yanagishita Broadcast directing: infantry captain Hirosi Muta Starring: 78th Infantry Regiment in Yongsan
8.8 (Mon)	Stage play	Kabuki No. 18 San-nin-kichisa kuruwano- hatsugai	Mokuami	Dousiza	Commentary: Meiseki Yamitsu?
8.14 (Sun)		Heretic (Act 1)		Continental Art Association	
8.19 (Fri)	Broadcast stage play	Kanzincho (Act 1)		Dousiza	Commentary: Meiseki Yamitsu?
8.23 (Tues)	Musical drama	Nazo ui Kagi [Key of Mystery] (Act 1)		Kokumeiza?	Executive producer: Takeshi Misawa
8.28 (Sun)	Radio play	Syosyu ui Yume [Dream in the early fall]		Kokumeiza	
8.31 (Wed)	Radio drama	Kyobonsyo [Crazy temple bell?] (Act 1)			All Shinheungeuk members
9.3 (Sat)		Tilting Household [House Facing Ruin]		Kokumeiza	

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
9.3 (Sat)	Stage comedy	Household Peace		Geukwoohwae	
9.7 (Wed)		Fall of Nakyang (Act One)		Shinheungeuk	Executive producer: Shunsui Wada
9.9 (Fri)		Verse One of			Takeshi Misawa, and other 7 others
9.11 (Sun)		Gwanghangru in Chunhyangjeon		Radio Play Research Group	
9.17 (Sat)	Sketch	Daily Life of Warships			Commentary: Navy 중좌
9.17 (Sat)		Suihei ui Haha [Mother of a navy] (Act 2)			And 8 others
9.17 (Sat)		10 am	Hee-Soo Park	Radio Play Research Group	
9.20 (Tues)		Daitou ui Titi [Father of a great thief]		Kokumeiza	
9.23 (Fri)		Compensation		Geukwoohoe [Geukmoon-hoe]	
9.25 (Sun)					One act play <i>OOO and others</i> , <i>Shokyokusai Tenkatsu Company</i>
9.27 (Tues)					?
9.27 (Tues)		Okjoongmak in Chunhyangjeon		Radio Play Research Group	

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
9.28 (Wed)	Broadcast film play	Flower Falling in the Flowing Water			Young-Hwan Kim, Hye-Sook Bok, DS Orchestra
9.30 (Fri)		Narusawa Ike			Takeshi Misawa and others
10.3 (Mon)		O Ike			<i>Shunsui Wada</i>
10.7 (Fri)	Radio play series no. 1				<i>Koggyo Yashida? and music accompanists</i>
10.8 (Sat)	Radio play series sequel	Tsukigata Hanpeita Higashiyama Sourinji nai Choshu-Han ui Daikaigi Ilchang [Tsukigata Hanpeita] Chapter 1 of the Choshu-Han's meeting in Higashi-Yama Sourinji			

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
10.9 (Sun)		Sacrifice		Radio Play Research Group	Starring: Hye-Sook Bok and 3 others. “Ms. Hye-Sook Bok is currently playing the lead female role in Flower Falling in the Flowing Water playing at Dansungsa and is also a gisaeng who is member of Chosun Kwonbun.”
10.13 (Thurs)					Jiro Kita, And several others
10.16 (Sun)		Hwal		<i>Soganoya Gorocho Company</i>	“Especially stopped the day lecture and broadcasted the play of Ogurang Group, which is famous in Japanese comedic play circles.”
10.16 (Sun)		Women		Radio Play Research Group	*Presumed to be Young-Pal Kim’s stage play of the same name
10.17 (Mon)					Tako Sakemura? (?), Sakurako Muchi and others

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
10.19 (Wed)		Kazin [Fire Array]			Jiro Kita and several others
10.22 (Sat)		Ah No Sympathy (Scene at the Bishop's house)		Radio Play Research Group	
10.23 (Sun)	Radio comedy	Became Different			Ason Morishita and others
10.27 (Thurs)	Broadcast kabuki play				Adachigahara, Fuji Koma Company, Joruri Nagauta music and music accompanists
10.30 (Sun)	Broadcast stage play	Ii Tairo ui Si [Death of Ii Tairo]			Sakai Jyunnosuke Company and music accompanists
10.31 (Mon)	Broadcast stage play	Captain's Daughter			Sakai Jyunnosuke Company
11.1 (Tues)					Sakai Jyunnosuke Company
11.2 (Wed)		Act of Trial in Merchant of Venice		Radio Play Research Group	
11.4 (Fri)	Radio play				? And group
11.5 (Sat)		People who Look at Stars		Megumi Member	Broadcast directing: Tokihiko Azuma
11.8 (Tues)		House Where Birds Cry		Radio Play Research Group	

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
11.11 (Fri)	Broadcast stage play			Kinoshita Yaoko Company	“Stopped weekly lecture for stage play broadcast”
11.15 (Tues)		Heiwana Ma-eul [Peaceful Village]			Kenjiro Mori and several others
11.17 (Thurs)		[After Awakening of Personality]		Radio Play Research Group	
11.22 (Tues)		Sigol eul Pa neun Otoko [A man betraying the country]		Radio Play Research Group	Issei Syouyu? (?) and others
11.24 (Thurs)		That Night		Radio Play Research Group	
11.28 (Mon)	Broadcast comedy			<i>Soganoya Gorocho Company</i>	
11.30 (Wed)	Broadcast comedy			<i>Soganoya Gorocho Company</i>	
11.30 (Wed)		Death of Ok-Soon		Geukwoohoe	
12.4 (Sun)		Death notice		Radio Play Research Group	*Presumed to be Young-Pal Kim's stage play of the same name
12.11 (Sun)	Comic opera	Fujiroku Ningyo [Fujiroku Doll]			Tokyo Girls Performance Company and Orchestra

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
12.18 (Sun)	Broadcast comedy	Radio			Osaka
12.23 (Fri)		Yuki ui Yobanashi [Bedtime story of snow]		Geumyohoe	
12.28 (Wed)		Mokutou [Moment of Sailure]		Script Reading Group	
12.30 (Fri)		(To be determined)			OO Group
1928.1.8 (Sun)		Fall of Chang-O ??			Coterie, Stage effect, effect L company Stage effect: Takada O Onomatopoeic effect: ?
1.14 (Sat)		Baika ga Jil Ttae [When a plum blossoms fall]		Geumjohoe	
1.15 (Sun)	Broadcast film play	Chuji Sanbukyoku Goyou Hen [Arrestment in the Chuji Trilogy]			Commentary: ? Starring: Kishinza
1.20 (Fri)		Jyoai [Platonic Love]			L company [replaced with Japanese music on the day]

Table 5. (continued)

Broadcast Date	Genre	Title	Original Author	Overseer	Other related information
1.21 (Sat)		Jyoai [Platonic Love]			L company [presumed to broadcast the scheduled programming for the day before]
1.29 (Sun)	Broadcast film play	New Mad OO			Commentary: Yoshimi Hanayama, Starring: Kishinza Accompaniment: Kirakuwayou? (喜楽和洋) Orchestra
1.29 (Sun)		Cynicism		Geumjohoe	
2.9 (Thurs)	Broadcast comedy	Ringo [An apple]			??
2.11 (Sat)		Three Short Works: First Work Empty Dream; Second Work; Third Work: Man Deprived of Light			L company, Starring director: Reiji Akitsuki. Onomatopoeia: Mutsu Tappei (?)
2.15 (Wed)	Radio play	Monna Vanna			Conductor: ? Starring: Megumi company

First, the names used to call a genre related to radio drama need to be reviewed. At that time, apart from the radio drama and radio play, there were many names such as radio stage play, radio movie play, radio comedy, sketch play, music drama, and opera drama. And they had slight differences in their formats and production processes. As for radio stage play, they were

conducted in the form of rebroadcasting the performances of Gyeongseong Theater and Bumin Theater and many of them were broadcast as Japanese programs.⁵⁶ It is presumed that dramas performed by Japanese drama teams who visited Gyeongseong for their road tour were mainly broadcast. For instance, *Nogi Shogun* broadcast on 18 March in 1927 was a rebroadcast of the Gyeongseong Theater's performance.⁵⁷ Then how was the radio drama specifically produced? Even though it is not a memoir of the experience of 1927, a memoir written by Ando Naoyuki is helpful. She joined the Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station as an announcer in 1932 and left a memoir on the experience of broadcasting *Gwonjinjang*, one of the most favorite pieces of the kabuki. (cf: this piece was rebroadcast on 19 August 1927)

“While the Hasaemon and Gosiro performance company were performing for the military in Northern Manchuria, I had a chance to broadcast the

⁵⁶ The table includes radio dramas broadcast by Japanese as well because it is practically impossible to perfectly classify Korean dramas and Japanese dramas due to lack of information. As it is hard to know the members and their nationalities of the organizations that participated in the production of dramas, we did not try to classify Korean and Japanese dramas but rather included all of them in one table. It allows us to know that there were some exchanges between the Japanese and Korean dramas for some cases when it is clearly divided between Korean and Japanese dramas. As Japanese dramas have various genres and can be divided into sub-categories, they may have had influence on Korean dramas in the mid to long terms. However, in this table, ‘children’s dramas’ are intentionally omitted. According to the program schedules, Gyeongseong Broadcasting Station seems to have broadcast children’s dramas regularly during children’s hour since it was established. The first children’s drama broadcast was *Swallow and the Blind* (in *Dong-A Daily*, the title is *The Deaf and the Blind*) scheduled on February 24, 1927 and the cast was members of ‘Light(光) Story.’ Even though the number of children’s dramas is not that few, little information is left on the program schedules and there are also few sources to know about the programs. It was therefore very hard to figure out organizations hosting the drama, content and format of the dramas, and its relationship with the Japanese radio dramas. Given such lack of information, we judged it safe not to include them in the table. Nonetheless, it must be noted that children’s dramas were consistently produced and they were possibly related to the general radio dramas. This is a subject that needs a separate study.

⁵⁷ *Dong-A Daily*, 18 March, 1927.

play performed at the Gyeongseong Theater in Korea. (...) *Gwonjinjang* was performed by Bundo Promotion Company, managed by the head of the Gyeongseong Theater, who led the trend at that time, and he was very favorable to the broadcasting station. Director Onoda, in charge of organizing programs, got the permission of broadcasting after negotiating with Bundo Promotion and was waiting for the people to come from Gyeongseong. In cooperation with the technical team, the place for microphones was decided and all the preparatory works were completed. However, on the very day when the drama was to be broadcast, we were taken aback at the news in the morning that the permission for broadcasting was revoked. The reason was that it was difficult to rebroadcast during the road tour but in fact it was because the broadcasting fee was too cheap that it should be not be a precedent. (...) So Onoda met Bundo Chairman and writer Dakesiba to ask for some help and at last the permission was given. The broadcasting hour was from 8:00 pm to 9:30 pm in the evening, a golden hour, and the front seat on the second floor was secured for the show. After finishing a brief introduction on characters, stage, and story, we waited for the show to start. At last, the show started as Sekimori appeared with his follower. It was a series of fantastic and historic scenes. In the midst of great excitement, the announcer made the final comments and I was finally liberated from a huge burden which had been constantly weighing over my shoulder.” (Shozo Sinohara [1981] 2006, 144-145)

From the memoir, it is presumed that at the beginning of the radio stage play an announcer used to present a brief introduction on the piece and the performance of the play was rebroadcast and was finished as the announcer made final comments. As it was only in late 1930s that another form of stage broadcasting was tried,⁵⁸ this type of radio stage may have prevailed for a fairly long period of time.

There was also a genre called sketch, or sketch play. Jae-Gil Suh explains that radio sketch was a new media experience for audience and “a simple

⁵⁸ In 1938 the Central Broadcasting Station broadcast the first act of romantic play *Jiyeol* performed at the Bumin Theater. Unlike the previous broadcastings which gave only subtitles, the station gave narration on stage equipment and movements of actors/actresses. The article writes that “a new path has opened for the drama broadcasting.” “Romantic play *Jiyeol* to be broadcast through radio,” *Dong-A Daily*, 27 December, 1938.

piece of work that has a weak dramatic composition and is different from modern play; it is also a concept that broadly covers popular comedy.” (2007a, 58) Initially, it was called ‘radio sketch,’ or ‘radio scenery’ and later called ‘radio nonsense’ and ‘radio comedy.’ Sometimes it was just briefly called ‘sketch,’ ‘nonsense,’ and ‘comedy.’ Apart from the name ‘sketch,’ there were also some genres called ‘sketch play,’ ‘broadcasting comedy,’ and ‘radio comedy’ and it is unclear whether they share common things enough to be classified as one category. After the separate broadcasting era, radio sketch genre clearly evolved into popular comedy such as gossip talks through gramophone records, nonsense and sketch but initially the possibility was still open and unclear. Except ‘radio comedy,’ and ‘broadcasting comedy,’ there are altogether four pieces with the name sketch: ‘Open Sketch’ *New Pop Songs*, ‘Radio Sketch’ (sketch play) *Illusion at One Moment*, ‘Sketch’ *Daily Lives at the Military* and *Daily Lives in the Warship*. Among those four programs, it is presumed that *New Pop Songs* was the only program broadcast in Korean and the rest may have been broadcast in Japanese. What is interesting is that there were two programs that dealt with the story of daily lives in the military as part of a sketch promoting the military service. It is an example of a radio play being used as a ‘soft’ propaganda.

Among radio movies, *Goldfish*, *The Way of Sunset*, and *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* were broadcast in Korean. According to Jae-Gil Suh, radio movies are different from movie reviews as they only dealt with ‘banghwa’ made in Korea and not only commentator but also actors/actresses appeared on the show and actually performed (Jae-Gil Suh 2007a, 68-69).⁵⁹ So far *Goldfish* has been known as the only radio movie during the unified bilingual broadcasting era (Jae-Gil Suh 2007a, 70). However, after reviewing the program schedules, it was found that there were two more radio movies until early 1928 apart from the *Goldfish*. After the first radio movie *Goldfish* was broadcast on July 8, *The Way of Sunset* was broadcast on July 12 and *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* on September 28 as radio movies. In *Goldfish*, approximately ten

⁵⁹ Jae-Gil Suh points out that the radio movies are different from movie reviews as they aim to attract people’s attention before and after the release of new movies; but as mentioned earlier in this paper movie reviews were also broadcast to some degree to promote new movies.

actors/actresses performed including Woon-Gyu Na, Il-Seon Shin, and Jung-Sook Kim. Young-Hwan Kim from Danseongsa took charge of the subtitles and explanation of actors' movements while DS orchestra was responsible for playing the background music.⁶⁰ *The Way of Sunset* was made by Chosun Gwon-beon-young-hwa-bu, directed by Han-Soo Chun and written by Pil-Woo Lee. The leading actor was performed by Nan-Ju Kim, who dressed up as a man, and her little sister Nan-Ok Kim played for his lover. It was a story about those two lovers who could not ultimately marry and had to leave under the sunset. *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* was made by Geum-gang Cinema and directed by Goo-Young Lee; it was a sad romantic love story between gishaeng and painter. Young-Hwan Kim wrote the original scenario and Hye-Sook Bok performed as the leading actress. The movie was also very famous for its title music 'Gangnam Moon,' written and composed by Young-Hwan Kim.⁶¹ The first-run theater for all those two movies was Danseongsa in 1927 and Young-Hwan Kim at Danseongsa made them into radio movies. Radio movie *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* was broadcast on September 28 and it was first released as a movie on October 6.⁶²

⁶⁰ "The First Radio Movie Play in Korea," *Maeil Daily*, 5 July, 1927.

⁶¹ After Geuk-Young Yoon's own song "Bandal [Half Moon]" gained huge popularity, the theme song of the movie *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* composed and written by Young-Hwan Kim (different person from pianist Kim) became very popular. "Moon at the Gangnam is so red and the place where my lover dwells/inside the cloud his face is hidden/standing alone on the hill where forget-me-not has blossomed/spending tonight all alone above the water," Seo-Gu Lee, "Korean pop songs," *Samcheonli*, October, 1932.

⁶² An article at *Maeil Daily* reports that Geum-gang Academy holds an open contest for the official title of the movie *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream*, which will soon be released, and spends almost half a page to give a detailed introduction about the movie story. "Fallen Blossom on a Stream—open contest for the new title," *Maeil Daily*, 21 September, 1927. On the other hand, *Fallen Blossoms on a Stream* was released as a new album 49017A-B of Victor Record in June 1929. Even though the film has been lost, the movie drama album still exists recorded by Young-Hwan Kim, Hye-Sook Bok and Gyung-Ee Ryu along with the Danseongsa orchestra. It is therefore possible to guess the story of the movie and radio drama (Dong-Hyun Choi and Man-Su Kim 1998, 344-346). However, the phonograph album was recorded two years after the movie was released and it is only a 6-minute album including both the front and the back sides. Hence, the script for the 30-minute radio drama may be much similar to



Maeil Daily, 2 July, 1927.

Figure 3. Members of Radio Play Study Association standing in front of the broadcast station microphone

As for radio plays, a large number of organizations formed by Japanese and Koreans took the lead such as Friday Meeting, Korea Stage Association, Towol Association, Radio Play Research Association, and Continent Art Association. To take a couple of Korean organizations, Play Association broadcast four pieces; *Sound of Bell at Dawn* during the pilot broadcasting era, and later *Ga-nae-tae-peong*, *Sa-rae-geum [Compensation]* and *Death of Ok-Soon*.

The Towol Association broadcast *I Don't Want to Marry* and it was probably the same piece with one of their plays titled *I Don't Want a Wife*.⁶³ The Radio Play Research Association was one of the most active organizations. Since it was established in July 1926, the Association had few activities except running a pilot radio drama during the pilot broadcasting era. However, since JODK was opened, the Association led radio dramas

the movie story published in the article of *Maeil Daily*.

⁶³ To check on the plays and performances, various newspapers, magazines as well as Yeon-Ho Suh's "The List of Performances (1900-1945)" and "The list of Plays (1900-1945)" were very helpful (Yeon-Ho Suh 1982, 319-360). Min-Young Yu's works have also proved to be highly helpful.

several times and an article on their activities, along with the picture of the members, was reported in the newspaper in July 1927.⁶⁴ Except the pilot program, there are a total of 20 radio dramas produced by the Radio Play Research Association. If we compare it with the fact that approximately 30 dramas were produced from February 1933 to February 1938 by the Play Art Research Association, one of the most active radio drama producers during the separate broadcasting era, the achievements of the Radio Play Research Association were significant. Even though there were some differences in their quality and completeness, it was a great success to broadcast 20 dramas just within one year since the establishment of JODK.⁶⁵ At least during this period, the Radio Play Research Association took the lead in producing and developing Korean radio dramas.

The characteristics of Korean radio dramas mostly focusing on those broadcast by Radio Play Research Association are as the following. Excluding three pieces which are hard to confirm (*Friday*, *Sacrifice*, *Bird House*), the Association broadcast four foreign plays (*Doll's House*, *Ji-dong*, *Hee-mu-jeong*, *The Merchant of Venice*), two classics (Gwanghanru from *Chun-hyang-jeon* and Okjungmak from *Chun-hyang-jeon*) and ten plays written by Koreans.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The Radio Play Research Association expressed its vision of “taking the world as a stage and contributing to the development of Korean plays” in *Maeil Daily*, which reported that the members of the Association were approximately ten persons including Young-Pal Kim, Gyeong-Sohn Lee, Dae-Sob Shim, Han-Seung Ko, Seung-Il Choi, Hee-Soo Park, and Il-Soon Ryu. *Maeil Daily*, 2 July, 1927. On the other hand, *Chosun Daily* reports that the Association had made broadcasting about ten times and aims to “pursue scenarios suitable for radio programs well into the future,” *Chosun Daily*, 3 July, 1927.

⁶⁵ Seung-Il Choi, leader of the Radio Drama Research Association, writes a short essay titled “Air and Play” in the December issue of *Byeolgeongon* in 1927. The subtitle was given as “Celebrating the 20th broadcasting of radio dramas.” The number is exactly the same with the number of pieces shown on the performance schedules until December 1927 as we summarized (Sang-Gil Lee, 2011).

⁶⁶ The Radio Play Research Association broadcast *Doll's House* Act III in Korean language at the 100th anniversary of the birth of playwright Ibsen (23 May, 1927). As *Bird House* was performed on April 26, 1924 along with other repertories by the Boy Scouts during their performance at Incheon, it is presumed that it was a one-act play amateur theatricals (amateur plays mostly led by students and youngsters). On the other hand, in case of *Hyun-hae-tan*, it is recorded as “written by Gyeong-Sohn Lee”

The Association broadcast one piece of radio drama every month for one year. Among the dramas, four pieces were written by Young-Pal Kim and Gyeong-Sohn Lee, Gwang-Soo Lee, Yoon-Soo Choi, Il-Soo Park, Hee-Soo Park, and Chun-Gwang Cho wrote one piece respectively. Given the fact that the Play Art Research Association produced less than ten dramas for 6 years, the achievements of the Radio Play Research Association was fairly significant (Jae-Gil Suh 2007a). Moreover, these pieces were also very high quality as they were in favor of modern individualism and nationalism while being critical to the contemporary society. At this point, we need to focus on the roles of actor Seung-Il Choi and writer Young-Pal Kim, who both led the Association and worked at JODK. Choi was in charge of some administrative works in the station while being deeply engaged in producing Korean programs in early times. Kim was an announcer. The two men were founding members of KAPF (Korea Artist Proletariat Federation) and also belonged to the school of tendency literature. In particular, Young-Pal Kim left the largest number of plays and is evaluated as the writer who tried professional plays in 1920s. Choi and Kim all put importance on modern individual issues by respecting individual personalities and argued for active resistance against pre-modernity. The ideology and tendency held by Choi and Kim may have had both direct and indirect influence on the production and selection of programs for the Radio Play Research Association.

For instance, *Martyr*, one of the two plays written by Gwang-Soo Lee, was the first Korean radio drama. It is a story about a persecution suffered by Catholics during the rule of Daewon-gun and its main theme are the spread of Catholicism and individuals' conscience. However, the play also touches on the contradiction found in the traditional marriage system and resistance to it. Moreover, *After Personality Awakens* written by Chun-Gwang Cho, founding member of the Play Art Association and leader of the Student Play Association, is also about modern awareness resisting against the pre-modern morality. In the story, Myung-Hee Song, a lady in love with poet Hae-Wol

at the *70-year-long history of Korean broadcasting* (Korean Broadcasting Association 1997, 10), but in this paper we classify it as an unconfirmed piece written by Young-Pak Kim based on the program schedule. So far *Hyun-hae-tan* has not been found in the chronological listing of works of both Young-Pal Kim and Gyeong-Sohn Lee.

Lee, is forced to marry another man by her mother who cares about only money and power and ultimately falls into deep despair and unhappiness. The play had already been performed during the 1923 road show by Donggyung Hyung-seol Association, in which Seung-Il Choi and Young-Pal Kim also participated.⁶⁷ *Women* written by Young-Pal Kim described the reality faced by women under the prejudice of pre-modern society. As a modern drama lecturing on women's rights, it was also broadcast as 'Script Recitation.' *Under Ginkgo Tree* is a story about an old monk who helps a lady to marry her lover despite her parents' strong objection. Gyeong-Sohn Lee is evaluated as a writer who overcame the strict tendency of KAPF literature and better described in Korean a character that confronts and compromises within traditional customs (Ick-Doo Kim 1988). It is also the same with *Under Ginkgo Tree*, released in the June 1927 at *Shinmin* and broadcast as a radio drama on June 26. It is unclear whether it was written for a radio drama but it was first performed through radio. Even though we do not have the name of a writer for *Poor Couple* in the program schedule, it was written by Nang-Woon Kim and was probably the same piece released with the same name at *Saengjang* in April 1925. It is a story about a wife who was complaining to her husband for more money to buy new clothes; but later she repents after listening to her husband. At the time of its release, it was evaluated as a "simple and sentimental but dignified and cute piece"⁶⁸ for sentimentally expressing the story of a young and cute couple.

Apart from the pieces that promoted 'modernization' through the story of love and women, the Radio Play Research Association also performed plays highly nationalistic and critical to the society, which might have been difficult to perform through a radio due to the Japanese censorship. *A Story of a Stage Director* is presumed to be written solely for the radio drama by Young-Pal Kim. The story is mostly about a dialogue between a poor man and lady who all dream to become actor and actress. Despite social oppression and objection, the two do their best to overcome them. It is very interesting as the story is a self-description of the writer, who describes how

⁶⁷ *Dong-A Daily*, 3 August, 1923.

⁶⁸ Yeo-deol-moe, "Overview of annual spring literary contest," *Gaebuyuk*, May, 1925.

the man and woman never give up and stand up against all odds.⁶⁹ Another piece of Young-Pal Kim, *Bueum* [Death Notice], released at *Mun-yae-shi-dae* in January 1927, is evaluated as being highly critical to the contemporary society by describing the reality of poverty under Japanese colonialism and independence movement through socialism. It is a story about a socialist and a lady who admires him; the socialist ultimately leaves to Northern Gando to fight against Japan despite the news of his mother who died of malnutrition. *Bueum* describes how people were oppressed under the Japanese colonial rule and what kind of social duty young intellectuals had. *That Night* is presumed to be the same piece as the one released by Gil-Soo Park with the same title at *Mun-yae-shi-dae* in January 1927. The story is about the Donghak Revolution. As Gil-Soo Park was famous for writing about historic events of the past, through which he gave new interpretation to the contemporary social issues, the play had relevance to the contemporary society under Japanese colonialism. *Prince Gyeong-Soon* written by Yoon-Soo Choi is also presumed to be another attempt to deliver a message of nationalistic awareness through the story of the ‘unfortunate crown prince’ of Shilla Dynasty when the kingdom fell under a foreign rule.⁷⁰

On October 15, 1927, JODK broadcast one-hour lecture delivered by Hong Choi under the title of “Radio Culture and Korean Play Movement.” It is hard to know the specific content of the lecture but there may have had social recognition and discourse on the close relationship between radios and play movement at that time. Given their performances, it is not an overstatement to say that the Radio Play Research Association took the lead in such discourse. Celebrating the 20th performance of the Association in late

⁶⁹ In October issue of *Byeol-geon-gon* in 1927, *A Story of a Stage Director* written by Young-Pak Kim was introduced under the subtitle of “Script of the Radio Play Research Association’s 7th Performance.” It is presumed to be the oldest piece among the existing radio drama pieces (Myung-Jin Park 2004; Jae-Gil Suh 2007a, 101-107).

⁷⁰ Little is known about the author but he may probably be the same author who released *General Sun-Sin Lee* in October issue of *Shin-saeng* in 1931. On the other hand, the story of a historical figure Prince Gyeong-Soon, nicknamed ‘unfortunate crown prince,’ had been covered by Gwang-Soo Lee in his novel which also became the first full-length historical novel in Korea’s modern literary history. The *Unfortunate Crown Prince* written by Gwang-Soo Lee was published as a series from May 1926 to January 1927 at *Dong-A Daily*.

1927, Seung-Il Choi wrote, “We hereby declare that a new type of scenario will be created next year suitable for radio broadcast.” The task left to us is to identify whether the declaration was actually implemented after 1928 and if not, what was the reason behind that.

V. CONCLUSION

Even though the origin of the Korean broadcasting started during the Japanese colonial period, it should not be simply stated that JODK was the first broadcasting station in Korea and the first PD, announcer, music program and radio drama have all originated from JODK. Such simplification ends up merely arguing that many traits that form and define the present Korean broadcasting system are discontinuously connected to various different practices attempted during the JODK era, some of which proved successful while others immature. In the meantime, some of them disappeared, while others still have left their traces in our history as part of the present broadcasting system and culture through the process of constant transformation, evolution, and new combination. It is therefore important to deconstruct the “origin’s chirema” (Chartier 1998; Foucault [1971] 1994) and reconstruct its effect rather than trying to explore and reconstruct the origin as part of a myth.

Based on such perspective, this paper aimed to systematically study and analyze production and organization of entertainment programs and its social and cultural significance during the early days of JODK. Throughout the research several points have been made. First, it must be emphasized that broadcasting programs at that time were multi-ethnic products created in the midst of complicated and different cultural influences. It is hard to deny that Japanese radio programs such as those broadcast at JOAK served as an important model for JODK programs. Nonetheless, JODK programs did not merely imitate and transplant Japanese programs. Korea’s long cultural tradition, media realities and cultural movement under the colonial rule, relay translation of western culture into Japanese and into Korean, and misinterpretation were all actively involved in the outcomes of entertainment programs such as book reading, script recitation, movie reviews, and radio

dramas. Moreover, activities of the Korean intellectuals who have either directly or indirectly engaged in the production of broadcasting programs both outside and inside of the station have to be reconstructed and re-evaluated. As shown in the case of the Radio Play Research Association, a fairly large number of Korean intellectuals and cultural artists have actively participated in the production of programs in Korean language. Their activities redefined and reproduced borders of Korean language programs not only at the linguistic level but also at the cultural levels such as literature, music, movies, and plays. Furthermore, it may have also contributed to the imaginative composition of Koreans through broadcasting programs.

As Michael Robinson pointed out, unified bilingual broadcasting was a place for 'cultural multi-ethnicity,' 'imaginative nationality' as well as a place for 'struggle for hegemony' between the imperialistic power and the colony (Robinson 1999). The Station was, in fact, an unstable cooperative place where potential tension between Japanese and Koreans were inherent over producing and scheduling programs (Shozo Shinohara [1981] 2006). Despite serious inequality in power and competition, emotional exchanges, trust, and cooperation necessary for the work went on in the midst of individual relationships and daily communication. Against such backdrop, Koreans must have experienced a temporary autonomous zone through compromise. The independence of Korean language must have been an important basis for such zone. In other words, under a relatively lenient control, Korean producers may have made the best use of the potential and possibility of autonomous broadcasting under the management and supervision of Japanese who could not perfectly understand Korean language. Various Korean programs could be seen as the result of such endeavors, which can be inferred from a fairly modern and critical nature of Korean radio dramas.

At this point, the issue of radio censorship cannot be ignored. It seems that a systematic radio censorship by the imperialistic power started in early 1930s when the separate broadcasting began. The censorship finally started in earnest in April 1933 when the Japanese Government General of Korea appointed an official supervisor (Hyun-Sob Um 2007, 215). There is hardly anything known about how the censorship was conducted during the prior dual broadcasting era. Nonetheless, Hye-Gu Lee left a memoir that content review could not be conducted properly during the separate broadcasting

era when the programs for the next month were submitted to and reviewed in advance by the broadcasting content review council composed of police officers, postal officers, military officers and private experts as they did not have full understanding on Korean programs.⁷¹ Therefore, there might have been some ‘missing points’ or ‘cracks’ despite some degree of censorship and control during the dual broadcasting era. There needs to be much more extensive and in-depth studies on the unified dual language broadcasting era of JODK. It is hoped that this paper will serve as a humble starting point for the long way left for such research.

Sub-table 1. Compensation for JODK program performers

	Instructional/ lecture	Music/entertainment	Special Features
Mar. 1927		Korean gisaeng 2 won 5 jeon(1/10 won), Japanese geisha 5 won	
Dec. 1931	Confectionary box worth 2,3 won – 5 won in cash	Master singer 10 won (from that amount 3,4 won goes to drummer)*	

⁷¹ Hye-Gu Lee recalls the year 1934 as the following. “On the one hand, there were programs for teaching Koreans and introducing Korean cultures but on the other hand, there was also much strengthened censorship and wiretapping. The broadcasting content review council was established composed of postal office director, supervising director, police director, urban director, civil director, military and navy officers, and the head of the Gyeonseong newspaper. It was in charge of planning the entire next month’s ‘programs’ in advance. The Japanese censorship and intervention became more and more severe.” (Hye-Gu Lee 1960, 61) “The broadcasting station did not have the capacity to plan and make programs for the next whole month in advance so they just put whatever they came up with and submitted to the council. The council also did not have full understanding about the programs; so when actual recording time came we ended up broadcasting different programs.” (Hye-Gu Lee 2004, 85)

Sub-table 1. (continued)

	Instructional/ lecture	Music/entertainment	Special Features
1932			Daily expenditure for broadcasting around 100 won (from April 1, 1932 spend a total of 36,586 won 86 jeon as fee for broadcasting)
Apr. 1933 after the implementation of dual broadcasting**		Soloist 5 won (master singer 10 won) 2 persons 8 won, 3 persons 10 won, 4 persons 12 won, more than 5 persons 15 won	Small budget, which executed like a haggling manner
Nov. 1938	5 won	Minimum of 4 won to several won	Since lectures are non-professional acts, compensation amount is just reverence. Entertainment is professional so compensation amount is flexible for the event.
Mar. 1939	5 won – 7,8 won (10 won depending on the situation) In the case of radio drama, previously compensated with about 10 won, now compensate so that each cast member receives 3 won		Broadcasting station's broadcast compensation daily budget is about 60 won
Sep. 1941	7 won (15 won in the case of high ranking officials)	Fairy tales, novel reading, historical romance 7 won (but 10 won to xxx) Music solo 7 won (but 15-20 won depending on the person) Korean traditional opera 7 won (but 중류 10 won, 20 won to xxx) Each cast member of	

Sub-table 1. (continued)

	Instructional/ lecture	Music/entertainment	Special Features
		broadcast play 7 won Payment for broadcast novel and play manuscripts 80 jeon for every one sheet (400 words)	

*From Jin Park (1966, 73)

**From Hye-Gu Lee (1960, 59)

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