“In the Valley Beautiful Beyond”:
Imagination, History and the Korean American Writer in Hawai‘i

by

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Author’s note:
First of all, I want to thank very much The Academy of Korean Studies, Republic of Korea, for giving me the opportunity to present my paper and to once again visit the land of my ancestors. I am a third-generation Korean American, and all of my grandparents came from North Korea, or Chosŏn. (My wae harabagi, Young Eung Whan, and his family originated from Cheju-do, so for me there is a special, personal significance for me to visit Cheju-do, which is my first time.) In 2003, we celebrated the 100th anniversary of the first Korean immigrants to arrive in Hawai‘i, U.S.A., and my grandparents were among those first pioneers, a historical fact that I am very proud of. The circumstances of their leaving Korea, of course, were not very favorable, as at the time the Japanese imperialists were in the midst of their brutal colonial oppression, which drove many Koreans like my grandparents to leave their beloved homeland.

I am dedicating this paper to my courageous grandparents—Lim Ok Soon, Kim Sook Ahn, Young Eung Whan, Pak Ho Byong—who over a hundred years ago left Korea, sadly, with the hope of one day returning home, who traversed the wide Pacific Ocean to find a new life in the Hawaiian Islands. The sacrifices my grandparents endured on the plantations of Hawai‘i and their struggles with an alien culture, land and language only brought out the best from their offspring and, later, their grandchildren and great-grandchildren; and I know that my grandparents’ hearts and spirits live on today in the deepest folds of my soul. My deepest love and appreciation goes always to my grandparents, for without them I would not be doing the work that I proudly do.

The earliest writings of the first-generation of Koreans in Hawai‘i were mainly political or autobiographical. That is not to say that these first generation Koreans were not involved in the production of forms of imaginary culture. Many Korean immigrants who worked on the Hawaiian plantations did, in fact, create their own informal renderings of traditional Korean folk poetry and song, perhaps a kind of folk sijo or song, in theme perhaps very similar to the Japanese immigrants’ rendering in Hawai‘i of the hole bushi bushi, a four-line Japanese folk poem.¹ Soon

¹ When I was small, I remember at the gatherings at the Kook Min Hur headquarters, or the Korean National Association, in Nu‘uanu valley on ‘Oahu, Hawai‘i, of which my grandparents and parents were members, where all
after they arrived in Hawai‘i, Koreans were writing and publishing. Altogether, there were at least twenty newspapers published in Korean and later in Korean and English in Hawai‘i. As researcher and writer Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi notes, though in Hawai‘i Koreans were less in numbers than the Chinese and Japanese, there were more Korean-language newspapers than the Chinese who had “fewer than ten...newspapers” and the Japanese who had “fewer than twelve.” It’s not known exactly why Koreans took themselves to creating many forums for literacy, but the fact that Koreans were witnessing their country besieged and occupied by Japanese colonialism, and at the same time experiencing their national and cultural identity stripped away from them by these oppressors certainly would have given them the need for a cultural institution like a newspaper to sustain their sense of national pride and identity. Benedict Anderson has argued that the newspaper was a form of imagistic print-capitalism that became, along with the novel, a "technical means for ‘re-presenting’ the kind of imagined community that is the nation" (30).

Many of the newspapers did not have a long life, though the “Kook Min Bo [the official organ of the Kook Min Hoe, or the Korean Nationalist Association, an organization of the independence movement] had a lifespan of sixty years…while Taepyongyang Chubo [the organ of the Dong Ji Hoe and later the newsletter of the Korean Christian Church of Honolulu, Hawai‘i] lasted forty years” (Murabayashi 36). The very first newspaper, a semi-monthly, Sinjo Simmun [literally, New Morning or New Korea Times], of which today there is no extant copy, was edited by Yun Baek Ch’oe, who published the newspaper on a mimeograph machine in Honolulu. Sinjo Simmun began publication on March 27, 1904, just a little more than one year after the arrival of first Korean immigrants to Hawai‘i, and ended its publication life fourteen months later in April 1905. The newspaper was referenced in an editorial in the November 4, 1905, issue of a newspaper published in Korea, Cheguk Simmun, which praised Sinjo Simmun for publishing in hangŭl as well as for helping to raise the level of literacy among Koreans in Hawai‘i. In his diary, Yun makes this statement:

I told the Koreans among other things…[t]hat the little paper Sinjo Simmun, instead of reporting always the quarrels between this and that man or between this and that denominations, should devote its columns to instructing the people in matters useful to them, such as the history of the Islands, the use of banks, etc. (36)

the harabeogi would gather around and perform their folk pansŏri or sijo improvising on the spot about the hardships they went through at work, about the beautiful mountains in Pyongyang-namdo, and other subjects. Of course, when I was a child, the second one of the harabeogi brought out his nap’al and/or changgo, I would run away. I would rather find a television to watch American shows like The Three Stooges or Mighty Mouse, or play a game of street football with the other kids. Still, I am able to remember those long warm Sunday afternoons after church and all the harabagi singing; and when my harabeogi would finish his pansori, the other harabeogi would shout, “Cho-o-o-o-ta!,” asking for more. And all the halmeoni would be asked to dance and they’d dance their folk dances, flowing with the beat of the changgo, holding handkerchiefs at their fingertips, their arms waving, and they’d swirl, and as they got older and older, their motions and swirls would become slower. To this day, I can still see these images of my halmeoni dancing and on her face would be a smile and a nostalgic look in her eyes as she’d be transported perhaps to a time of a childhood in Kaesŏng, perhaps playing in fields of doragi.

2 Much of the following information on Korean newspapers in Hawai‘i is from Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi’s monograph, The Korean Press in Hawai‘i: 1904-1970 (Honolulu: Center for Korean Studies, 2002) and Arthur L. Gardner’s annotated bibliography, The Koreans in Hawai‘i (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute [University of Hawai‘i], 1970). I am indebted to these two works.
Two newspapers of note mentioned above, *Kook Min Bo* and *Taepyongyang Chubo*, involved the activities of many Koreans. For the most part, these newspapers can be categorized as “community” newspapers, as suggested by Murabayashi, since they “were primarily products of community organizations rather than commercial ventures” (36). Murabayashi also notes that these “community organizations all started publishing their organs in handwritten and lithograph-reproduced form…. [but] *Powa Hanin Kyobo*³ was published with typesetting machines as early as May 1906, which is the oldest record of typeset printing of Korean newspapers outside Korea.

One of the reasons why most of the newspapers did not survive was because of the very small Korean population in Hawai‘i, which accounted for less than 2% of the total population. *Kook Min Bo* and *Taepyongyang Chubo*, however, were able to draw the most support from Koreans in Hawai‘i and had relatively long publication lives.

Some of the first-generation writers came to the United States for educational or political purposes, and most of their writing was very political in nature. One of the key writers in this period was Kim Hyŏn-gu, later known as Henry Cu Kim, who came to the United States to study at the University of Nebraska, and became a leading figure in the overseas Korean independent movement. Later, in Hawai‘i, he was the founder of the aforementioned weekly *Kook Min Bo*. At first a staunch supporter of Syngman Rhee, he later became an outspoken critic of Rhee’s policies and became a supporter of Pak Yŏng Man, who was murdered early in his political career in China. Most of Kim’s writings are collected in a single volume, *The Writings of Henry Cu Kim*, published in 1999 by the Center for Korean Studies and the University of Hawai‘i Press. The first three chapters of the book focus on the telling of his own life story, and he begins by discussing extensively and with much praise his genealogy, about his particular Kim clan, which he traces to the Silla Dynasty:

What impressed me most in my childhood and boyhood were the outstanding deeds and character of my ancestors: The p’andop’ans̄o Changyu, my ancestor twenty generations back, and posung chungnangjang Chungnam, my ancestor of nineteen generations ago—faced with the irreversible political confusion of the end of the Koryŏ dynasty, they decided to retreat deep into Tumundong with other leaders, rather than switch allegiance and serve the new king of the Chosŏn dynasty…. (19)

Kim describes growing up in a Korea that “was thrown into chaos and the people into misery” (60). But it was a childhood that bestowed gifts on a talented child:

Born healthy and strong, I also possessed unusual eyesight, and on a clear day I could see and recognize a person a considerable distance away. In children’s games, too, perhaps because I was so strong, I naturally became the leader. Five months after my birth, I was able to walk, and at ten months I could speak. I was consequently known for my precocity. (53)

And though he suffered bouts of measles and other childhood diseases that at times left him weak and invalid, early on he was already focused on becoming a scholar:

³ The official organ of the Korean Methodist Church in Hawai‘i.
From the time I was six I began, on my own, to take on such tasks as letter-writing for my family and the people of the neighborhood, both in ŏnmun and in Chinese characters, as well as any writing having to do with saju; t’aekil; honsoji, or marriage letters from the bridegroom’s family to the bride’s family; ch’ukmun, or written prayers; chojang, or eulogies; and ipch’un, or the first day of spring. Also, every time there was a gathering for poetry-writing, I was the one who wrote down the poems dictated by the participants. (63)

But mainly he is known for his biased, biographical accounts of Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong Man and Chŏng Sun-man, and in this regard his writing is detailed and ruthlessly perceptive. Once a staunch support of Rhee, Kim took an about face and pledged his allegiance to Pak. His descriptions of Rhee are trenchant:

Rhee was known for his short temper and for flying off the handle at the slightest provocation, and he used to shoot his mouth off at ill-advised things. At the meeting where he was publicly questioned, Syngman Rhee again said many ill-considered things….As public esteem for Syngman Rhee fell, it was Pak Yong-man who made a serious effort to save him….Pak Yong-man launched a publicity campaign in defense of Syngman Rhee. It was Pak who was the prime moving force behind this endeavor. It is still unknown how much Rhee really appreciated this, or if he ever did express his appreciation to Pak, for it is Rhee’s lifetime distinction that he repaid kindness with unkindness….Syngman Rhee’s one special talent was the art of talking money out of people. Even though he had enough money with him, Rhee from time to time would write his sworn brother Pak Yong-man, asking for money.

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There were many writers in the second-generation, and mostly they wrote in English. This was due to the children of the first immigrants being educated in the Territory of Hawai‘i education system. Many of these children did very well in school, supported by the strong values their parents had for education. These second-generation writers wrote in various literary genres—poetry, prose, drama, memoir—but none, for the most part, pursued writing as a professional career. Though it was not until the third and the recent 1.5 generations that Korean-American writers of Hawai‘i published poetry, fiction and drama in book-length form, still there was a significant number of second-generation Korean Americans who did write imaginary literature.4 There were several notable, critically acclaimed books written by 2nd generation writers, mainly in the genre of memoir, or creative non-fiction: Margaret Pai’s The Dream of Two Yi-min, Daisy Chun Rhodes’s Passages to Paradise, Mary Paik Lee’s Quiet Odyssey: a Pioneer Korean Woman in America, and Peter Lee’s two autobiographies, Mansei and In the New World: the Making of a Korean-American. If there is a theme that runs through all of these books, perhaps it would be the negotiation between acculturating to American society and staying firm to traditional Korean values and considerations. All of these works contribute to an accurate sketching of a period and circumstance that is not widely well known; notably, Rhodes’s book, a collection of interviews conducted with primarily second-generation Korean Americans in Hawai‘i, provides valuable

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4 I define “imaginary literature” as including the genres of poetry, prose fiction and drama.
glimpses of what life was like growing up on a Hawaiian plantation as a Korean while at the same time integrating into a Hawaiian/American society. In the following passage, Rhodes describes the early life of a Korean family living in Hawai‘i that was being more and more Americanized:

My family became firmly rooted in Wahiawā, which the Hawaiians called “a place of noise” where no Korean was exempt from sharing another’s joys or sorrows. Absorbing our culture’s time-honored traditions, we second generation children gathered closely into the folds of our parents, homes, church and community. All the while, we shared with our parents their every happiness and sadness.

Like children of pioneers to America, whose work was rooted in the good earth, none of us was free from dirt and dust. Each evening, little clouds of smoke curled into the sky as the ritual for cleansing ourselves with heated water began. My father taught me how to strike a large match to paper at the base of kindling, upon which larger pieces of wood had been placed.

In those days children helped to tend gardens filled with vegetables and fruit trees indigenous to the Islands, and to gather and chop wood. At the end of chores and before entering the house, we washed our feet with water from a pipe placed close to the entryway of our homes. Also, from that strategically located pipe, we washed off vegetable, hands, anything that required being cleansed. We followed in the footsteps of our parents, went with them to work, to church, to play and laughed with them when rare smiles crossed their faces.

Arriving in the strange land called Hawai‘i, our parents brought with them a work ethic among their sparse material goods. Contained within them, however, were seeds of our destiny which they planted and nurtured. In this way we became part of our parents’ passages to paradise. Often we have heard them say, “What can we do?” when confronted with situations over which they had little or no control: our assimilation into a new society, loss of their country and unbearable news of their brothers and sisters experiencing atrocities, loss of dignity, loss of language, loss of lives. They were aliens in a strange country, and their homeland was being destroyed in their absence. Our parents’ lives were spent in hours of silent labor which was relieved only when their children were first taught to perform simple chores. Only then were they able to expend leisure time to read the paper, listen to music, go to occasional mid-week church meetings.

These writers wrote poetry, fiction and drama as well and published them in high school annuals or literary journals, and many later in literary and social journals at the University of Hawai‘i. There were a significant number who did publish work in magazines and newspapers in Hawai‘i, such as Helen Shular, Peter Hyun, Morris Kang, Ahn Kim, Richard Kim, Esther Park, Roberta Chang and Donald Kang. Most of this student poetry mimicked the canonical English literature of the time, and, though some fiction was written, in the main the prose writing remained more or less autobiographical, mostly in the memoir genre, some of which developed into perceptive, professional writing.

3 Just a short note on the pronunciation. In Hawaii, many of the Korean surnames have undergone transformation in pronunciation. For example, my surname, Pak, has been pronounced as Pak, Park or Pahk. The Korean surname pronunciation “Kang” has, for many, morphed in Hawai‘i to “Kaehng.”
An example of the kind of poetry that was being written during this time is Esther Kim’s “Ancient Vow.” Kim, a second-generation writer, wrote in the sonnet form, a variation of a Shakespearean sonnet. Again, her sonnet was modeled in technical form of the literature that was taught in the high schools and at the university level, but for our purposes, this is not of importance; what is important is that second generation Korean Americans were using the writing of literature as a form of their own self-expression. Though anachronistic, Kim’s poem, written while she was an undergraduate at the University of Hawai‘i, is very optimistic, and though it is not original in structure and content, the tone is honest and fresh.

Anna Kim, writing too for a student literary journal at the University of Hawai‘i in the 1930s, used prose as her genre for self-expression. Two of her published stories, “Inspector Story” and “Fresh Like An Orange,” were written with settings in Korea. Kim’s story is very well-plotted and the characters are well defined, though the dialogue is a bit stifling. But both are strong stories written during the time Korean American writer Young-hill Kang was publishing his famous works.6

Of course, memoir writing, or even fiction based on memoir, was very popular, almost the substance of every other work during this time. Some were long-winded journal type entries, while some were highly dramatic fiction, but overall the material was satisfying in that it provided us a detailed look of the imagination of the Korean American living in Hawai‘i. One can see the literary promise in the following excerpt from a prose memoir, entitled, “The Glass Wall,” by Victoria Cintron, a second-generation writer:

The train came to a hissing, grinding stop to pick up some passengers and baggage. The little depot with its wind swept walks hadn’t changed since I left this same station 15 years ago. It brought back memories of her.

She had iron-grey, coarse, wavy hair, carelessly piled on top of her head, held loosely together by three combs and some pine, wisps of hair which had blown loose stuck out at the sides of her temple and damp curls clung about the nape of her neck. Her broad wide face was lined at her forehead and drawn creases about the sides of her mouth made her look perpetually sad. Her little button nose somehow didn’t seem to belong, there was something sweet and childlike, a scrubbed clean look about it, her little nose was what kept her from looking all together aggressive. Her jaws were very square and broad and met at a slight cleft at her soft wide chin. Her lips were fine drawn lines on a wide generous mouth. She reminded me of a clown I’d once seen at a circus.

There were a few plays written during this time, though it was not a very popular form. Most of these plays were written for a drama writing class at the University of Hawai‘i and were mainly in the early stages of drafting, though one particular play needs to be noted for its atypical content. Margaret Kwon, later known as Margaret Pai, the author of The Dream of Two Yi-min, wrote a play as an undergraduate called “I Fear Not Pele,” which is about some of the contradictions facing Native Hawaiian people in contemporary times. Though it was written in standard English, in a kind of Victorian tone, and not in the Hawaiian Creole vernacular or, perhaps more realistically, in the Hawaiian language, the fact that a second-generation Korean

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American found the topic—the tragic historical concerns and issues of the indigenous people in Hawai‘i—important to write about is very significant.

The second generation writers did not provide a significant cultural influence on the next generations of writers, in terms of providing literary models to build upon, but rather, historically and perhaps sociologically speaking, their development into native English speakers and native English writers was of course significant, as English became the linguistic medium for the next generation’s creative expression. The second-generation Korean American writers in Hawai‘i did write a small, though significant, literature that historically can be seen as setting the stage, if you will, for the subsequent generations, which I refer to as including both the third and 1.5 generations, though I must remark again that second-generation writers did not significantly provide cultural models for the subsequent generations.

I am not going to talk much about the third generation of Korean American creative writers in Hawai‘i who have been published more or less in book form and in literary journals and the such, and who are known reasonably well in literary and academic circles, but I will list them by their names here: Willyce Kim, Don Lee, Debra Kang Dean, Nora Keller, Brenda Kwon, Cathy Song and Gary Pak, among others. Here, I would like to focus more on the some of the promising new voices of Korean Americans in Hawai‘i or those who may be living elsewhere but whose roots are in Hawai‘i. Let me throw out a few names that I came across while researching for this essay: Nolan Kim, Mindy Penneybacker, Alison Taite, Wayne Wagoner, Dolly Kang Lott. There are at least two other Korean American writers, Chris McKinney and David Choo, who perhaps are not known as Korean American writers but who have produced significant works. McKinney, who has a Euro-American father and a Korean mother, has published two novels in Hawai‘i, Tattoo and The Queen of Tears, the latter having the setting of the Korean nightclub establishments in Hawai‘i; and David Choo is a freelance magazine writer who has written several critically acclaimed short stories in the islands.

There’s a vibrant new body of work by contemporary Hawai‘i-based Korean Americans. Notice that the themes, use of language and literary approaches of these works are very diverse. First is an excerpt from Nolan Kim’s short story “Between the Drops,” which uses a woman’s point-of-view to discuss the contradictions and complexities of a relationship:

A great gust of wind spun the woman and little girl through the open door of the coffeeshop like dry leaves whirling. Hooray, we ran between the drops, the girl cried, holding the first finger of the woman’s hand. The woman laughed. Don’t we always? She smiled, combed back her long dark hair from her pale face with one hand and looked eagerly around the room. The rain quickened, blurring the windows, but inside all was brightness and murmuring and savory warmth, young bodies leaning forward, mouths moving. The little girl watched intently. Her hair was also dark but her small face was brown and there was the slightest tilt to her eyes. Please, she asked, may I have a tea? Of course, the woman said, and brought two cups of Jasmine tea. The little girl held her tea in both hands and kicked her heels as she drank, but the woman left her cup on the table before her. She looked at her image in the mirror tiles and tugged at her dress. Whenever the front door opened she turned her head.

The little girl covertly studied the woman’s face, as if to gauge the moment. So what is he like, she finally asked. The boy. Is he young?
The woman looked at the girl and leaned forward. Well, She paused and her eyes narrowed. He’s about your age, a little tough guy, oh yeah, but sweet, and his dad. She sipped and smiled. Not half bad. She put down the cup, looked through the window, and flared her nostrils. Not half. The Koolau ridgeline was barely visible through the rain, but she seemed to stare beyond, as if she saw a family album with pages turning, a boy and a girl raised by two loving parents standing in the background of the yellowed prints in the bulging album twenty years away.

The rain slackened. The little girl pointed, is that him, and the woman’s face lit up when she saw them. The man was tall and dark and walked with an easy swagger, t-shirt and jeans snugly defining an athletic build. In the crook of one arm he carried a little boy with curly black hair. The two occupied a nearby table. The woman rose to her feet, suddenly calm, and walked over, a trouper entering, stage left.

Korean American writers in Hawai‘i, or for that matter, Korean American writers in general, are not afraid to take chances on controversial topics or styles of writing. Alison Hodges Taite’s poem, “A Comfort Woman Tells,” deals with a very painful issue in Korean history. But in its sensibility, the poem really speaks for everyone:

“At night we hear the Yalu River.

I died at fifteen
that day, that night
died, eighty-eight times over.

My name wasn’t always
Japanese, but you
see, the Korean, they killed,
and only Hanako
was left.

I remember the day
I thought
I was being taken to a textile factory,
for the war
effort. I agreed.

At night, we hear
frogs mating,
singing in moans, hollow
echoing through our stalls.

In the morning,
when we are taken
to relieve ourselves,
the frogs are gone
as if they had never been,
as if we had never been
here to listen”

A poet such as Wayne Wagner, whose father is Euro-American and his mother Korean, and who taught English but recently in a high school in Seoul, plays with the contradictions of his identity: “Am I Korean American or not?” The following poem, “When you are far away from something it is silent,” expresses his desire to be in touch with his Korean heritage and perhaps, too, laments about his involuntary separation from his heritage:

Even if I spoke broken Korean, would we understand me in relation to you?
If I repeated that sentence right now to you
I’d recognize your look of confusion,
even though you would hide it
with a nod of your head mimicking a little bow. Would you conduct me in the hope that I continue you
who goes to Korea for weddings but never takes me?

I always feel like a child with you.

Near the two frail tangerine plants leaves swirling around left feathers flutter
like paper jade in the late afternoon,
while the sky stretches into stillness anyway.

My mother lies sleeping, her body sliding far into the ancient shade.

Nightingales flutter in their rusting bronze cages while her dreams escape through sighs that die in the air through which she lives and lies.

Mom, I am most confused with you.

Don Lee, another third-generation Korean American prose writer from Hawai‘i, is the author of an acclaimed short story collection, Yellow, and the editor of the American literary journal, Ploughshares. In this essay, Lee describes the time when he was discussing with his literary agent about how as an author he could be marketed. The agent suggests that he should be put out as “the debut of a great literary voice.” With his social consciousness, Lee argues that he should be marketed as an Asian American writer, but he is also aware starkly of the burdening contradiction that most Korean American writers—most Asian American writers—have had to face. As he explains to his agent,

“Most of the Asian American literature that I’ve encountered has dealt with F.O.B.’s—immigrations Fresh Off the Boat. I wanted to write about people like me, third-
and fourth-generation, post-immigrant Asian Americans who are very much assimilated into the overall culture, but who have residual ethnic ties....I don’t go around every minute of the day thinking I’m Asian, and neither do the characters in [my] book. I [want] to show that Asians Americans can be just as individual and different, as sexual, artsy, feisty, athletic, articulate, neurotic, and screwed up as anyone else in America....I suppose one could say that most of the discrimination comes in the form of benevolent stereotypes: All Asians are smart and hard-working. All Asian men are geeky engineers. All Asian women are either submissive chrysanthemums or seductive hotties. These might not seem like hugely destructive stereotypes, but ultimately I don’t believe that any stereotype can be benevolent or helpful.”

I felt like an Uncle Tong, a poster-boy Twinkie—yellow on the outsider, white on the inside. Ironically, the more I denied the ethnic component of my short stories, the more I was asked to talk about my position, explain what it was like to be Asian in America today. To some people, it appeared I was exploiting my ethnicity in order to peddle a few more copies of my book. I was also aware that I was providing fodder for the simmering, growing backlash against multiculturalism that is out there, this unspoken assumption that anything bestowed to minority writers—awards, publicity, sales, grants, academic appointments, heck, the fact that they got published at all—is suspect, in all likelihood the largess of political correctness, merely the benefit of literary affirmative action. No doubt, multiculturalism has led to some bad books being published, and I was left to question if my book was bad. Maybe my book was only interesting as a multicultural artifact. Maybe it wasn’t worthy of discussion in any other way.

In the end, I couldn’t stop my book from being ghettoized as ethnic lit, I couldn’t stop those cute little references in reviews to geishas and fortune cookies and kimchi. In the end, I managed to piss off pretty much everyone—either for being too Asian, or for not being Asian enough. In the end, I began to wonder if I could have sold more books, gotten better coverage, won more awards, were it not for the Asian label. In the end, I decided, I probably got exactly what I deserved.

Korean American writing in Hawai‘i has gone through much development and changes in the course of three—now, four—generations. Koreans in Hawai‘i, from the first generation to the present, have used literary culture to express the negotiation of their selves between the tradition and the contemporary; and perhaps, more importantly, to help them define who they are, what they are, and how to develop a vision of a viable future.
Works Cited


(in alphabetical order)

1. *Chasin Po*
   Duration: September 30, 1907 to January 1908, Makaweli, Kaua‘i; monthly.
   Notes: On June 4, 1906, Koreans on the island of Kaua‘i organized the Chagang Hoe, and Chasin Po appeared shortly after.

2. *Ch‘inmok Hoebo*
   Duration: from May 8, 1906, for approx. one year; monthly.
   Notes: Ch‘inmok Hoe organized a group of workers on the ‘Ewa Sugar Plantation, ‘Oahu, Hawai‘i, on May 3, 1905. The name changed to Kongnip Hyophoe in April 1905.

3. *Chŏnhŭng Hyŏphoe Po*
   Duration: May 23, 1908-March 1909; monthly.
   Notes: Newspaper issued by Chŏnhŭng Hyŏphoe. No extant copies.

4. *Hanin Hapsŏng Sinbo* [The United Korean News] [Honolulu]
   Notes: Publication followed the merger on Oct 17, 1907, of most of the Korean organizations in Hawai‘i into the Hanin Hapsŏng Hyŏphoe. When Kook Min Hoe was organized, which united Koreans in Hawai‘i with those in North America, Manchuria and Siberia, publication suspended in favor of new KMH official organ, *Sin Han’guk Po*.

5. *Hanin Kidokkyo Po* [Honolulu]
   Duration: ? to approximately WWII.
   Notes: A Korean-language publication by the Korean Christian Church, appearing irregularly, 3-4 times a year.

6. *Hanin Kyohoe Po* [Honolulu]
   Duration: April 1914-October 1940; monthly.
   Notes: Formerly the *P‘owa Hanin Kyobo* [Hawaii Korean Advocate]. Started by a Methodist minister, Rev. Pearson, as early as April 1904 and appearing monthly by November 1905. Included bible studies and Sunday school lessons, along with general news. No extant copies.

7. *Hanin Sisa* [Korean-American News] [Honolulu]
   Duration: May 12, 1920-September 14, 1921; semi-monthly.
Notes: Published by members of the Methodist church and contained lessons related to adult education along with community news.

8. *Hanmi Po* [Korean American News]
   Duration: May 12, 1920-September 14, 1921.
   Notes: A commercial venture by a former editor of *Kook Min Bo* who left because of differences with Syngman Rhee, who eventually bought out the newspaper and suspended publication.

9. *Kook Min Bo* [Korean National Herald] [Honolulu]
   Duration: August 1 1913-December 25, 1968.
   Notes: The official newspaper of the Kook Min Hoe.

10. *Kook Min Hur News*
    Duration: January 1969 to ?
    Notes: Published in mimeo format in Honolulu.

11. *Korean National Herald—Pacific Weekly*
    Duration: January 21, 1942 to February 2, 1944.
    Notes: This was a war-time issue of the Kook Min Hur.

12. *Sinjo Sinmun* [Honolulu]
    Duration: March 27, 1904 – April 1905; semi-monthly.
    Notes: First Korean-language newspaper to be published on a regular basis.

13. *T’aep’yŏnyang Chapchi* [The Korean Pacific Magazine]
    Duration: September 20, 1913-December 13, 1930.
    Notes: Published in Honolulu.

14. *T’aep’yŏnyang Chubo* [The Korean Pacific Weekly]
    Duration: December 13, 1930-February 6, 1970.
    Notes: Published in Honolulu.

15. *T’aep’yŏnyang Sisai* [The Korean Pacific Times]
    Duration: November 28, 1918-March 15 1926.
    Notes: Published in Honolulu.

16. *Tansan [Honolulu] Sibo*
    Duration: May 12 1925-March 1926; biweekly.
    Notes: Published as a forum for “neutralism” and “Communism.”

17. *Tongnip Sinmun*
    Duration: July 1, 1911 to ?
    Notes: Published in Honolulu.