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ABSTRACT

THE TRANSNATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL MUSIC (KUGAK): MUSICKING IN THE KOREAN DIASPORA, 1903-1945

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Northern Illinois University, 2020
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This dissertation examines the preservation and adaptation of Korean-ness through musical performances in the Korean peninsula and in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century, when Korea was a Japanese colony. Hawai‘i deserves special attention because the first and largest Korean diasporic communities in America were established in Hawai‘i during this period. More importantly, cultural environments in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i and Korea were similar in that both featured diverse music cultures of different ethnic origins and new cultural infrastructures under the influence of imperialism. This study investigates the reactions of existing Korean performing arts to the influx of foreign culture affecting peninsular and immigrant Koreans.

This study argues that both peninsular and immigrant Koreans took advantage of curating Korean expressive culture – by adapting traditional music of different social and regional characteristics and incorporating elements of foreign culture at events where respective colonial authorities were directly and indirectly involved. Traditional performances in colonial Korea (peninsular Koreans) were mostly driven by commercial enterprises comprised of professional performers, whereas Korean Hawaiians (immigrant Koreans) presented traditional music and dance at multicultural events featuring diverse nonprofessional ethnic performance groups who
shared music, dance, and folk cultures, thereby prompting a surge of cultural interaction. Despite such differences, both peninsular and immigrant Koreans showed adapted forms of Korean traditional performing arts to represent Korean-ness. In this sense, this dissertation traces the origins of *kugak* (國樂), literally meaning national music, representing Korean-ness and covering a wide range of performances from the early twentieth-century musical activities. Korean musical performances, irrespective of genres or adaptations, have played an important role in preserving Korean ethnic identity and showing their adaptability to new cultural environments beyond the Korean peninsula since the early twentieth century.

Previous studies have been limited in exploring a comprehensive explanation of new styles and practices of Korean traditional music and dance during the early twentieth century beyond the Korean peninsula. Studies of Korean immigrants in early twentieth-century Hawaiʻi have generally targeted political movements or the segregated ethnic communities within plantations due to policies that prevented unionization among plantation workers. Despite increasing cultural interactions in urban areas beginning in the 1920s, the discussion of cultural exchanges among immigrant communities has received limited attention. Most importantly, prior studies have not necessarily focused on identifying the salient features of the Korean immigrants’ cultural activities bearing a resemblance to those of peninsular Korean performing arts; using such previous research frameworks can hinder fully understanding the cross-national roles of Korean traditional performing arts in the context of colonial modernity. As such, this study expands previous perspectives by comparing musicking of colonial Koreans with that of Korean diasporic communities in Hawaiʻi to facilitate a better understanding of Korean preservation and adaptation of traditional music culture.
THE TRANSNATIONAL CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL MUSIC (KUGAK):
MUSICKING IN THE KOREAN DIASPORA, 1903-1945

BY

HEEYOUNG CHOI
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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
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DEDICATION

To my beloved family,
who have always been a source of great inspiration and encouragement
to face every moment of life with love, enthusiasm, and gratitude for God’s grace
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INTRODUCTION

The features and forms of culture that best represent Korean-ness are not straightforward. Scholars of Korean studies have discussed a wide variety of aspects ranging from language, economics, and politics to culture, history, and religion to discover elements that define the most “Korean” thing. Among these, the performing arts, which form a vast subdivision of culture, are frequently mentioned when introducing Koreana to non-Koreans at international venues.

During the 2018 Winter Olympics in P’yŏngch’ang, South Korea, performances by traditional music teams were prominent, and yet they were notably different from traditional forms that have been passed down through generations. Choreographed with the electric guitar was a group of 80 musicians playing kŏmun’go, a traditional Korean string instrument. P’ansori singers presented six new contemporary pieces performed with a band made up of a guitarist, violin, bass, drum, and keyboard. Also, Ch’unaengmu, a traditional Korean court dance, was accompanied by an orchestra, combining rock music instrumentation with traditional Korean folk music instruments. The bands Jambinai, Second Moon, and singer Jang Sa-ik, who participated in the closing ceremony, are well-known performers who fuse Korean traditional music with foreign culture. Along with the “Winter” movement of Vivaldi’s The Four Seasons played by a 13-year-old rock guitarist and a wilder entertaining time by K-pop stars, Korean traditional music and dance continued the pattern from the opening ceremony with the mixture of the old and the new.
This dissertation begins with my question as to how Korean-ness was presented through musical performances during the early twentieth century, when Korea was a Japanese colony (1910-1945). Colonial Koreans experienced a huge influx of foreign culture and infrastructure different from conventional contents and methods of performing music and dance. It raises questions about efforts by existing Korean performers in charge of traditional music and dance to preserve and adapt in reactions to the changing cultural environments. However, this study expands the understanding of Korean preservation and adaptation of traditional music and dance by comparing musicking of colonial Koreans with that of Korean diasporic community in Hawai‘i. Hawai‘i deserves special notice because the first and largest Korean diasporic communities in America were established there during the early twentieth century. More importantly, cultural environments in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i and Korea are similar in that both featured diverse music cultures of different ethnic origins and new cultural infrastructures under the influence of imperialism. Simply put, I examine cultural environments of the early twentieth century in and out of the Korean peninsula, focusing on the reactions of Koreans to the huge influx of foreign culture.

As a result, this study argues that both peninsular and immigrant Koreans took advantage of various cultural events in different contexts that colonial authorities directly and indirectly created by presenting Korean expressive culture that incorporated varied kinds of traditional music of different social and regional characteristics (e.g., elite or commoner, Chŏlla or Kyŏnggi). Both presented staged traditional performances at various events. Most of traditional

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1 As Christopher Small argues, musicking is the act of taking “part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance, or by dancing.” Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998), 9.
performances in colonial Korea were mostly to make money at commercial theaters or restaurants, while Korean Hawaiians presented traditional music and dance at multicultural events where different ethnic groups presented music, dance, and folk cultures to local audiences of different ethnic backgrounds. Despite the differences, both performed adapted forms of Korean traditional performing arts to put them on stages to represent Korean-ness. Such musical activities were not merely Korean survival strategies against imperialistic influence, but the products of an open attitude among Koreans who were motivated by the resultant influx of foreign culture.

The ultimate purpose of this study is tracing the origins of today’s kugak (國樂), literally meaning national music. It includes a variety of different genres of Korean traditional performing arts and performances mixing the traditional music and non-traditional music such as Western classical music, pop music, and other categories of performing arts. The term kugak implies dynamic, ever-changing performing arts that preserve, adapt, and promote Korean traditional music and dance. This dissertation traces the origins of kugak representing Korean-ness and covering a very wide range of performances from the early twentieth-century musical activities in and out of the Korean peninsula. Korean musical performances, irrespective of genres or adaptations, have been playing an important role in preserving Korean ethnic identity and showing their adaptability to new cultural environments in and out of the Korean peninsula since the early twentieth century.

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2 The concept “national music” exists in all East Asian countries, although the terminology is different. For example, kugak (國樂) in Korea is comparable to hōgaku (邦樂) in Japan, minyue (民乐) or minzu yin Yue (民族音乐) in mainland China, guoyue (國樂) in Taiwan, huayue (華樂) in Singapore/Malaysia, and zhongyue (中樂) in Hong Kong.
Cultural Environments in Korea and Hawai‘i During the Early Twentieth Century

This study also focuses on distinct similarities between the Korean peninsula and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century in their respective cultural environments, which would provide crucial clues in apprehending the purpose of Korean preservation and adaptation of traditional music and dance.

First, both the Korean peninsula and Hawai‘i in the early twentieth century featured the influence of foreign culture and new cultural infrastructure. Colonial Koreans had easy access to foreign music through stage performances, radio, and gramophone records beginning in the late 1920s. The urban consumer culture of colonial Korea was a complex, cosmopolitan mixture of European, American, Japanese, and traditional Korean elements. Koreans who were living in Hawai‘i during the time did not vary much from the case of colonial Koreans in that they came across cultures of different ethnic backgrounds. Besides American mainstream music and Western concert or art music, Hawai‘i had a more complex musicscape, including those of immigrants and native Hawaiians.

Second, both were under the influence of imperialism. Korea—then formally known as the Korean Empire (大韓帝國 Taehan Cheguk)—was in decline when the first large group of Koreans left for Hawai‘i between 1903 and 1905. Following the Russo-Japanese War, Japan made Korea its protectorate state in 1905, gaining the ability to control diplomatic policies in the

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Korean government. Japan formally annexed the Korean Empire in the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1910, without the consent of King Sunjong, until the Japanese rule over Korea ended on 15 August 1945 upon the surrender of Japan in World War II. Meanwhile, the executives of Hawaiian plantation authorities and their descendants overthrew the Hawaiian monarch with a coup d’État against Queen Liliʻuokalani to establish the new provincial government in 1893. The haole (White person or Whiteness in Hawai‘i) elites approved formal annexation of Hawai‘i as a U.S. territory in 1898, until Hawai‘i officially became the fiftieth state in 1959.

Cultural policy in both Korea and Hawai‘i from the late 1920s to 1930s shows similarities. Japan’s “cultural rule” (文化統治 bunka seiji) period after 1920 and before the war mobilization of the late 1930s featured the relaxed control which encouraged reformist rather than revolutionary responses within Korean society. The period features a limited degree of Koreans’ freedom of expression and the full-fledged introduction of foreign culture and cultural infrastructure, which led parts of the Korean peninsula into the trajectory of urban consumer culture. The cultural rule aimed to prompt Koreans to become increasingly invested in the colonial system through a series of incentives and concessions. Meanwhile, multicultural environments, where different ethnic groups carried out cultural exchange, were pervasive in Hawai‘i beginning in the 1920s. Hawaiian authorities promoted various programs facilitating cultural interaction between immigrant communities as an extension of the tolerance to different ethnic cultures. Immigrants in Hawai‘i could experience native Hawaiian song and dance in addition to American pop music, European art music, and their native cultures through varied programs and events at educational, social, and religious Hawaiian institutions.

Focusing on the politically insecure and culturally diversified environments where Koreans lived as Japanese nationals, this dissertation reveals two salient features of Korean
traditional performing arts in peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i in the early twentieth century: musical nationalism and cultural convergence. First, nationalism is “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual and potential nation.”4 It aims to build and maintain a single national identity based on shared social characteristics such as culture, language, religion, politics, and belief in a shared singular history and to promote national solidarity and unity through attitudes, perceptions, and sentiments. As Benedict Anderson defines it in his book, Imagined Communities, a nation is a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. In this sense, nationalism consists of “cultural artifacts of a particular kind.”5

The history of nationalism in music, or musical nationalism, began from studies of Western art music in the nineteenth century in connection with political independence movements. Musical nationalism refers to the use of musical ideas or motifs that are identified with a specific country or ethnicity, such as folk tunes, melodies, rhythms, and harmonies inspired by them. A musical movement described in the studies emphasizes the incorporation of folk song or dance into high art or concert genres and the adoption of nationalist subjects for a dramatic performance like operas, symphonic poems, or other forms of music.6 However, in


6 Richard Wagner (1813–1883) and Béla Bartók (1881-1945) are great examples demonstrating the “musical nationalism” in Western concert music. Wagner used idioms of German culture in his new compositions, while Bartók used Hungarian peasant music in his compositions.
recent decades, new concepts of nationalism and the social function of music have greatly expanded the perceived spheres of nationalism in music. All genres, compositional techniques, and composers, regardless of nationalist intent, can participate in the formulation and negotiation of national unity and identity. Also, the realms of popular music and amateur music-making, as well as musical journalism and scholarship, are now considered essential facets of nationalism in music.\(^7\)

Second, cultural convergence is the theory whereby “cultures tend to grow similar to one another after being subjected to the same ‘cultural flows,’ or the movement of things, information, and places due, in part, to the increasing porosity of global barriers.”\(^8\) The more that cultures interact, the more that their values, ideologies, behaviors, arts, and customs reflect each other. The cultural convergence theory sees globalization as a process that leads to cultures becoming more alike while considering dominant groups in the world as a significant means for this tendency towards sameness. However, as Goerge Ritzer points out, local cultures do not disappear or are not fundamentally altered as a result of globalization.\(^9\)

The concept is slightly different from multiculturalism or cultural pluralism. As Huib Schippers describes, the multicultural society is one in which different peoples and music lead largely separate lives (e.g., Blacks are taught African music, Moroccans learn Arab songs, and Whites study Mozart), irrespective of the rapidly blending cultural reality of musical tastes in the


\(^9\) Ibid., 163.
Meanwhile, cultural pluralism, popularized by Horace Kallen with his 1915 publication, is a term used when smaller groups maintain their unique cultural identities and their values and practices that are accepted by the broader dominant culture. As Kallen notes, “Americanization in the most liberal sense of the term involved not the destruction of all the distinctive cultural group traits other than those of the dominant Anglo-Saxons.” It involved “the cherishing and preserving of every ethnic group’s cultural heritage within the overarching framework of the common use of the English language and adherence to the prevailing political and economic system.” Although multiculturalism and cultural pluralism look similar, there’s a considerable difference. An argument for multiculturalism begins from the value of freedom from domination, or intervention of dominant societies’ institutions in cultural activities of small groups, whereas cultural pluralism refers to small groups whose distinctive values and cultural identities do not conflict with the overall culture.

I interpret cultural convergence as a phenomenon of the intercultural stage that Schippers describes. According to Schippers, the intercultural stage represents “loose contacts and exchange between cultures and includes simple forms of fusion,” not a separate appreciation of their own culture and tradition. This dissertation does not aim to find out whether there were

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dominant cultures that Koreans were supposed to follow (cultural pluralism), or whether Koreans autonomously decided on contents of their music-making activities without authorities’ intervention (multiculturalism) in the Korean peninsula and Hawai‘i. Instead, this dissertation delves into how Korean traditional performing arts reacted to the influx of foreign culture both in peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century, which embodies cultural convergence.

To summarize, this dissertation illustrates cultural convergence and varied directions of musical nationalism presented in Korean traditional performing arts during the early twentieth century. Both colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians promoted a new type of performance challenging conventional practice in traditional performing arts, reflecting active response and adaptation to the rapidly changing cultural environment. Koreans did not always coincide in opinion as to what performing arts would best represent Korean roots. However, Korean participants in musicking in both Korea and Hawai‘i agreed that Korean musical performances, whether they were adapted forms or presented along with newly introduced foreign music and dance, were important tools to represent Korean-ness.

**Identity of Korean Hawaiians**

One of the aims of this study is to determine how Korean Hawaiians preserved and promoted Korean traditional performing arts differently from peninsular Koreans. How Korean participants in the cultural activities identified themselves is a key issue in understanding the purpose. Identity is a precarious construction. The labels with which individuals identify, whether ethnic, national or gender based, are often vague, as their definitions are situational, constantly changing, and dissolving. And yet, despite their ambiguous, even imaginary
construction, individuals and groups at times closely guard their identity. Koreans in Hawai‘i must have had a more complicated identity than peninsular Koreans. In addition to ethnic, social, and gender identity, Korean Hawaiians had a racial identity as Asians; local identity as Hawaiians; and for the second generation (ise), national identity as Americans. Upon moving to Hawai‘i in the early twentieth century, Koreans found themselves in a world in which all their previous known gender, political, and social roles had changed while their ethnic identity as Koreans was maintained.

*Ethnic Koreans Against Japanese Nationals.* As the Koreans struggled hard for their national identity in a strange land, they became imbued with a heightened political awareness. Koreans in America were vigorously involved in anti-Japanese activities, especially the times right before and after the annexation of Korea by Japan. They took seriously and optimistically the role of resisting Japanese rule through education, publications, and charity activities. Their hard-earned money went toward financing the independence movement. During the time, nationalism became the dominant spiritual force as liberating their homeland became their first priority. Much more real to them, however, was the presence of a large number of Japanese in America, particularly in Hawai‘i. Koreans’ anti-Japanese sentiments were further intensified due to their racial similarity to the Japanese. Koreans were sometimes mistaken for Japanese. Deprived of national liberty as citizens of an independent nation, Korean immigrants felt humiliation and frustration. They found themselves in a liminal space because they refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Japanese government as their own. However, what was much
more unbearable was the fact that their newly adopted country regarded them as citizens of that very nation which oppressed their homeland.\footnote{Young Ho Son, “From Plantation Laborers to Ardent Nationalists: Koreans’ Experiences in America and Their Search for Ethnic Identity, 1903-1924” (PhD diss., Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 1989), 255.}

Because of the large number of Japanese (constituting 43\% of Hawai‘i’s population at their height in 1920), the Koreans must have felt the pressure of more dominant Japanese culture. As a result, they could easily liken the economic and social oppression of their Japanese competitors to the Japanese political persecution of the homeland. In this situation, they struggled to distinguish themselves from the Japanese.\footnote{Son, “From Plantation Laborers to Ardent Nationalists,” 253- 256.} Korean immigrants ardently defended their unique ethnic identity. They defined themselves not as Japanese but as ethnic Koreans having distinct history, language, and culture. Although their identity changed throughout the years, they dedicated much energy to defining and defending what it meant to be Koreans in America.\footnote{Sara Elizabeth Deede, “Activism and Identity: How Korean Independence Movement Shaped the Korean Immigrant Experience in America 1905-1945” (MA Thesis, Portland State University, 2010), 124.}

\textit{Racial Asians Against Haoles.} Koreans were one of the Asian immigrant groups that constituted over eighty percent of plantation workers in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century. In Hawai‘i, racial discrimination in the US mainland manifested in the “Yellow Peril” mentality, the fear that Asian immigrants would inundate White American society and threaten every American institution, was less palpable. The racial composition of the Islands, in contrast to the mainland, did offer greater occupational mobility for Asian immigrant communities. However, it is crucial to remember that \textit{haole} (white person or whiteness in Hawai‘i) elites,
although they were the minority, routinely controlled local politics, dominated the local economy, and dictated cultural standards. The dominance of the White elites in Hawai‘i during the first half of the twentieth century existed within a larger context of colonial subjugation and racial hierarchies established through the plantation economy.¹⁸ As such, Hawai‘i was “a territory with a very strong and powerful propertied class, and a very numerous and heterogeneous non-propertied class.”¹⁹ Against the backdrop of the political and economic dominance by the Whites in Hawai‘i, Asian immigrants, including Koreans and Japanese whose relations in their homeland were based on colonial hierarchy, shared ideological structures under the influence of Confucian values and the hard life of immigrant laborers. The commonalities promoted solidarity among them.

_Hawaiians’ Local Identity Against Non-Hawaiian Residents._ While racial discrimination and racial prejudice in the mainland states were often palpable, they were less intense in the Islands. Commissioned in response to the racially polarizing and highly publicized the 1932 Massie Trial, the US Department of the Interior published the tract _Hawaii and Its Race Problem_ (1932), relying on narratives of racial harmony and progress.²⁰ It says in Hawai‘i, “where oriental races are passing through the melting pot,” all, including Asians, wear American

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²⁰ The Massie Trial is a 1932 criminal trial that took place in Honolulu. Grace Hubbard Fortescue, along with several accomplices, was charged with murder in the death of renowned local prizefighter, Joseph Kahahawai. Fortescue was the mother of Thalia Massie, who had brought charges that Kahahawai was one of a group of men that had raped her.
clothes and disport themselves much.”

We should not take the remarks of William Atherton Du Puy, executive assistant to the secretary, at face value. Even though the source seems to have argued “no problems here, move along,” the Massie trial reveals that race was indeed a big issue, most dramatically between haoles and everyone else.

Despite inequalities in the industrial and occupational structure of the labor force, residents in Hawai‘i could enjoy culturally diverse environments, which nurtured their pride as local Hawaiians. The assimilation policy in Hawai‘i for ethnically diverse population structure included encouraging different immigrant societies to preserve their own cultures. The multicultural environments in urban areas of Hawai‘i had a positive effect on the rich cultural life. For those who thoroughly enjoyed themselves in a culturally diverse environment, being local villagers in Hawai‘i was a blessing. The Koreans were no exception.

**US Citizen Identity (Ise) Against Non-Americans (Ilse).** The Korean population in Hawai‘i drastically multiplied due to high fertility among married couples. The US government defines that the first member of a family who acquires citizenship or permanent residence qualifies as the family’s first generation. The requirement of obtaining citizenship in describing the adjective “first-generation” was not applied to the first-generation Korean immigrants (ilse). It was because of the original U.S. Naturalization Law of 1790, limiting naturalization to immigrants who were “free white persons of good character.” The Korean immigrants were subject to the law until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 prohibited racial and gender discrimination in naturalization.

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On the other hand, all persons born in the U.S., including the second-generation Korean immigrants (*ise*) in Hawai‘i, have been granted citizenship since the 1898 Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*. In the early 1940s, second-generation Korean Hawaiians holding citizenship of the U.S. were about twice as many as Koreans who were born in Korea and accordingly carried Alien Registration Cards.\(^\text{22}\) So, in discussing identities of Korean Hawaiians, generational conflicts and cultural confusion relevant to their nationality should not be neglected. *Ilse* holding Japanese nationals and *ise* who were US citizens must have had a different sense of belonging.

**Gender Identity as Modern Women.** Gender identity is crucial for grasping the cultural life of Korean women who came to Hawai‘i between 1910 and 1924 via the picture bride system. Korean picture brides lived a new life, in which their prestige, privilege, and power were elevated to reflect their partnership in the family, compared to their inferior position in the Korean peninsula. The arrival of Korean women in America was pivotal in transforming Korean immigrants from temporary to permanent settlers. They fulfilled their traditional roles of childbearing, childrearing, and maintaining the household, yet their economic contribution to the early settlement of Koreans and the family was enormous. Many domestic responsibilities notwithstanding, they managed to get involved with outside activities. They became more self-confident and socially aware through participation in women’s organizations. While colonial Koreans still lived in the patriarchal structure of the traditional Korean family, the structure of the diasporic Korean family adopted a more egalitarian tenor as seen in their aspirations, active

\(^{22}\) The Alien Registration Act of 1940 required that all persons who were not citizens or nationals of the United States and were living within US borders go to the local post office and register their alien status with the government.
participation, and accomplishments. This dissertation tries to find whether their new gender roles in Hawai‘i were reflected in their musicking.

**Historiographic Discussion**

The findings shed light on the expanded concept, practices, and roles of Korean traditional performing arts of the early twentieth century and their resemblance to today’s kugak. Such diversified musical activities in and out of the Korean peninsula are indicative of improvements in the lives of local people, Koreans’ embrace of anti-colonial nationalism, and various forms of identification that compromised the homogeneity idealized in nationalist discourses. The features are what scholars of modern imperialism have demonstrated as examples of colonial modernity. Colonial modernity refers to a condition in which “the usual elements of the modern are manifest, but in a highly skewed form and in which the modern sector is dominated by the political control of the colonizers.” By focusing on Korean performing arts in the Korean peninsula and Hawai‘i, both of which were under different colonial situations, this dissertation stresses the complex relations “among colonialism, modernity, nationalism, and identity formation” beyond the nationalist narratives. In this sense, this study is consistent with current research trends investigating major cultural changes during the colonial period from the perspectives of colonial modernity.

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As for Korean nationalism, historians have focused on Korean recognition of an independent ethnic nation during the pre-colonial and colonial periods. Andre Schmid examines the origins and transformations of Korea’s nationalism and its implications for modern Korean society, concentrating on the patriotic enlightenment movements between 1895 and 1919. Schmid argues that Korean intellectuals established the concept of minjok 民族, the ethnic nation, as a breakthrough during the crisis of the onslaught of “global imperialism.” Hyung-Il Pai concurs with Schmid’s argument that the calls of turn-of-the-century newspapers for Korean political unity and racial solidarity were initiated by Korea’s intellectuals. However, Pai adds that the idea of an old and unitary Korean race established under Japanese rule owes to the Japanese adoption of Western racial theories that the Japanese utilized to justify Japanese imperial expansion.26 Another Pai study demonstrates that Japanese colonial policies affected legal standards, bureaucratic procedures, institutions, aesthetics, and disciplinary genealogies of contemporary South Korea.27

The studies of Schmid and Pai are aligned with the work of Michael Robinson in that all focused on the intellectuals’ initiatives to establish Korean ethnic identity. However, Robinson focuses specifically on a group of Korean elites who decided reluctantly to endure colonial rule until the Korean people could be educated into a state of national consciousness after the failure of the independence movement of 1919. Robinson points out that cultural nationalism, because of its elitism and basic assumption of the ignorance of the masses, was bound to “self-


deext.” As he stresses, disputes between the moderate and gradualist cultural nationalists and the radical nationalists in the 1920s became the origins of the division of the Korean peninsula.

Spontaneous and autonomous activities of colonial Koreans to preserve and promote traditional performing arts have received limited attention. Scholars in musicology and cultural history mostly trace the present-day movement to preserve and reinvent Korean traditional music back to the 1962 government-initiated policy. They reveal that Korean educational and cultural institutions established in the 1950s began to use the term *kugak*. The National Gugak [Kugak] Center (國立國樂院 Kungnip Kugakwŏn) was established in 1951. With the beginning of the Seoul National University Department of Korean Music in 1959, higher educational institutions opened Korean music departments (國樂科 kugakkwa). Furthermore, the Cultural Heritage Administration (Munhwajae Ch’ŏng 文化財廳, hereafter CHA) that managed the 1962 Cultural Property Protection Law placed Korean traditional performing arts designated as *kugak* under the category of the Intangible Cultural Properties. As Pai argues, they highlight the Japanese colonial government’s initiatives in Korea and the postwar cultural heritage management system in Japan, arguing that the Japanese colonial and postcolonial policies influenced the Korean management of cultural heritage.

For example, Keith Howard states that *kugak* is “an important part of Korea’s national identity,” elevated from iconic genres to important intangible cultural property status through sponsorship by the state. Howard argues that the 1962 law incorporated much from the earlier

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Japanese equivalent, but it differed in giving equal status to folk and classical or high-performance arts and crafts. Andrew Killick similarly points out that kugak has been constructed as a unified tradition by a variety of institutions that arose after liberation, including the National Gugak Center and the Intangible Cultural Properties system. Hilary Finchum-Sung focuses on new educational institutions established to train kugak performers beginning in the late twentieth century. Focusing on continuous changes of Korea’s folk song traditions, Roald Maliangkay discusses the postcolonial cultural policy keeping up with the changing sociopolitical and economic climate. He stresses that the heritage preservation system requires both young generations’ interest in traditions and tastes of future practitioners and domestic audiences alike. They all agree that the cultural and educational institutions that promote kugak have pursued the twin goals of preservation and adaptation.

Killick is one of few scholars addressing colonial-era performing arts to trace the latest movements of reinventing and commercializing Korean traditional music and dance. His study underscores a significant revival of new ch’anggŭk repertories, a musical play based on the dramatic story-singing p’ansori, under Japanese colonial rule when tracing historical discourses

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31 Andrew P. Killick, *In Search of Korean Traditional Opera: Discourses of Ch’anggŭk* (Honolulu, HW: University of Hawai’i Press, 2010), 176-214.


of the current movements of *kugak*. Although researchers in Korea do not specify any relevance to today’s *kugak* performances, some have recently studied diversified activities of Korean professionals in the music industry in colonial Korea. As an example, Korean scholars argue that the foreign culture that intellectuals introduced around the 1930s based on their cultural experiences in Japan provided cultural bases for contemporary lifestyles. Also, Jan Creutzenberg analyzes the transformations of *p’ansori*, *p’ungmul*, and *t’alnori*, asserting that *kugak* was far from stagnant, giving rise to hybrid culture because of the adaptability of Korean professional performing artists.

With respect to *kisaeng*’s activities in colonial Korea, recent studies making the representation of *kisaeng* more nuanced are worth noting. As Joshua D. Pilzer argues, the burgeoning private-sector entertainment industry managing *kisaeng* at the turn of the century made the taxonomy labeling different tiers of *kisaeng* groups ambiguous. *Kisaeng* became involved in the development of commercial entertainment arenas such as a public scene of mass media, theater performances, and a private-room culture geared toward entertaining colonial elites. Pilzer agrees with Do-hee Kwon, arguing that the *kisaeng* became some of the most

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37 *Kisaeng* were divided into three groups depending on their classes: *ilp’ae* (一牌), *ip’ae* (二牌), *samp’ae* (三牌), meaning the first, second, third tiers of entertainers, reflecting the stratification of Korean female entertainers. For details, see Chapter 3.
powerful figures for disseminating musical forms of the new public culture. Pilzer, also in concurrence with Kwon’s assertion, stresses that private kisaeng schools, until their abolition in 1947 by the American military government in South Korea, became one of the central institutions promoting, developing, and preserving Korean traditional music with a staff of male instructors and some retired kisaeng. As Pilzer underscores, the kisaeng has not been merely a symbol of the oppression of women but a “cultural hero or prototype of modern, independent womanhood.” Korean scholars have focused on various roles of the kisaeng, who freed from the old legacy, actively participated in modern music along with foreign-trained composers and singers.

Studies of Asian Americans’ cultural activities during the early twentieth century demonstrate their adaptability to a host society. More specifically, some describe the changed purposes and practices of traditional festival and performing arts in the U.S. Others reveal that Asian immigrants collaborated with people of the US mainstream culture, showed their appreciation of the mainstream culture in public, and stopped displaying their traditional culture

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40 Ibid., 307.

in public during World War II. Mostly focusing on Japanese immigrants in the mainland, these studies stress the role of their musical activities in showing their belonging to the mainstream society and relieving anti-Japanese/Asian sentiments pervasive during World War II. As for a study relating women’s social status to musical activities, Deborah Wong addresses Japanese women’s playing *taiko* in the U.S., which transformed practices of the male-only traditional musical activities to highlight women’s power as equal to males.

Little is known about the Korean performing arts in US immigrant communities when Korea was under Japanese colonial rule. Among several studies of the Korean immigrants in Hawai’i during the early twentieth century, two articles pay attention to their cultural aspects. Judy Van Zile’s research on Korean dance in Hawai’i and Anderson R. Sutton’s study on Korean music in Hawai’i offer invaluable information about Korean immigrant groups’ efforts to maintain Korean traditional culture with a focus on dance performances. Both briefly mention that cultural activities of Korean Hawaiians indicate the collision with the notion in peninsular Korea that presenting traditional performances belonged to *kisaeng*’s realm. Sutton states that

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“members of a Korea club called the Hyung Jay Club participated in multiethnic performances and sponsored performances of Western art music by Koreans.” Also, Van Zile introduces the Hyung Jay Club founder and teachers, who contributed to preserving Korean traditional dance in Hawai‘i. In this sense, the studies offer critical clues that the Korean performing arts in Hawai‘i showed a radical change in established practice.

Studies of Korean women in Hawai‘i offer invaluable information to understand their social lives. Eun Sik Yang demonstrates Korean picture brides changed the traditional gender dynamics in Korean marriages. They worked outside the home, contributing to the family finances, and expanded their influence to the public sphere by actively serving in the Korean church activities as teachers, leaders, and committee members. Also, Lili M. Kim redefines boundaries of traditional gender roles, arguing that the Korean females in Hawai‘i contributed to the Korean independence movement in important and alternative ways. Focusing on the efforts of all-female organizations for the independence movement, Kim argues that their organizational activity to promote Korean patriotism expedited their Americanization process by challenging and crossing the boundaries of Korean traditional gender roles.

Lastly, research on multiculturalism or pluralism in Hawai‘i relates the socio-cultural environment of its multiethnic community to Michel Foucault and Antonio Gramsci’s ideas on hegemonic discourse. Scholars stress social stratification in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i,


where a haole elite routinely controlled the political, economic, and cultural life of the majority of immigrants and native Hawaiians. Bonacich and Cheng and Takaki reveal that each ethnic group maintained its religion, traditions, and living environments in plantation villages, where plantation owners intentionally segregated workers based on ethnicity to prevent unionization among the plantation workers.\footnote{Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng, eds., \textit{Labor Immigration under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States before World War II} (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); Ronald T. Takaki, \textit{Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920} (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983).} Gary Y. Okihiro emphasizes the tale of tragedy of Asian immigrants to demonstrate that they received less favorable treatment than European immigrants.\footnote{Okihiro, \textit{Cane Fires}, 11.} Sally Engle Merry uncovers Native Hawaiians’ acceptance of the Anglo-American law system, arguing that the law gradually altered elites who, as Native Hawaiian and haole, reconstituted Asians into a new subordinate class of labor.\footnote{Sally Engle Merry, \textit{Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of Law} (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 7.} Tomoko Akami points out that the haole-initiated programs to promote the preservation of ethnic groups’ culture in Hawai‘i were to develop the local tourist industry and continuously use cheap “colored” labor.\footnote{Tomoko Akami, “From the Center to the Periphery Hawai‘i and the Pacific Community,” in \textit{Hawai‘i at the Crossroads of the US and Japan before the Pacific War}, ed. Jon Thares Davidann (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 19.}

The above-mentioned studies do not provide a comprehensive explanation of new styles and practices of Korean traditional music and dance during the early twentieth century beyond the Korean peninsula. Even the studies dealing with the Korean immigrants in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i do not specify concrete evidence of Korean participation in multicultural events and their new forms of performances representing Korean-ness. Neither do they cover a wide
variety of musical activities of multigenerational Korean Hawaiians. Most importantly, the studies do not focus on identifying the salient features of their activities bearing a resemblance to those of peninsular Korean performing arts. It is hard to understand the cross-national roles of Korean traditional performing arts in the context of colonial modernity from previous research. This study fills the gap that previous studies missed.

**Primary Sources**

This dissertation is based on my analysis of primary textual and visual sources made available by various institutions and individuals. The most important sources providing crucial information about Korean immigrants’ social and political situations in Hawai‘i are as follows.

First, I obtained a lot of information from the Roberta W.S. Chang Collection’s interview materials, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young*, listing some of the interviews, and transcripts of an interview conducted in 1986 by the Watumull Foundation Oral History Project. The interviewees of the archival resources, most of whom were second-generation Korean Hawaiians, described their families, childhood schooling, and political/religious affiliations of their parents, etc. Second, the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (hereafter RASRL) database is a wide-ranging compendium of articles written by second-generation Asian Hawaiians. The RASRL is the product of two professors in sociology at the University of Hawai‘i, Romanzo Adams and later Andrew Lind, who encouraged both undergraduates and graduate students to write about their own experiences as non-Whites and

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52 *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young* (Seongnam-si, South Korea: Bookorea Pub. Co., 2012) by Roberta Chang lists some of the interviews without adding the author’s analysis, so, this study refers to the published interview material.
their larger ethnic communities. It is valuable data to understand the processes of assimilation, race relations, rates of intermarriage, urbanization, and generational change, etc.\textsuperscript{53}

Also, the manuscript collections of the Pan-Pacific Union Archives provide relevant sources to trace multiethnic relations among Hawaiian immigrants. Included in the archive are \textit{Mid-Pacific Magazine, Bulletin of Pan-Pacific Union}, and other textual and visual resources held in boxes classified according to subjects and types, such as Related Activities and Scrapbooks, Photos and Clippings. The archival resources show programs of the Pan-Pacific Union, an organization “formed by local internationalists as the foci of a concerted and eventually widely-known effort to encourage greater political and cultural understanding throughout the Pacific.”\textsuperscript{54}

The findings from the above resources reveal the political conflict within the Korean community and its influences on everyday life in early twentieth-century Hawaii. Also, Korean contacts with other ethnic groups through cultural events at social and educational institutions in Hawai‘i are described in the resources.

In order to understand the vast changes in music environments in colonial Korea, this study relies mostly upon secondary resources recently published. Both Korean and non-Korean scholars in the areas of cultural history, ethnomusicology, and sociology have conducted the research on the topic. However, my analysis of primary sources uncovered what previous studies have all missed. Primary sources used for this purpose include Korean vernacular newspapers such as the \textit{Maeil Sinbo} and \textit{Chosŏn Ilbo}, magazines discussing cultural issues such as


Samch’ölli, and essays on music by Korean music scholars.\textsuperscript{55} I analyzed the primary sources to identify types and repertoires of performing arts that Koreans performed to represent Korean-ness, social activities of Korean traditional performers, and openness of court/literati music to the general public. Additionally, \textit{Kŭnhyŏndae Han’guk Ŭmak Ŭnggyŏng} (Music Landscape of Modern Korea), a collection of visual resources documenting Korean traditional music performers and performances in modern Korea, helped me to grasp new efforts by Korean performers in the Japanese colonial period.\textsuperscript{56}

Archival resources at the Center for Korean Studies Collection, the Honolulu Museum of Arts, and the Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa helped me to delve into performing arts of Korean immigrants in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century. First, the Susan Chun Lee Collection at the Center for Korean Studies keeps documents relating to the cultural activities of Susan Chun Lee. Lee was a teacher at the Hyung Jay Club, a Korean cultural club for the second-generation Korean Hawaiians established in 1928. The collection provides crucial information pertaining to Korean performances and participants in different musical events in Hawai‘i. I collected the substantial archival resources housed in the Honolulu Academy of Arts as well. The archives titled “Korean Festival” show that Korean Hawaiians enjoyed a traditional Korean holiday commemorating the spring on May 5th in the lunar calendar. Besides, through the program books and visual resources in unprocessed archives at the

\textsuperscript{55} The magazine title literally means “3000 li,” \textit{li} being a traditional measure of distance in East Asia equivalent to 3.927 km or 2.44 miles.

\textsuperscript{56} National Gugak Center, \textit{Kŭnhyŏndae Han’guk Ŭmak Ŭnggyŏng} [Music landscape of modern Korea] (Seoul, South Korea: National Gugak Center, 2007), 1-254.
museum, I could identify that Koreans participated in the “National” Music Week Programs that the Honolulu Academy of Arts hosted as multicultural musical events.

One of the archival resources held at the Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, the Associated Students of the University of Hawaiʻi (ASUH), informs us about history and activities of Korean/Asian cultural clubs at school. Student newspapers provide information about musical events hosted by students of different ethnic groups at school. In particular, *Ka Leo O Hawaii* and *The Pinion*, newspapers archiving activities of the University of Hawaiʻi and the McKinley High School students, respectively, are important materials for this study. Additionally, the photograph collection from the Hawaiʻi State Archives Digital Collection provides vivid information on cultural events. For example, photographs of different ethnic groups at cultural events reveal that diverse ethnic populations shared their culture and traditions.

My analysis of the archives collected in South Korea and Hawaiʻi offered a strong basis to identify the diversification of Korean performing arts beyond the Korean peninsula during the early twentieth century. The primary resources show that although contents, participants, and venues of the Korean performing arts in Hawaiʻi were quite different from those in colonial Korea, both had a commonality in that the Korean traditional performing arts instilled a sense of national pride and struggled to adapt to changing cultural environments.

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57 All articles of *Ka Leo O Hawaii* ([https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/16400](https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/16400)) and *The Pinion* ([https://issuu.com/mhspinion](https://issuu.com/mhspinion)) are accessible online.

Chapter Summaries

This dissertation seeks to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the birth of the kugak concept in a colonial setting in and out of the Korean peninsula, so it approaches the subject from a comparative perspective. The first five chapters address two distinct settings: chapters about colonial Koreans and the other chapters about Korean Hawaiians. Similarities and differences between them are discussed in the concluding chapter.

Chapter 1 covers the intervention of Japanese colonial institutions in the process of changing the contents and infrastructure of Korean music culture and the reactions of Koreans to the rapidly changing environment. Based on my analysis of current studies and primary sources such as newspapers, magazines, and visual resources, this chapter demonstrates that the foundation for the modern music industry was laid during the colonial period. Japan’s introduction of new media and foreign culture to colonial Korea acted as an incentive to Korean performers’ adaptation of traditional music and dance. This chapter also demonstrates that the status-based distinctions became ambiguous between musical genres. The socio-aesthetic hierarchies that were so important in Chosŏn times were now considered negligible; what became important were the characteristics that bind elite and folk, provincial and urban forms of musical expression, long-existing traditional performances over newly invented performances, all of which collectively comprise today’s kugak. I point out that Koreans were not merely passive recipients of the changes but active participants. In the face of the enormous changes with Japan’s interventions, Korean performers, scholars, and workers in the music business began to question what kinds of performances were worth preserving and representing Korean-ness, although they could not always reach an agreement.
In Chapter 2, I examine how Koreans immigrated to Hawai‘i for the first time, where and how they lived, and how their desire for Korean independence affected their lives in Hawai‘i. Korean immigrants were classified as Japanese nationals when going through immigration. However, they maintained their style of living environments similar to those in their homeland while living in plantation villages, where the plantation owners intentionally segregated workers based on ethnicity to prevent unionization among the plantation workers. Beginning in the late 1910s, they began to migrate to cities. This chapter handles the issues of political factions among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians and their relations with Japanese, which caused social divisions in the Korean community. The political conflicts between Yi Sŭng-man and Pak Yong-man due to their conflicting methods for achieving independence led to divisions in churches and women’s social activities. Furthermore, the political conflicts and anti-Japanese sentiment prevalent among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians sometimes came into conflict with the views of Korean young adults. The younger generation was exposed to settings facilitating contacts with the other side of Korean political communities and other ethnic groups, including Japanese. The circumstances raise a question as to whether Korean cultural activities played a role in unifying the divided communities, which is answered in Chapters 4 and 5.

The third chapter investigates performers, repertories, and places of Korean traditional music and dance in colonial Korea to identify how they curated Korean-ness through performing arts. This chapter points out that I use the word “curate” in a very broad sense to include selection, reframing, definition, re-contextualizing, education, or consciousness-raising, not merely signifying preservation. In the process of “curating” Korean-ness, colonial Koreans covered the late Chosŏn performances for both the upper class and the lower class and both traditional performances and newly invented performances. This chapter, focusing on female
professional entertainers and court musicians, emphasizes Korean traditional music and dance in colonial Korea escaped from the previous stratification of the performing groups which had been classified by inherited social standing. The latter part of this chapter addresses the efforts of Korean performers to adapt themselves to new cultural settings where foreign music, dance, and cultural infrastructures were pervasive. In this sense, this chapter underscores that Korean performers, not as bystanders but as active participants, got involved in curating Korean-ness.

My focus moves from performing arts in colonial Korea to musical activities by Korean Hawaiians in Chapter 4. This chapter contends that Koreans actively participated in musical events during the early twentieth century, presenting choreographed Korean court and folk dance moves, folk songs, and Korean plays. Korean Hawaiians showed the performances, which involved the process of preservation and adaptation, at festivals, recitals at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, school activities, church events, and political events. Korean Hawaiians participated in the cultural events most actively in the late 1920s and 1930s, featuring a growing number of cultural organizations and multicultural events hosted by the social and educational institutions in Hawai‘i. Korean Hawaiians, who were not professional performers, founded the Hyung Jay Club, the Posŏnghoe, and the Korean Student Association during this period. Further, old men who were former members of the Namp’ungsa played traditional Korean wind and percussion instruments to accompany the singing and dancing of young adults affiliated with these cultural organizations. This chapter also discusses how Korean Hawaiians presented their loyalty to the U.S. and elicited American support for Korea’s independence from Japanese rule through morale-boosting concerts and a banquet during WWII.

Chapter 5 explores what motivated Hawaiian institutions to promote such multicultural events. This chapter also answers how and why amateur performers, as professional female
entertainers in colonial Korea did, covered a variety of performances. I argue that Hawaiian institutions promoted multicultural environments in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i as an assimilation policy. Multicultural programs and events beginning in the late 1920s were aligned with the establishment of new institutions in Hawai‘i which aimed at American-led regional order in the Asia-Pacific area by cooperation and discussion on relatively equal footings. The process of Korean Hawaiians curating Korean-ness in order to participate in such events led naturally up to the unity of Korean communities. Also, the multicultural environment motivated Koreans to try various attempts to show performances of different ethnic backgrounds besides adapted versions of Korean traditional music and dance. As this chapter notes, non-professional Korean performers offering such a diverse genre of performances to showcase Korean-ness reflect that Korean Hawaiians were open, flexible, and adaptive to multicultural environments in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i. The external and internal factors of active Korean participation in musical activities provide more insight into a complex mix of identities signified by their curating Korean-ness.

In the last chapter, I compare the performing arts of the two groups together. Korean traditional performing arts in peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century were different from each other in their repertories, social status of performers, and performance contexts. However, this concluding chapter puts more stress on the point of sameness between the two. First, performing arts played a crucial role in confirming Korean national identity; the process of curating Korean-ness through all-encompassing Korean traditional music and dance led to the unity of Koreans. Second, performing arts were an essential factor in facilitating cultural interactions between different ethnic groups and challenging conventional notions that people had to present and appreciate certain types of performing arts that fit with their social
status. In short, this chapter emphasizes that Korean performing arts were a valuable tool to express Korean-ness and continuously adapted to the rapidly changing societies of both peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century. The implication and adaptability of the early twentieth-century Korean traditional music performances, which connote musical nationalism and cultural convergence, are consistent with the features of today’s Korean traditional music performances called kugak. In this regard, this chapter ends with the point about significant parallels between the early twentieth-century Korean traditional performances and the present-day kugak.

A Note on Translation, Romanization, and Transcription

Translations from Korean are my own unless otherwise stated. Korean words have been Romanized according to the McCune-Reischauer method, except in instances where convention dictates otherwise, such as place names (Seoul). In terms of personal names, the McCune-Reischauer system was used unless the individual has published or indicated a preference for an alternate spelling. Korean and Japanese names are given the family name first, followed by the given name. In case of Korean Hawaiians discussed mainly in Chapters 2, 4, and 5, except for Yi Sŏng-man and Pak Yong-man, who were not longstanding residents but political refugees, I place the last name at the end of a person’s full name, after any given names regardless of whether they had US citizenship.

Transliteration of Hawaiian words and names is based on the University of Hawai‘i style guide (https://www.hawaii.edu/offices/communications/standards/hawaiian-language-considerations).
CHAPTER 1. CONSTRUCTING THE CONCEPT OF “KUGAK” (NATIONAL MUSIC)

Seoul, with lots of young ladies and gentlemen, was accompanied by rumba
What a colorful city where young people breathe under neon signs,
They are rolling over and over. Oh!
Let’s sing lovers’ rumba by lifting our voices.
Sing the songs of one season all together at bars or flower shops,
Such a city of hustle and bustle.

Seoul with winks and hits, with new rhythms of tango full of passion
Congested, the busy young people walking through jazz
The hustle and bustle are rolling over and over. Oh!
Let’s dance to the loving tango music all night long. Hahahaha!
Let’s dance, not thinking of temporary smiles or tears.

Myriad of artificial silks and rendezvous, along with them is the waltz of love
Proud, such a blossom of Seoul with lots of young people winking at each other,
They are rolling over and over. Oh!
Let’s sing, the waltz of love before the youth goes by. Hahahaha!
Let’s sing a song for the child, whether good or bad, all-congested Seoul.
(Lyrics of “Congested Seoul” [Pŏmbŏk Sŏul])

The lyrics of a Korean popular song (yuhaengga) titled “Congested Seoul” [Pŏmbŏk Sŏul] sung by Nam In-su illustrate the influence of Western music and dance in colonial Korean culture. As the lyric indicates, young Koreans were exposed to foreign cultures, including Cuban

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1 I translated the lyrics of the song (sung by Nam In-su, the lyrics written by Pak Yŏng-ho, composed by Son Mok-in, accompanied by Okeh Symphony Orchestra, SP 1934A, published in October 1934), excerpted from Yuchun Ch’oe, “1930 Nyŏndae Han’guk to-si ŭmak munhwa ŭi shingminjŏk kündeonggwawŏltumyujik p’ŏsūp’ekt’ibŭ” [Colonial Modernity and World Music Perspective in the 1930s Korean Urban Musical Culture], Ùmakhak [Musicology] 16 (2008): 222-223.
rumba, American jazz, and European waltzes, in the late 1930s. The lyric underscores that foreign dances became so prevalent in Seoul that young Koreans enjoyed them as social dances, creating an exciting and boisterous atmosphere. This song reflects an urban Korean soundscape during the colonial period very well, where people had easy access to popular music from the developed North American and Western European societies. Such a scene is something pre-colonial Koreans could not imagine; the public rarely had opportunities to appreciate foreign music and dance. Current studies seem to agree that colonial Koreans went through considerable changes in their cultural experiences, especially between the late 1920s and early 1930s. Colonial Koreans could have easy access to foreign music through stage performances, radio, and gramophone records beginning in the late 1920s.

The song parallels “Tokyo March” 東京行進曲, a Japanese popular song (ryūkōka) published in 1929. The song describes Japanese youths “dancing to jazz, drinking liquor into the wee hours; having secret ‘trysts in chic Asakusa’; going to movies, department stores, and dance halls; and riding mass transit.” The lyrics of both “Congested Seoul” and “Tokyo March” have much in common. They are essentially “ethnographies” of urban modernity, detailing the folkways of youth and describing the soundscapes they inhabit. These songs are part of a subgenre of yuhaenggal/ryūkōka about city life. Recording and broadcast technologies greatly affected “the creation, performance, and enjoyment of music.” In particular, electronic media promoted and augmented live performance.

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2 Atkins, A History of Popular Culture in Japan, 115.
3 Ibid., 116.
All these circumstances led me to question whether colonial authorities intervened in the process of introducing foreign culture and new cultural infrastructure prevalent in today’s Korea. I also became curious about existing Korean performers’ recognition of performing arts representing Korea in the face of the massive influx of foreign culture. Therefore, I examined current studies conducted inside and outside of Korea and analyzed primary sources such as newspapers, magazines, and visual and aural resources. The findings reveal two points. First, Japanese colonial institutions intervened in the processes of changing the contents and infrastructure of Korean music culture similar to today’s; the foundation for the modern music industry was laid during the colonial period. Second, Koreans were not merely passive recipients of the changes but active participants in forming “national music” concepts which were amorphous, ambiguous, and mystical. Colonial Korean performers confronted the continued influx of foreign music via mass media, most of which were introduced by the Japanese entertainment industry. In the face of the enormous changes with Japan’s interventions, Korean traditional performers and scholars began to question what kinds of performances were worth preserving to represent Korean-ness.

Introduction of Western Music

There were three routes by which Koreans were initiated into Western music beginning in the late nineteenth century: churches, schools, and the royal military band. Missionaries taught Western hymns at churches and missionary schools. Japanese authorities encouraged colonial Koreans to learn Western music by making Western-style songs (唱歌 ch’angga, shōka in Japanese) required in elementary schools. Lastly, a Western-style military brass band organized in the Korean Empire practiced and performed Western-style marches and ensemble music.
More and more Koreans became familiar with Western music, as many Koreans received music education in Japan and formed new organizations to perform Western music in colonial Korea.

Western music culture entered Korea in the late nineteenth century when Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and the U.S. were displaying ever-increasing interest in establishing contact with Korea to develop trade relationships. The assassination of Queen Min by Japanese settlers and agents in 1895 led the pro-Japanese faction (親日派 ch’in-ilp’a) at court to gain a temporary advantage in Korea. When the international community became aware of the assassination, Japan withdrew from the Korean peninsula and focused on consolidating its colonial rule in Taiwan. Taking advantage of the internal turmoil created by the rise of the “righteous armies” (義兵 ūibyŏng) protesting against the murder of the queen, King Kojong (高宗, r.1864-1907) escaped from his confinement in the Kyŏngbok palace and moved to the Russian legation to seek protection, with the support of the minor pro-Russian faction (親露派 ch’in-rŏp’a). Having recovered his authority in the government administration, King Kojong established the Taehan Empire in 1897.

The Qing withdrawal after its loss in the Sino-Japanese War and Japan’s diminishing position in Korea opened an opportunity for the new “empire.” Koreans in Seoul first saw street cars resulting from the Korean government’s urban redevelopment project modeled after Washington, D.C., in the U.S.⁴ The Korean government began the construction of the Northwest Railway Line connecting Seoul and Ŭiju, relying on foreign capital and technology from France and Belgium. It also secured from Belgium a promise of investment in the establishment of the

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⁴ Tae-Jin Yi, *The Dynamics of Confucianism and Modernization in Korean History* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program at the Cornell University, 2007), 278.
Korean Central Bank for the issuance of paper money. The opening of Korea to the outside world in the late nineteenth century brought religious toleration for the remaining Catholics and introduced Protestantism via American missionaries. By the 1880s, the Confucian order was crumbling, and not only Western powers but also the rise of Japan threatened Korean sovereignty. Progressive Koreans sought to modernize the country and pressed for the entry of foreign missionaries to help with medicine and education. They saw Christianity as the religious or ideological basis of Western society, believing the nation would benefit from a spiritual renewal of the people.

The first Western missionaries to enter Korea officially were Horace Grant Underwood and Henry Gerhard Appenzeller, both of whom were from the United States. Underwood, a Northern Presbyterian, and Appenzeller, a Northern Methodist, disembarked together from the same ship in 1885. Sŏ Sang-ryun, who was baptized by a Scottish protestant missionary in Manchuria, established the first Protestant church community in Korea in 1884 in the village of Sorae, Hwanghae Province. After the arrival of American missionary groups, more churches, such as Saemunan Church and Naeri Church, were established in the late 1880s. These missionaries also established the first modern schools in Korea. Appenzeller established Paejae School in 1885. Underwood established Kyŏngsin School, the predecessor to Yŏnsei University, in 1886. Also, Mary Scranton, another Methodist missionary, established Ewha School in 1886.

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Such churches and missionary schools were main venues in which Koreans began listening to Western music. Singing hymns at church was an effective method for Koreans to get used to Western-style music, as the hymns were easy to memorize and sing. Hymns quickly gained popularity after they had Korean texts. In addition, missionary schools taught Western music as a required course. In this sense, missionaries played a huge role in introducing and establishing Western music in Korea. By learning and singing hymns at churches or missionary schools, Koreans became gradually accustomed to the Western tonalities, melodies, and rhythms.

Even after the 1905 Protectorate Treaty between Korea and Japan, Japan continuously encouraged colonial Koreans to learn Western music. The Japanese Government-General of Korea (hereafter GGK) enforced a rule of using educational songs, consisting of Western folk music, newly composed songs in Western tonality and rhythms, as well as Japanese traditional songs at schools. The Japanese authorities allowed missionary schools to keep teaching hymns so long as they did not include lyrics encouraging Korean national spirit. Both non-missionary schools and missionary schools in colonial Korea were to follow the rules of teaching Western music and excluding Korean traditional music in their curricula.

Another institution providing the first influence of Western music in Korea was the military band. While Western-style songs and hymns were the primary sources of Western vocal music, the military music band became the primary source of Western instrumental music in Korea (as it had been in Japan a half-century earlier). At the end of the nineteenth century, as

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7 Hŭichin Kim, “Kŭndae yŏnjuhoejang yŏn-gu” [A Study on the Korean Modern Concert Hall], (Master’s thesis, Korea National University of Arts, 2011), 84.

8 There was a total of 2,250 schools, including 1,111 missionary schools in colonial Korea as of 1910.
European, American, and Russian battleships arrived at the Chemulp’o port in Inch’ŏn, the bright costumes and loud, fast-paced music of the military bands parading in the area impressed the Koreans. In 1901, Emperor Kojong hired a German musician, Franz Eckert (1852-1916), as a conductor and teacher of the first Western military band in Korea. The Korean Empire established it as part of the plan to create a modern army. Emperor Kojong intended to strengthen royal authority and to modernize its system through various reforms. The ultimate goal of his reforms was to establish a permanently neutral nation, which Japan did not allow to go unhindered.⁹

Before transforming the Korean military band, Eckert founded Western-style military bands in Japan. The Japanese Empire commissioned Eckert to be a foreign advisor at the behest of the Imperial Japanese Navy, serving as a director of the Navy Band from 1879 to 1880. At the time, the need to compose an anthem was especially pressing in the Japanese Navy, as Japanese officers recognized the problems of their inability to sing their own anthem at flag ceremonies at sea. The existing anthem was what John William Fenton (1828-1908) composed in 1869. Eckert re-arranged the existing anthem by including a four-part vocal arrangement to perform in the imperial palace on Emperor Meiji’s birthday in 1880 for the first time. In the 1880s, Eckert worked at the Ministry of Education for the Music Examination Board, published singing books for elementary school students, established the military band of the Imperial Guards, and founded the military band of the Imperial Japanese Army Academy. In summary, he was active in composing Japanese ceremonial music while introducing a variety of Western musical instruments and musical theories to Japan. After completing his mission of changing Japanese

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⁹ Yi, “Treaties Leading to Japan’s Annexation of Korea,” 5-32.
music, Eckert embarked on transforming Korean music as a response to the Korean Empire’s request to build and train a military band.10

In the Korean peninsula, Eckert established a small orchestra of two dozen musicians, which subsequently increased to seventy members. The band performed not only at the court but also in Pagoda Park every Thursday for the public. Eckert supplied the harmony for the National Anthem of Korea (大韓帝國 愛國歌 Taehan Cheguk Aegukka), which premiered on September 9, 1902. Emperor Kojong, who was himself a Prussophile, requested the band to play the new anthem with basic melodies from the works of Wilhelm Richard Wagner right in front of him. However, only a few years later, the Empire of Japan annexed Korea, banning the anthem in favor of Eckert’s earlier creation, the Japanese anthem Kimigayo.11 The original Western-style military band was disbanded in 1907 as the military itself was abolished; however, an infamous pro-Japanese Korean politician, Yi Wan-yong (李完用, 1858-1926), reorganized the former military band to meet the needs of the colonial authorities, which changed its name to Yi Royal Western Music Band (李王職洋樂隊 Yiwangjik Yang-aktae) in 1910. The colonial authorities used the Korean Empire’s military band to perform at political events until its complete disbandment in 1920.

To summarize the introduction of Western music to Korea, its routes reflected very different directions from previous ones. Initial knowledge about the West and its culture entered Korea through China, and the very first firm information about the West was gained in the early


seventeenth century when a Korean envoy to China brought back a map of Europe in 1603. However, the full-scale importation of Western culture entering Korea in the late nineteenth century flowed from Japan through Korea.\textsuperscript{12} Hymns and Western-style songs that the Western missionaries introduced initially were established by Japanese colonial authorities’ measures to teach Western culture at schools. The first Western-style military band was formed by Eckert, who had previous experiences of reforming Japanese music culture and applied the reforms to the Korean peninsula. The military band established a foothold to foster Western orchestral musicians in colonial Korea. An increasing number of musicians, who learned Western music from members of the military band, went to Japan to polish their skills and played an important role in teaching and performing Western music upon their return to their homeland.

**Modern Theaters**

When Korea was under the influence of imperialists in the 1900s, new types of theaters began to appear. Previous performance sites were very different from the newly established theaters. Court musicians and entertainers performed their music and dance mainly inside the court for social, religious, or political events; meanwhile, folk music and dance performers presented their performances at the gates of villages, outdoor market places, or rich people’s courtyards.\textsuperscript{13} In keeping pace with the influx of Western cultures just before the colonial era, Koreans changed their ways of appreciating performing arts. During the early twentieth century, Western-style commercial theaters continued to appear in the Korean peninsula. Wŏn’gaksa

\textsuperscript{12} Yuseon Yi, *Hanguk yangak paengnyeonsa* [A hundred years of Western music in Korea] (Seoul, South Korea: Umak chunchusa, 1985), 17.

\textsuperscript{13} Hyung Don Lee, “Comparative Study of the Ritual Aspects of Western and Asian Performance” (Master’s thesis, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2009), 17.
(圓覺社, 1903-1906), Hyŏpryulsa (協律社, 1907-1914), Yŏnhŭngsa (演興社, 1907-1915), Changansa (長安社, 1908-1918), Kwangmudaе (光武臺, 1908-1927), Umigwan (優美館, 1912-1982), Tansŏngsa (團成社, 1907-2008), and Pumin'gwan (府民館, 1934–1945) are the examples, all of which were in Seoul. Koreans began to enjoy music and dance in indoor theaters by buying tickets. Such private commercial theaters survived in colonial Korea despite economic hardship and imperialist pressure due to theater managers’ administrative strategies and the public’s demand for diverse cultures on stages.

The very first commercial theater, which also showed movies from 1903 on, was the Hyŏpryulsa. It was located in Yajuhyŏn, the present location of the Sŏdaemun Church in Seoul. It was a round building, reportedly modeled on Rome’s Colosseum, with windows all around and a conical-shaped top.\(^{14}\) It was large, with the number of seats ranging somewhere between five and six hundred. There were three separate seating floors, which are likely to have corresponded to with three different ticket prices.

There are divergent opinions as to who founded the Hyŏpryulsa and why. Many understood that Hyŏpryulsa was initially an outdoor stage (戲臺 hŭidae) founded by Emperor Kojong to host ceremonies commemorating the fortieth anniversary of his administration.\(^{15}\) However, a recent study argues that it was first established as a private performing arts hall to respond to the request of a high-ranking army officer of the new military institute. In 1900,

\(^{14}\) “Hyŏpryulsa,” Korean History Society, accessed April 6, 2019, http://www.koreanhistory.org/%EC%84%9C%EC%9A%B8%EC%9D%B4%EC%95%BC%EA%B8%B0-%ED%98%91%EB%A5%A0%EC%82%AC%E5%8D%94%E5%BE%8B%E7%A4%BE/?ckattempt=1.

Chang Pong-hwan (張鳳煥, 1869-1929) requested that Kojong establish Hyŏpryulsa to raise funds for the military band’s maintenance. In 1902, Kojong founded an outdoor performance stage to conduct ceremonies for foreign delegates, which became Hyŏpryulsa. The new study demonstrates that Hyŏpryulsa was unrelated to the authorities’ ceremonies, but rather was a music company in which the Korean Empire invested to accede to a demand of the military chief. Regardless of the differing opinions on its origin, it seems indisputably evident that Hyŏpryulsa became the first performing arts theater producing and selling various performances to the public in the Korean peninsula.

A royal decree in 1906 ordered the Hyŏpryulsa to discontinue its operations due to a public petition complaining of its impropriety. The public virulently opposed continued performances at the Hyŏpryulsa during the political crisis in the Korean peninsula. Conservatives argued that the site had a bad influence on the youth. The theater changed its name to Kwaningurakbu (官人俱樂部) and changed its function as an official institute in charge of cultural events in April 1906. In December 1907, the Korean government allowed the Kwaningurakbu to become a private commercial theater, granting a writer, Yi Injik (李人稙, 1862-1916), official permission to operate the theater. From then on, the theater changed its name to Wŏn’gaksa. For eight years after the establishment of Wŏn’gaksa, Korea had a series of private theaters.

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17 Kim, “Hyŏpryulsa chaperon,” 289.
Yŏnhŭngsa was set up in 1907 inside a building called Changyunjik in Sadong, currently the location of the Chong-ro District Office. The theater was famous for presenting new-style plays (新派 sinp’an). However, the Yŏnhŭngsa played a role in presenting diverse Korean traditional performing arts. Despite its active roles in showing various genres of plays, it closed its doors in 1915 due to financial difficulties. Similarly, Chang-ansa, which Yi Kilsŏn (李吉善, 1892-1957) established in 1908, had to discontinue its operations for the same reason. The Chang-ansa presented various types of Korean traditional performing arts.

Kwangmudae was a representative theater presenting performances from 1907 to 1930. It began as a movie theater, showing “magic lantern entertainment shows” to the public. Emperor Kojong appointed Henry Collbran (1852-1925) as a manager of the Seoul Electricity Company and commissioned him to introduce electricity and trams to Seoul. Kwangmudae was what Collbran and his business partner, Harry Rice Bostwick (1870-1931), set up in the alley of the power station and tramway to entertain the employees by showing “a screening of short American stop-motion, animated and live action advertisements and actualité films and other movies featuring trick effects, which were commonly available in the U.S. at the time.” Korean entrepreneurs who were executives of an electric company took over management of the

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20 Sinp’an was based on shinpa (新派), a form of theater in Japan, usually featuring melodramatic stories with social and political commentary, contrasted with the more traditional kabuki style.

21 Pang-song Song, Chŏngbo han’guk ŭmak t’ongsa [Korean music history] (Seoul, South Korea: Minsogwŏn, 2007), 532-533, 607.


Tongdaemun Moving Pictures Venue and renamed it Kwangmudae. In September 1908, the directors passed on the management to an industrialist, Pak Sŭng-p’il (朴承弼, 1875-1932). He bought and ran the theater for two decades. While he was managing the theater, Korean traditional music and dance performances were presented.

Tansŏngsa, established in 1907 and famous for having film narrators (辩士 pyŏnsa), also was among the most noted of Seoul’s old cinemas. Tansŏngsa had an exterior similar to Western models and interior based on Japanese models, with tatami mats covering the floor of the more expensive seating areas. Pak Sŭng-p’il, who was a director of Kwangmudae, took over Tansŏngsa as well. It catered to both Korean and Japanese audiences and always tried to show foreign movies as well as traditional plays.

Umigwan, like Tansŏngsa, was a motion-picture theater showing the latest movies by the Japanese Nikkatsu Film Company and employing movie narrators. The Umigwan, originally erected as a cinema by a Japanese entrepreneur in 1912, attracted Korean audiences. Umigwan, along with Kwangmudae and Chang-ansa, earned its name among the most renowned theaters in Seoul in securing box office success. Both Umigwan and Tansŏngsa had established themselves

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24 Pyŏnsa emerged at some point in the first decade of the twentieth century. The earliest public screenings of foreign films took place around 1903, and it is likely that it was from around that time that people went up in front of the audience to explain and enliven the silent movements on screen.


as transnational arts stages before they became movie theaters exclusively. In addition to films, they also provided a stage for plays, music, and dance presentations, contributing significantly to the medium of the new culture.

In 1935, the Kyŏngsŏng-bu, an administrative district, built Pumin’gwan across from the Kyŏngsŏng-pu Office (present-day Seoul City Hall). By the early 1930s, dwellers of Seoul, especially the Japanese, had strongly desired the construction of a “grand hall,” which would be capable of accommodating congregations, lectures, performances, movie screenings, and other social-work meetings. Especially many of the urban Japanese yearned for performances of first-class kabuki troupes from Imperial Japan. On December 10, 1935, the opening day of the hall, the municipal government tried to deliver the message of uniting officials and the common populace including Koreans and the Japanese as municipal people or bumin (府民, fumin in Japanese) through a series of ceremonies. At the same time, it proclaimed the completion of the hall to be a sacred project of the colonialists through a Shintō rite. Although rental fees of the hall were quite expensive, it was utilized for many purposes. The building not only had those events of lectures, conventions, plays, films, and music concerts, but it arranged social rites such as weddings and memorial services.28

The early twentieth-century theaters in the Korean peninsula competed with each other to make a considerable profit, enticing entertainers in other provinces to move to Seoul. Music of southern and western Korean provinces enjoyed continuous popularity, encouraging musicians from those regions to move to the capital. As a result, theaters in Seoul accommodated diverse

music genres from different areas, making various regional music popular beyond specific territorial boundaries. The theaters also provided the public chances to appreciate Western classical and popular performing arts as well.

**Recording and Broadcast Media**

Foreign music and Korean traditional music became more widely accessible to the public through radio broadcasts and gramophone records during the colonial era. It was not until the late 1920s that the Korean music industry showed marked growth as Korean recording companies started to use electronic recording technologies. Korean access to new media in the late period of Japanese rule signifies the start of a public entertainment and consumer culture in the Korean peninsula.

In 1927, the newly established Kyŏngsŏng Broadcast Corporation (hereafter KBC) began regular programming in Korea as an affiliate of Japan’s state broadcaster. The KBC, the first radio station in Korea, was what Japanese authorities founded mainly “to spread Japanese ideals and culture.” By the end of the colonial period, an estimated 305,000 radio permits had been granted for use in private homes, tea rooms, restaurants, public markets, schools, and village meeting halls. The KBC penetrated every nook and cranny of the colony within its network of stations by exchanging radio programs with Japan, Manchukuo, and China. No other colony was tied to its metropole through such an extensive communications network in the early twentieth century.

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29 Kwon, “20-Segi Ch’o sŏurŭmakkye ūi sŏnggyŏkkwa taejungŭmak hyŏngsŏnge kwanhan yŏn-gu” [The Popular Music at Seoul in the Early Twentieth Century], 137.

Although the metropole tightly controlled cultural policies in the colony, the problems
of creating and expanding it required the GGK to make some significant cultural policy
concessions. Most notably, Japanese authorities were confronted with the necessity of creating a
second, all-Korean-language system to disseminate receivers and create a mass audience. For
that reason, the first mixed-language channel was supplemented by the addition of an all-Korean
channel in 1933, leading to a boost in radio sales.\textsuperscript{32}

Following the start of “Korean-only broadcasting,” the number of Korean listeners grew
rapidly, leading to the improvement of Korean programs. While still tightly controlled by
officials of the Ministry of Communications, all-Korean radio created a unique cultural space
through its diverse informational, educational, economic, and pure entertainment programs. It
shows the relative autonomy of radio broadcasting.\textsuperscript{33} First, in order to improve programs and
attract more listeners, the GGK took the initiative to conduct a “Korean listeners’ preference
survey.” Four thousand questionnaires were distributed to Korean listeners in order to find out
audience ratings and preference for each program segment: reports, educational programs,
“comfort” programs, live broadcasting, and children’s programs. According to the survey result
for the “comfort” programs, among the 2,954 (74\%) respondents, 37.2\% (11,091 people)
preferred Korean music, followed by 30.3\% (9,034 people) preferring entertainment drama,
19.0\% (5,659 people) Japanese music and entertainment drama, and 13.6\% (4,057) Western

\textsuperscript{31} Michael Edson Robinson, “Broadcasting, Cultural Hegemony, and Colonial Modernity in
(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 52.

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 53.

\textsuperscript{33} Jaekil Seo, “Dual Broadcasting and Diglossia in the Japanese Colonial Period,” \textit{Seoul Journal
The broadcasting station accommodated the results and took measures such as buying records and musical instruments and organizing an orchestra attached to the broadcasting station for the music fans. It also increased the number of Korean music and radio drama broadcasts. Indeed, Korean radio became a critical productive force in the creation of a modern and popular culture in colonial Korea. Although the radio culture was a product of Japanese imperial political, cultural, and economic ascendancy, it played a considerable role in subverting Japanese cultural hegemony. These negate the simplistic view that “Japanese radio was just another in a series of coercive, modern technologies to further Japanese political control and, ultimately, assimilation.”

Korean commercial record production began with foreign engineers who recorded Korean musical performances on their international recording tours. The U.S. Columbia Phonograph Co. invited Korean musicians to Osaka for recording and, after pressing them in the U.S., began releasing Korean records from 1907 on. Victor Talking Machine Co. followed suit. During its recording tour through East Asia, Victor recorded music in Korea and released it in 1908. The Japan Phonograph Company, Nihon Chikuonki Shōkai (Ilbon Ch’ugūngi Sanghoe in Korean, abbreviated as Nitchiku hereafter), was the oldest and one of the most influential

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34 Seo, “Dual Broadcasting and Diglossia in the Japanese Colonial Period,” 189.
35 Ibid., 190.
record companies in the Japanese Empire. In 1911, a year after Japan formally colonized Korea, Nitchiku opened a branch office in Kyŏngsŏng (present-day Seoul, Keijō in Japanese). It thus became the first record company to set up operations in the Korean peninsula and was the only one that produced Korean records until 1925.\(^{39}\)

Multiple record companies competed for their market shares in colonial Korea. Under the direction of dedicated heads of the Artists and Repertoire Division (文藝部 mun’yebu) at different recording companies, different genres of records were continuously released, and new stars and hit songs emerged. The Artists and Repertoire divisions were responsible for scouting and managing artists and songwriters, as well as marketing and promoting their works. During this time, the colonial government began proactively controlling and even utilizing popular music.\(^{40}\) Japan dominated all Korean SP records markets during the colonial period except for U.S. Columbia and Victor.

In short, colonial Koreans had markedly diverse cultural experiences beginning in the early twentieth century due to the development of radio broadcasting and the record industry. Colonial authorities’ impact on all these elements was in no way negligible. Japan introduced Western music cultures and new technology to promote images of colonial subjects as modernized societies familiar with Western culture.

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\(^{40}\) Ibid., 85-116.
Conceptualizing “National Music”

As mentioned in the Introduction, present-day kugak is the term indicating various types of products of Korean performers’ efforts to preserve, popularize, and globalize Korean traditional performing arts. Kugak is an umbrella term for a variety of different genres of Korean traditional performing arts. “Legitimate or proper music” (正樂 chŏngak), including poetic songs (正歌 chŏngga) such as kagok and sijo, was enjoyed by the royalty and aristocracy of Chosŏn. Court music (雅樂 aak) and court dance (正財 chŏngjae) were once performed for the king and aristocrats at celebratory state events. Folk music (民俗樂 minsok-ak) such as p’ansori, sanjo, minyo, and chapka was originally what commoners enjoyed in village market places or plazas. Lastly, music and dance connected with shamanic and Buddhist traditions also fit into the category of kugak.41 Besides, performances mixing the traditional music and non-traditional music such as Western classical music, pop music, and other categories of performing arts like plays or modern dances, so-called fusion, cross-over, creative (創作 ch’angjak), or new (新 sin) kugak have become important in kugak circles.

It is interesting that the word kugak was first introduced to the Korean peninsula by Japanese colonial authorities. It was not Koreans but Japanese who originally created the term and applied it to colonial Korea when Japan reorganized systems and organizations right after establishing its protectorate over Korea in 1905. The term first appeared in 1907 to designate court music (雅樂 aak) as a counterpart of yangak 洋樂, meaning Western music.42 More

42 Song. Chungbo han’guk ŭmak t’ongsua, 520-524.
specifically, the term *kugak* was originally used to refer to the department of traditional Korean music inside a government agency responsible for musical performances. It resulted from the need to differentiate the Korean traditional music, in this case court music, from Western classical music within the music-related government agency. While there was little need for such a distinction before then, the demand to distinguish different sounds with different origins created the need to make new terms like *kugak* and *yangak* in colonial Korea.

Japan first created the term *kugak* during the Meiji period (1868-1912) in the process of reorganizing all official institutes and educational systems. A Japanese scholar named Megata Tanetarō (目賀田種太郎, 1853-1926) officially used the word for the first time in Japan in 1878. Later, scholars kept discussing methods to improve Japanese national music. Japanese authorities established a new research institute called the Division of Music Investigation (now the Tokyo Music School) in 1879. The institute aimed at investigating original Japanese music and accepting Western music to complement shortcomings of existing music in Japan. As indicated in the comments of a president of the institute, the term “national music” indicates the combined music culture of existing Japanese music and Western music:

National music [*kokugaku*] is the product of investigating good-natured and benign characteristics of traditional music in Japan and compromising shortcomings of Japan’s classical music with Western music. The purpose of national music is promoting national-level musical properties that anybody, regardless of their social standing, could sing and perform…By national music we mean the establishment of such songs and music which can be sung and played by us all, the Japanese people, whether high or low, at any place and at any time, without distinction between ‘refined’ and ‘popular.’

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As the above quotation indicates, the term *kokugaku* implied “newly developed” Japanese national music for the public by compromising existing Japanese traditional music with Western music. The purpose of founding the Division of Music Investigation was to produce music that everybody could enjoy regardless of their social or economic status. The first attempt at a definition of national music indicates that Japan advocated an “assimilation of the best of their music and song proper to old and modern time, with those of the western countries.”

As concrete measures to establish Japanese national music, Isawa Shūji (伊澤 修二, 1851-1917), who directed the Division of Music Investigation, worked on educating music teachers. He also contributed to finishing the collection of songs with Western scales and rhythms called *shōka* 唱歌 for students in the lower grades in elementary school while establishing curriculum for music called *ongaku* 音樂 for higher grade students. The musical instruction was primarily not only for moral education but also inculcation of national identity. Isawa’s plan was to cultivate and improve Japanese music by “selecting the best from both European and oriental music,” which was the same reasoning behind the GGK prescribing Western-style songs in Korean schools.

It is necessary to trace Isawa’s educational background, which influenced his policies on music education. Born in 1851 in Shinano Province to an impoverished samurai family, Isawa took part in the newly formed Dutch-style military marching band in the province when he was a

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46 Eppstein, “Musical Instruction in Meiji Education,” 27.
teenager. In 1875, Isawa went to the U.S. to study teachers’ training at the State Normal School at Bridgewater, Massachusetts (now Bridgewater State University). While living in Boston, Isawa met and exchanged ideas with American music educators such as Luther Whiting Mason (1818-1896). Several years later, upon the joint recommendation of Isawa and his immediate supervisor in the Ministry of Education, Mason was invited to Japan to work with Isawa toward the development of the first Japanese school music curricula: Shōka and Ongaku. Isawa established not only the Japanese music curriculum but also the word kokugaku, demonstrating Japan’s efforts to educate Western cultures along with existing Japanese music in the late nineteenth century. The term reflects post-Meiji Japanese efforts to modernize educational systems and content in music circles.

When Japanese authorities first used the term kugak in colonial Korea, its usages and underlying meaning were quite different from those in Japan. In 1907, Megata Tanetarō, as the financial advisor of the GGK in 1907, was in charge of re-arranging existing institutes in colonial Korea. When re-organizing the court music institute in 1910, Megata introduced the term kugak to colonial Korea for the first time in 1907. So the term kugak used in colonial Korea between 1907 and 1910 was not a generic term referring to all genres of Korean traditional music.

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47 Michael J. Holderer, “Japanese Western Classical Music from the Meiji to the Modern Era” (Lecture Document, the University of Texas at Austin Lecture, 2009), 6.


but was title of a position directing the court music institute. Below are details of the court music institute that Megata re-organized in 1907 (see Table 1).\(^{50}\)

**Table 1**

*The Reorganized Court Music Institute (1907-1910)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Positions</th>
<th>Responsibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chosŏn Ŭmak</strong></td>
<td>Kugak-sajang [國樂師長, President of National Music]</td>
<td>Educating and performing kugak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Chosŏn Music]</td>
<td>Kugaksa [國樂師, Vice-president of National Music]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Söyang Ŭmak</strong></td>
<td>Ak-sajang [樂師長, President of Music]</td>
<td>Educating and performing ŭma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Western Music]</td>
<td>Aksa [樂師, Vice-president of Music]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the above table shows, the Department of Chosŏn Music (朝鮮音樂部 Chosŏn Ŭmak-pu) was what colonial authorities established by reorganizing exciting music institutes within the palace. Lee Nam-hŭi became kugaksajang (president of kugak), and Myŏng Wan-byŏng and Kim In-gil were in charge of kugaksa (vice-president of kugak) in Chosŏn Ŭmak-pu in 1907. These figures were former members of the court music institute. As Japanese rule began with the end of the short-lived Taehan Empire in 1910, the Japanese colonial authorities changed the titles from kugaksajang and kugaksa to aaksajang and aaksa respectively. The colonial authorities changed name of the institute in charge of court music to Yiwangjik Aaktae (李王職雅樂隊), Yiwangjik Aakpu (李王職雅樂部), or Aakpu (雅樂部) during the colonial era. Therefore, kugak between 1907 and 1910 began as an administrative term referring to the department and directors in charge of court music, not indicating all kinds of traditional music. The introduction of the

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\(^{50}\) I translated the contents of this table based on No’s study, “No Dong Eun ŭi ‘algo shipta’ 2: kugak iran yongŏ, ilbonyongŏin’ga?,” 112.
new term in a narrow sense reflects colonial authorities’ attempts to control music cultures for their own purposes.

As mentioned above, the term *kugak* was first used to refer to court music only. Rather than *kugak*, colonial Koreans used *chosŏn*-ak or *chosŏn ūmak* (朝鮮樂 or 朝鮮音樂), *koak* (古樂 old music), and *kuak* (舊樂 old or former music). These terms were what they used to describe performance programs, organizations, departments of some organizations, or cultural events, all of which were associated with Korean traditional music and dance. Among these, colonial Koreans used *chosŏn*-ak or *chosŏn ūmak* most frequently to designate a broad range of traditional performing arts equivalent to the present-day *kugak*. The analysis of colonial Korean use of the terms reveals that Koreans began to present different ideas about what types and features of Korean traditional music would best represent Korean-ness during the colonial period. The word and notion of Korean traditional music and dance, as Koreans thought, best representing Korean-ness has been contested and sometimes esoteric.

Ham Hwa-jin (咸和鎭, 1884-1948) emphasized the values of court music as musical heritage representing Korean-ness in his 1936 article published in a monthly magazine discussing general issues in colonial Korea. Ham was the president of the Aakpu and a Korean traditional music scholar. He noted that *chosŏn*-ak featured its “close relations with politics,”

51 The character 舊 (旧) can carry a kind of negative or pejorative meaning, like furukusai 古臭い (old smelling). That is not true in Korean; the character is used in a neutral sense.


“the idealism (理想) which is the roots (根本) of Asia (東洋),” “the systemized beauty (組織的妙味),” and “the harmony between spiritual and material things” (神物). He underscored that Koreans appropriated Chinese ritualistic music of royal events to perform as Korean court music. In his article, chosŏn-ak refers specifically to Korean ritual music played in the Chosŏn Royal Palace.

Likewise, other articles (by authors about whom there is no information provided) distinguished folk music (俗樂/民俗樂 sok-ak/minsok-ak) from court/literati music (aak/chŏngak), exalting instrumental court music over folk performance genres like p’ansori or minyo. The articles describe the court/literati music performances for the upper-middle class as “graceful,” “lofty,” “highbrow,” while the folk songs just are “bright and gorgeous.” According to a series of articles titled “The Values of Chosŏn Music,” Korean court music was “developed into precious performing arts with grace and unique artistry” and “could be the most precious music (貴樂 kwiak).”

On the other hand, the following article written by the head of the Artists and Repertoire Division at Okeh Records presents different ideas:

It is true that the general people enjoyed sin-minyo, newly composed songs based on traditional folk songs, because the songs would represent the authentic color of chosŏn ŭmak as well as the beauty of rural area even though the works utilized the Western notation or Western music instruments. In the future, rather than the songs that everyone can sing, the newly composed folk

54 Ham once used the word kugak in the article, saying that “kugak [國樂] can never be a tool for entertainment because it would cause problems of breaking down social conventions in Korea.” However, chosŏn-ak is the term he used for the rest of the article.

55 “Chosŏn-ak ŭi munhwajŏk kach’i” [Cultural value of Chosŏn-ak], Maeil sinbo, December 9, 1932: 3. The author is recorded as 李天波; however, it is hard to identify who he or she was.
songs will be popular. Also, the songs showing romantic emotions, bright tones, and positive messages are going to be in vogue.\textsuperscript{56}

The author states that newly adapted folk songs in the rural areas show “the authentic color” of chosŏn ŭmak. His remarks reflect that regional folk songs’ melody or rhythm expressing “the beauty of rural areas” regardless of Western instruments accompanying them are the most important elements representing Korean-ness. As a businessperson in the recording industry, the author suggests new attempts to popularize the traditional vocal music. Some articles even present specific repertories of folk music that had significant cultural value for representing Korea, according to their authors. A 1933 article notes, “Among folk songs, those originating from Koryŏ Dynasty (Koryŏ sokyo 高麗俗謡) and p’ansori express exceptional and elegant beauty of Chosŏn music, while others are too unrefined and vulgar to be compared to them.”\textsuperscript{57}

Also, in presenting court music to the public, different ideas emerged during the colonial era. Ham Hwa-jin, who wrote about the exceptional value of Korean court music, stressed that the court music “can never be a tool for entertainment because it would cause problems of breaking down social conventions in Korea.” His remark expresses concern over using the ritual music as an entertainment for the general public because it could cause disruption of the traditional status system. On the other hand, a 1945 article by an unidentified author argues that the court music “comforts the minds and bodies of modern people,” although its tempo seems

\textsuperscript{56} “Shinnŏnenŭn ŏttŏn norae yuhaenghalkka” [What Kinds of Songs would be Popular in the Following Year?], Samchŏllı, February 1936.

\textsuperscript{57} “Chosŏn-ak ū munhwajŏk kach’i” [Precious Music of Chosŏn], Maeil sinbo, January 17, 1933: 3.
“too monotonous to be considered as the music of modern people.”\textsuperscript{58} The article finishes with a remark stressing the necessity of transforming the court music to be suitable for people of the time.\textsuperscript{59} Its author agrees with Ham’s idea of treasuring Korean court music, stating that “when listening to the court music’s peaceful melodies, we cannot but be astonished by the graceful beauty of Asian music” and “its harmony with nature.” However, different from Ham’s proposal, the author insisted the court music be open to the general public even with adaptation efforts.

In summary, the first use of the word $kugak$ and distinctions between $kugak$, $yangak$, and $ûmak$ trace their origins back to the colonial period. The term $chosŏn ûmak$ in colonial Korea, which was equivalent to today’s term $kugak$, came about in the process of distinguishing Korean traditional culture from other types of performing arts from the West and Japan. Colonial intervention in all of the changes as a means to effectively control all Korean music circles is undeniable. However, this study demonstrates that colonial Koreans, in the face of shifts in society, began to contemplate what music would represent Korean roots best and continuously came up with measures to keep up with a new Korean soundscape during the colonial period. They did not always coincide in opinion. The terms and notions that Koreans began to use to identify the performing arts best representing Korean-ness were contested and malleable.

\textsuperscript{58} “Chosŏn ûmak’e tanp’yŏng chu-ro aak-e kwanhayŏ” [About the Chosŏn Music Focusing on Court Music], \textit{Maeil sinbo}, June 1, 1945: 2.

\textsuperscript{59} The author is recorded as 龍天生 at the end of the article; however, it is hard to identify who he or she is.
Concluding Remarks

This chapter examined changes in Korean music circles during the colonial period, focusing on how colonial authorities got involved in the introduction of Western music, theaters, and media and the term *kugak*. As a result, I found out that Japan intervened in the changes of the Korean music landscape and the intervention led to unintended results, including Korean presentation of their own interpretations as to what music and dance could represent Korean-ness.

Colonial Koreans went through new cultural experiences in terms of musical content, media, and venues for performing arts. Western music, modern theaters, gramophone records, and radio were something very new to the general public. Through hymns, military music, and songs that students learned at school, Koreans became naturally accustomed to the Western music tonalities and rhythms. The colonial authorities kept educating and introducing diverse foreign music and dance to Koreans, facilitated distribution of recording or broadcasting industries to the public, and allowed various performances to be presented at commercial theaters. Also, Japan introduced new terms like *kugak*, *ŭmak*, and *yangak* to colonial Korea. Japanese authorities first used *kugak* not as a generic term for Korean traditional music, but for court music as an administrative category; *ŭmak* referred to the curriculum to teach Western music at school and *yangak* to Western classical music.

However, Koreans were not merely passive recipients of the changes but active participants in forming “national music” concepts. Instead of *kugak*, *chosŏn-ak* or *chosŏn ŭmak* was the term that colonial Koreans used most frequently to refer to Korean traditional music and dance. Existing Korean musicians and dancers began to highlight Korean cultural value presented in their own performances. The national music concepts and terms by colonial
Koreans, although originally introduced by colonial authorities, are indicative of Korean willingness to preserve traditional music and dance. They became keen on finding and presenting performances that, as they thought, would represent Korean-ness best. Koreans in different music fields hold divergent opinions, demonstrating that Korean notions of national music were not merely preserving certain genres of long-existing ones. Expressing such different ideas came from Korean recognition of the need to preserve Korean traditional music and dance in reaction to the massive influx of foreign culture. The cultural contexts raise questions as to whether Koreans living in Hawai‘i, where diverse music of different ethnic origins existed as in colonial Korea, realized the importance of preserving musical performances representing Korean-ness.
CHAPTER 2. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF KOREAN IMMIGRATION INTO HAWAIʻI DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

While Korea became a Japanese target of colonization, a number of Koreans began to leave their hometowns to embark on a long journey for Hawaiʻi. The first group of 102 Korean immigrants arrived at Honolulu Harbor on January 13, 1903. Over 7,000 Korean laborers immigrated to Hawaiʻi in the next two and one-half years, until the immigration of Korean laborers ended in August 1905.¹ Gender imbalance became a serious issue, as a very high proportion of the Korean immigrants admitted before 1905 was single young men between the ages of 20 to 30. The bachelors depended on the “picture bride” match-making system, which used photographs of Korean women to arrange matches with immigrants. Around 900 Korean picture brides, out of approximately 1,100 who came to the U.S., arrived in Hawaiʻi from 1910 to 1924.²

Besides these large groups of Korean immigrant laborers, there were Korean political refugees and students, who were directly involved in the anti-Japanese independence movements. After diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Korea were established in 1884, a small number of Korean students and politicians began to enter the mainland U.S. at the end of

¹ The total number of Korean immigrants who arrived in Hawaiʻi during the first wave of immigration varies from 7,291 to 7,600, depending on the sources.

the nineteenth century.³ There was an increase in the number of Korean refugees and students between 1910 and 1924. Some of them who finished degrees in the mainland moved to Hawai‘i. As such, Koreans who resided in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century can be divided into three groups: (1) plantation workers, (2) picture brides, and (3) political refugees and students.⁴

The Korean population in Hawai‘i was almost five times more than those who resided in the mainland U.S., fostering Korean organizations in more significant numbers than in the mainland during the early twentieth century. The original cohort of married immigrants grew at a fast pace during the first two decades of their stay in Hawai‘i. They drastically multiplied as Korean immigrant couples were mostly at the peak ages for reproduction, while their death rate was minimal. Being predominantly latecomers compared to other ethnic groups, Korean Hawaiians were largely Korean-speaking foreign-born adults with an increasing number of Hawai‘i-born children. Korean immigrants had to cope with their new lives in America to overcome language difficulties, job discrimination, culture shock, communication, and ideological gaps between native-born children and foreign-born adults.⁵

In addition to the challenges, Koreans had another issue to resolve: Korean independence from Japanese colonial rule. Korea—then formally known as the Korean Empire—was in decline when the first large group of Koreans came to Hawai‘i between 1903 and 1905. Japan

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³ The Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation (朝美修好通商條約), also known as the Shufeldt Treaty, was negotiated between representatives of the United States and Chosŏn Korea in 1882. The final draft was accepted at Chemulp’o (present-day Inch’ŏn) near Seoul in April and May 1884.


made Korea its protectorate state in 1905 and controlled diplomatic policies in the Korean government. Those who arrived in Hawai‘i between 1910 and the 1924 Oriental Exclusion Act, which halted all Asian immigration to U.S. territories, left for Hawai‘i when Korea was under formal Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945).

This chapter examines the legal status of Korean Hawaiians as Japanese nationals, their exodus to cities beginning in the late 1910s, and generational/ideological conflicts prevalent among Korean Hawaiians in the early twentieth century. Previous studies have already discussed their divided political organizations based on divergent strategies for Korean independence. However, no studies have explained how the political factionalism affected the everyday lives of non-political Korean Hawaiians—those who came to Hawai‘i as plantation workers, picture brides, and their children. Therefore, I analyzed the Roberta W.S. Chang Collection, the RASRL database, and the PPU Archives, all of which recorded interviews and writings of the second-generation Korean and Asian Americans. Based on my analysis, the political conflicts led to distinct divisions in churches and women’s social activities. Furthermore, political disputes among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians were rejected by young-adult Koreans. This is because the 1.5- or second-generation Korean Hawaiians were exposed to an environment facilitating contacts with the other side of Korean political communities and other ethnic groups, including Japanese.

**Two Waves of Korean Immigration and Their Legal Status**

There were push and pull factors leading to the first Korean immigration to Hawai‘i. American missionary groups and capitalists introduced the Hawaiian plantation authorities’ plan to recruit Korean labor forces, who had suffered from a severe famine, to the Korean imperial
court. Hawaiian sugarcane corporations were trying to search for ethnic groups who could supplement existing ethnic groups of laborers. Hawaiʻi was no longer an independent kingdom but a territory of America from 1898 on. Therefore, Hawaiʻi had to abide by the US rules and regulations, including the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Chinese were no longer able to immigrate to Hawaiʻi from 1898, while several Japanese strikes became huge problems for Hawaiian plantation workers. Emperor Kojong was persuaded to send Koreans to Hawaiʻi, as he was dazzled by missionaries’ remarks that Koreans could go to Hawaiʻi, while Chinese were not allowed to enter. All these factors led to the first Korean immigration to Hawaiʻi.

**First Wave: From 1903 to 1905**

American missionaries contributed to initiating large-scale Korean emigration to the U.S. and its territories. It began with a discussion between Horace N. Allen (1858-1932), a Presbyterian medical missionary, and a representative of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (hereafter HSPA) in San Francisco in 1902. Returning home in March 1902, Horace Allen was intercepted in San Francisco by HSPA officials who explained the beneficial aspects of Korean immigration to Hawaiʻi. Allen then discussed the feasibility of the importation of Korean plantation workers. In Seoul, Allen sought out David W. Deshler (1872-1927), a junior

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6 The opening of Korea to the outside world in the late nineteenth century brought religious toleration for the remaining Catholics and introduced Protestantism via American missionaries beginning in the 1880s. The first Western missionaries to enter Korea officially were Horace Grant Underwood and Henry Gerhard Appenzeller, both of whom were from the United States. Underwood, a Northern Presbyterian, and Appenzeller, a Northern Methodist, disembarked together from the same ship in 1885. Naeri Church, which sent massive Korean groups to Hawaiʻi for the first time, was what Appenzeller established in late 1880s. Sebastian Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 58–59.
partner in the American Trading Company operations at Inch’ŏn, to ask him to act as the HSPA agent in Korea for the emigration plan. Deshler had interests in a steamship company operating between Inch’ŏn and Kōbe and therefore stood to profit from transporting emigrants, as well as from the fee paid by the HSPA for each Korean laborer to reach its plantations in Hawai‘i. Allen also succeeded in persuading the Korean Emperor Kojong to grant permission for Korean immigration to Hawai‘i. Allen’s well-established role as adviser to the Korean emperor was crucial to this mission.\(^7\)

When granting permission for Korean immigration to Hawai‘i on November 5, 1902, Emperor Kojong established the Suminwŏn (綬民院 Department of Emigration) within the Imperial Household Department on November 16, 1902. The department issued passports to Koreans traveling to foreign countries for the purpose of study, sightseeing, agriculture, commerce and for managing these travelers.\(^8\) Finance Minister Yi Yong-ik (李容翊, 1854-1907) opposed the idea of Korean emigration to Hawai‘i in general and succeeded in persuading Kojong to close the Suminwŏn in the fall of 1903 on the grounds that its tasks overlapped with those of the Foreign Ministry. After that, the power to issue passports reverted to the Foreign Ministry.\(^9\)


\(^8\) Before the Suminwŏn was established, there was a type of government-issued document that was called *chibjo* 執照. There are earlier records that the Chosŏn government, specifically Hamkyung Province officials, issued *chibjo* to those crossing the Korea-China border in 1880. *Chibjo* seems to be the document that was generally used to control international travel to China and functioned as a form of passport in Chosŏn.

The Korean administrative responsibilities, either by the Suminwŏn or the Foreign Ministry, were mainly restricted to issuing passports. Kojong gave the power to oversee this immigration not to the Korean government officials, but to David W. Deshler. With appropriate credentials from the emperor now in hand, Deshler formed East-West Development Company (東西開發會社, Tongsŏ Kaebal Hoesa) to facilitate his emigration enterprises for the HSPA. Newspaper advertisements emphasized several advantages: mild weather; high wages; free housing; medical care; and free admission to schools where the English language would be taught. Deshler’s company even paid passport fees to the Suminwŏn and loaned each departing individual 100 wŏn, in addition to 70 wŏn to be paid as fare for the passage to Honolulu.

At first, the recruiting effort was not immediately successful. At this point, another American pastor got involved. George Heber Jones (1867-1919), who arrived in Korea in 1887 as a Methodist minister, participated in collecting the first shipload of emigrants. Jones, working in the Inch’ŏn area, exhorted the congregations of the Naeri Church and others to go to Hawai‘i. This is why most of the first shipload of emigrants were members of the congregation of the Naeri Church and mostly from Inch’ŏn. The Methodist churches in Korea were closely involved with immigration to Hawai‘i, ranging from recruitment of laborers to their spiritual guidance. There is a study even arguing that many churches in Korea had difficulties in retaining the number of church members, as a consequence of many of their leaders and congregation members joining the emigration, resulting in a significant decline in the vitality of churches in
Korea, especially in the western region. Nearly 40% of Korean immigrants to Hawai‘i were Christians in Korea. Most of the Koreans in Hawai‘i gradually became churchgoers.

However, the first wave of Korean immigration only lasted a few years. As a result of the 1905 Taft-Katsura Agreement, the U.S., in exchange for pursuing its interests in the Philippines, acknowledged Japan’s unchallenged control over the Korean peninsula. The agreement provided a precursor to the 1905 Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty, which turned Korean diplomatic rights over to Japanese authorities. The Korean government lost its right to decide whether to send Koreans to Hawai‘i or not. Of the 7,226 immigrants to Hawai‘i during the years 1903-1905, 6,048 were male adults, 637 women, and 541 children. Less than sixty percent remained in Hawai‘i; roughly a thousand immigrants returned to Korea, while two thousand moved on to the mainland. Finally, those who landed at Honolulu harbor on August 8, 1905, became the last Korean immigrants from the first wave.

**Second Wave: 1910-1924**

Picture brides mostly comprised the second wave of Korean immigrants in Hawai‘i. In 1908, the United States and Japan signed a gentlemen’s agreement, prohibiting Japan from issuing passports to Japanese laborers bound for the United States, thus halting Japanese labor immigration. The United States, in turn, agreed to block legislation designed to harass Japanese Americans. A provision in the agreement, however, allowed the parents, wives, and children of

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11 Honolulu immigration records the Korean population as a slightly higher number of total, 7,296, including 715 females.
laborers already in residence in the United States to immigrate. So-called “picture brides” were able to arrive as “wives” invited by single males in Hawai‘i. At the beginning of the picture brides’ arrival, to make their marital relationships valid, instant wedding ceremonies were performed at the immigration station before the release of “wives” to their husbands.12

A growing number of Korean students went to mainland America during this period. After diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Korea were established in 1884, a small number of Koreans, mostly students and politicians, began to enter the U.S. at the end of the nineteenth century. Especially during the nine years following the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, some 541 students were admitted for study at American schools and universities.13 This is because Japan had an open period of immigration to America. Also, the American Consulate-General in Seoul agreed to issue student visas to Korean students sponsored by American nationals, provided that the latter would vouch for the students’ qualifications and financial ability. The U.S. government adopted a positive, highly encouraging policy regarding Korean students.14

**Legal Status of Korean Immigrants**

The first-wave Korean immigrants received Korean passports issued from either the Suminwŏn or the Foreign Ministry. Those who left Korea before October 1903 owned the

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14 Mary Hong Pak’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young* (Seongnam-si, South Korea: Bookorea Pub. Co., 2012).
Suminwŏn-issued Korean passports, while those who moved to Hawai‘i in 1904 and 1905 received Korean passports from the Foreign Ministry. They had in common that they were classified as Korean nationals when going through immigration processes because they immigrated before Korea became a Japanese colony.

However, after Japan’s control of Korea started, the second-wave Korean immigrants, most of whom were picture brides and family members coming to Hawai‘i from the 1910s and 1924, had to obtain passports from the Japanese government. Furthermore, the first-wave Korean immigrants who already settled in Hawai‘i had to get new Japanese passports. Only after getting Japanese passports of their own, could they visit their homeland or apply for a passport for their family members or new brides (“picture brides”) in colonial Korea. The Japanese Consulate-General in Honolulu was in charge of issuing the passports. The husbands or would-be husbands sent the passports along with transportation fares to their family members in Korea so that their Korean family members and new brides immigrated to Hawai‘i as Japanese subjects. Moreover, the second-generation Korean Hawaiians who were born in Hawai‘i, if they were taken back to Korea by their parents, were forced to be registered as Japanese citizens upon their return. Figure 1 below shows an example of a Korean immigrant’s passport.

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16 Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi, Passports Issued to Koreans in Hawai‘i, 1910-1924 (Honolulu, HI: Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawai‘i, 2001), 5.
As shown above, one of the first-wave Korean immigrants, Min We Kyong, visited Korea with a passport issued by the Japanese consulate in Honolulu and met a woman in Seoul, whom he married, then returned alone. He obtained a passport for his wife from the consulate, and she joined him in Honolulu at the end of 1913. During the early twentieth century, immigrants from several countries lived in Hawaiʻi, all of whom were protected by consulate officers sent from their respective native governments. Only the Koreans did not have a consulate officer from their own country.

Figure 1. Passport issued on April 25, 1913, for Min We Kyong.  

17 Murabayashi, Passports Issued to Koreans in Hawaiʻi, 7-8.

18 Ibid., 5.
Exodus to Cities in the Late 1910s

The arrival of family members and picture brides and their subsequent births caused an increase in the Korean population from 4,950 in 1920 to 6,461 in 1930. According to the 1930 census, the Korean population numbered 6,461 or 1.8% of the total population in Hawai‘i.19 According to the 1940 census under the Alien Registration Act, 6,851 Koreans were residing in Hawai‘i.20 Among them, 2,100 Koreans were born in Korea and accordingly carried alien registration cards. According to a population estimate by the Bureau of Health Statistics of the Department of Health, 6,881 Koreans resided in Hawai‘i in 1941. Of these, 4,628 were American citizens, and 2,253 were aliens.21 Then, where did these Koreans live in Hawai‘i? The state of Hawai‘i consists of eight main islands: Ni‘ihau, Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, Moloka‘i, Lāna‘i, Kaho‘olawe and the Big Island of Hawai‘i. Grasping where the Koreans lived is essential to identify sites where they would have enjoyed cultural activities.

Until the 1910s: Koreans in Plantation Communities

Right before Korea became a Japanese protectorate and lost its diplomatic rights, the Korean Empire dispatched Yun Chi-ho (尹致昊, 1864-1945), the Vice-Minister of Foreign


20 The Alien Registration Act made it illegal for anyone in the United States to advocate, abet, or teach the desirability of overthrowing the government. This Act required all alien residents in the United States over 14 years of age to file a comprehensive statement of their personal and occupational status and a record of their political beliefs. The Korean residents registered themselves as Koreans, not as Japanese nationals. The Korean residents in the U.S. were exempted from internment as long as they were registered as Koreans under the Alien Registration Act of 1940.

Affairs, to Hawai‘i and to Mexico to inspect their conditions after hearing the news of abusive treatment of Koreans there. After Yun's visit to Hawai‘i, the Korean government planned to take measures to enhance the working environments of Korean immigrants. However, when Yun came back, Korea had already turned its diplomatic rights over to Japan in 1905, leading to Japan’s stoppage of Korean immigration. Japan was not in favor of Koreans who took spaces from Japanese workers and hindered many strikes by Japanese immigrants for a wage increase.

In spite of Yun’s unsuccessful mission, his report resulting from a 26-days stay in Hawai‘i in September 1905 reveals that the first-wave Korean Hawaiians worked at 32 sugar plantations, dispersed all over the Hawaiian Islands. No demographic data are available. However, based on Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi’s study of Korean ministers sent to Methodist churches in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century, Koreans were scattered all around four different islands in Hawai‘i. Her analysis of Korean churches in Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, and the Big Island gives clues that Koreans arriving in Hawai‘i during the first wave of immigration lived all over the plantations in these various islands (Figure 2).

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22 A group of 1,033 Koreans left Chemulpo Harbor on April 4, 1905, and reached Mérida, the capital of Yucatán state, Mexico, around May 20. This one-time immigration group faced a slave-like, hard-working life in the henequen (agave) plantations. A Japanese immigration company in coordination with the henequen plantation owners association in Yucatán arranged their immigration.

23 Yun’s report was published in Taehan Maeil Sinbo articles of January 1-17, 1906.

24 Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi, *Korean Ministerial Appointments to Hawaii Methodist Churches* (Honolulu, HI: Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawai‘i, 2001), 1-60.
Koreans in the plantations constructed and maintained their own style of living environments similar to those in their homeland. Within the plantation workplaces in Hawai‘i, workers’ residential areas were segregated by ethnicity. When recruiting workers from specific countries, plantations constructed separate camps for each group. The plantation owners intentionally segregated based on ethnicity to prevent unionization among the plantation workers.\(^\text{26}\) The laborers preferred such divisions in residential areas, as they permitted separated space for them to practice their customs and traditions among immigrants who shared the same

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\(^{25}\) This map was created by me based on Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi’s study, *Korean Ministerial Appointments to Hawaii Methodist Churches*.

culture and language.\textsuperscript{27} As a student paper in the RASRL archive notes, “The Chinese, Koreans, and the Hawaiians have always formed a small group on the plantation with very scarce facilities for recreation as the people are obliged to create their own diversions.”\textsuperscript{28} Another paper indicates agreement on this point, noting that a rural community gave “very little opportunity for meeting people of other ethnic groups, especially if different localities segregate the different racial or nationality groups from each other.”\textsuperscript{29}

By living with other individuals who spoke the same language and shared the same cultural heritage and practices, individuals in each camp developed community identities. Like Koreans, the other ethnic groups gradually started raising families, improved their surroundings, and made facilities and spaces similar to ones in their homelands (Figure 3). For instance, public community baths (\textit{furo}) were very common in the Japanese camps, providing social gathering places as well as bathing facilities. The main staple of Portuguese families was bread, rather than rice, which was the preference of immigrant workers from Asia. Chinese built a social hall consisting of one large meeting room on the first floor. On the second floor was a shrine dedicated to Kwan Dai, the Chinese god of war and wealth. A Korean house featured a “sanitary kitchen unit,” a nine-foot by two-foot module with room for a stove, sink, and food safe, a screened cupboard used to store food before refrigeration. Koreans lived in houses, ate food, and raised crops in a similar way that they did in their homeland.

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\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., 93.
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\textsuperscript{28} Risuto Harai’s class paper (June 1937), “A Sociological Study of the Makee Sugar Plantation,” RASRL archive.
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\textsuperscript{29} Yukiko Kimura’s class paper (October 1939), “A study of the Trends of Out-marriages of the Japanese People in Hawaii of the Years from 1928 to 1938,” RASRL archive.
\end{flushright}
In this sense, I found that Korean Hawaiians maintained their original lifestyle in the residential areas near the plantation fields. There was limited interaction with the other groups before they moved to cities beginning in the late 1910s.

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30 The pictures taken during my visit to the Hawai‘i’s Plantation Village, Waipahu, HI.
**Exodus to Cities**

The population rate of Oʻahu grew sharply during the early twentieth century, mostly due to the massive migration of immigrants to cities on that island. Koreans were not exceptional. They began to flock to cities in Oʻahu beginning in the late 1910s (Figure 4). I could verify the facts through the yearly figure of Korean ministerial appointments to Methodist churches in Hawaiʻi. The number of Korean churches in Kauaʻi, Maui, and Hawaiʻi decreased beginning in the early 1920s, while the ones in Oʻahu remained stable.³¹ The Roberta Chang Collection interviewees state that they resided in Wahiawā, Waialua, and Honolulu, all of which were big cities in Oʻahu. Figure 4 shows the areas that featured a large group of Korean ethnic groups.

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³² The maps are what I created based on contents of the Duk Hee Lee Murabayashi’s research, *Korean Ministerial Appointments to Hawaii Methodist Churches*, and the Roberta Chang Collection interview resources.
There are several factors that led to the massive migration to the cities. First, the general strike by Japanese plantation workers in O‘ahu allowed Koreans to shift from outer-island sugar plantations to stevedoring and cannery work. When Japanese and Filipino plantation workers cosponsored the strike in the island of O‘ahu, Koreans on Waipahu Plantation were the only ones who were willing to continue working. The Korean strikebreakers received double their average wage. When the HSPA decided to send 250 strikebreakers to Waialua Plantation, a manager there even specifically requested Koreans. Since many Koreans had already moved to O‘ahu, it was relatively easy for them to act as strikebreakers. Many of those who came to O‘ahu in 1920 as strikebreakers chose not to return to the outer islands.

After the 1920 strike, Koreans resumed their rapid exodus from the plantations to cities, as wages returned to their normal low range, and there was a decline in agricultural prices. In 1924, there were fewer than 1,000 Koreans on the plantations. The number even dropped to a little under 500 by 1930. The most popular option for Koreans who wanted to leave the sugar plantations but remain in agriculture was the pineapple industry on the island of O‘ahu. Entry into the pineapple industry represented the first step up for hundreds of Koreans leaving the plantations for better wages, more accessible work due to the much newer pineapple industry, and the proximity to urban areas. The pineapple fields in central O‘ahu were only about twenty miles from Honolulu. Aside from those Koreans who worked in the pineapple fields of central

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O‘ahu, more were attracted to the canneries in Honolulu because the wages were higher than in the pineapple fields.  

Furthermore, most Koreans moved to the cities to start their own businesses, following the earlier pattern of the Chinese and Japanese. In addition to the traditional Asian immigrant hotel, restaurant, and grocery enterprises, Koreans engaged in thirteen different commercial operations, including a variety of goods and furniture retailing, ready-to-wear clothing manufacturing, and construction contracting.  

A 1929 article in *Pan-Pacific Youth* notes, “By far the largest of number of Koreas are located in Honolulu which harbors at least 100 Korean-owned stores and 30 professional offices.” The infiltration of Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans into the field of storekeeping led to “a rise in self-esteem and status in their respective communities.” It represented “an advance from and independence of the humiliating plantation control.”

**Political Conflicts in Korean Communities**

The United States had long been an ideal place for the world’s political refugees. Regardless of their country of origin – whether they were from the East or the West – refugees were free to exercise their political beliefs protected by the First Amendment of the U.S.

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Early Korean immigrants were a notable example. The first attempt to organize Korean immigrants occurred in 1903, when An Ch’ang-ho (安昌浩, 1878-1938) formed a small fraternal group of San Francisco-area students called the Ch’inmokhoe (親睦會 Friends’ Association). With the burst of anti-Japanese feelings among Korean immigrants opposing the establishment of the Japanese protectorate in Korea in 1905, the organization was reorganized as the Kongnip Hyŏphoe (共立協會 Mutual Assistance Association). By 1908, the membership had grown to 130. Under similar political motivation, Korean community leaders in Honolulu saw a need to mobilize Korean clubs and societies across America. In 1907, they organized the Hanin Hapsŏng Hyŏp’oe (韓人合成協會 United Korean Society) with headquarters in Honolulu.

On March 20, 1908, there was a case involving “the first outbreak of nationalism among Koreans in America.”39 Chŏn Myŏng-un (田明雲, 1884-1947) and Chang In-hwan (張仁煥, 1875-1930), leaders of the Korean political organizations in America, assassinated Durham Stevens (1851-1908) in San Francisco. Stevens was an American diplomat and later an employee of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, working for the GGK in Korea, Itō Hirobumi. While visiting in the U.S., he gave an interview with a San Francisco newspaper in which he stated that the general people of Korea were benefiting from the increasing Japanese presence and protection in their country. His pro-Japanese remarks infuriated members of the Korean community. Chŏn was released in June and Chang was tried as the sole plaintiff. The course of the trial received substantial assistance from the Japanese consulate, which sought the maximum

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penalty. Chang was convicted of second-degree murder, sentenced to twenty-five years in San Quentin prison, and paroled for good behavior after ten years. The Korean community in the mainland and Hawai‘i directed its efforts toward the defense by hiring lawyers, soliciting defense funds, providing interpreters, and collecting evidence.\(^4\) In this sense, the Stevens case accelerated the efforts to mobilize proliferating community organizations. In particular, the Kukminhoe (國民會 Korean National Association; KNA) formed in 1909 indicates the movement to unite all Korean organizations in the U.S. and its territories in a concerted effort to protect Koreans.\(^4\)

Several prominent political leaders launched national independence movements with Korean immigrants. However, they were distinctly different in personal temperament, educational backgrounds, and their strategies for Korean independence.\(^4\) Such divergence within the movement bred personal rivalries, which consequently led to divisions within the organizations of Korean immigrants in America. In Hawai‘i, the schism between those advocating for Pak Yong-man (朴容萬, 1881-1928) and those supporting Yi Sŭng-man (李承晩, 1875-1965, known in the West as Syngman Rhee, the first president of the Republic of Korea from 1948 to 1960) fueled the discord.\(^4\)

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\(^{40}\) Kim, *Chae-Mi Hanin Osimnyŏn-sa*, 29-30. 549.


As the Kukminhoe had its headquarters in Hawai‘i, Yi and Pak initiated political activities in Hawai‘i beginning in the mid-1910s. Yi advocated a diplomatic approach to freeing Korea, calling for independence activities through the Korean Commission to America and Europe. Yi’s diplomatic strategies were opposed to Kukminhoe members, most of whom agreed with Pak’s military methods. While in Hawai‘i, Pak established the Korean Military Corps in 1914, while Yi founded educational facilities for young Koreans. Yi’s continuing disagreement with using funds for the Korean Military Corps led to its shutdown in 1917. After Yi was appointed president of the Shanghai-based Korean Provisional Government (hereafter KPG) in 1919, a scandal over allegations of Yi’s abuse of power brought about a more intense dispute. Yi left the Kukminhoe and organized the Tongjihoe (同志會 Comrades’ Association) in Honolulu in 1921 to reinforce his position vis-à-vis the KPG. As a result, 1920s Korean Hawaiian communities presented the salient features of political conflicts between pro-Yi forces (pro-Tongjihoe) and pro-Pak forces (pro-Kukminhoe). The conflict continued until 1941.

In April 1941, the fourteen representatives from nine Korean nationalist organizations, including the Tongjihoe and the Kukminhoe, convened in Hawai‘i and agreed to establish the United Korean Committee in America (hereafter UKC). The UKC is analogous to Sin’ganghoe (新幹會) in colonial Korea, which showed the effort to unite moderate nationalists and social revolutionaries from 1927 to 1931. The purpose of the UKC was merging all the largest Korean

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44 The other was in San Francisco.


immigrant political organizations in pursuit of the unification of all Korean groups in the U.S. in light of the growing political and military crisis in the Pacific. The UKC objectives included the support of the KPG in China, the presentation of a united front of all Koreans for anti-Japanese resistance, and active diplomacy to win recognition by the U.S. government. 47 Until the UKC made concerted efforts to unite divided political movements in America in 1941, the political factions within the first-generation Korean Hawaiian communities seemed an issue that could never be resolved.

Socio-Religious Divisions in Korean Communities

The political conflicts in Korean Hawaiian communities affected socio-religious life of the first-generation Korean Hawaiians. Churches played a pivotal role in meeting the communal as well as spiritual needs of the Korean immigrants from the very beginning of their lives in Hawaiʻi. The churches were “centers of the Korean community” where even non-Christians came for companionship and the discussion of various issues, including those that reflected their aspiration for national independence.48 By the end of the first decade, there were in the Hawaiian territory alone over thirty-one Protestant churches and church schools for Koreans, while in the mainland there were seven church missions.49

The first Korean church service was held at Mokolia plantation on July 4, 1903, barely six months after the arrival of the first group of immigrants. The Korean Methodist Church of


49 Kim, Chae-Mi Hanin Osimnyŏn-sa, 40.
Hawai‘i was established in November of the same year; Korean immigrants began to minister at the St. Luke’s Episcopal Church beginning in 1907, also at the Korean Christian Church of Hawai‘i in 1918.\textsuperscript{50} Even these churches were divided along their political lines. Several archival resources reported tensions between Korean Methodist Church and Korean Christian Church members, the two biggest churches for Korean Hawaiians during the time. The Korean Methodist Church was founded in 1903 with people who subsequently became members of the Kukminhoe, while the Korean Christian Church was what Yi Sŏng-man founded in 1916. When Yi opposed Pak’s stance on foreign relations of Korea, he left the Methodist Church and began his own church, not identified with any denomination.

St. Luke’s Episcopal Church “got involved in politics” less than the Korean Methodist Church and the Korean Christian Church.\textsuperscript{51} Nevertheless, St. Luke’s was likely to be composed of Pak Yong-man supporters because all the first-generation Korean Hawaiian members of St. Luke’s were pro-Kukminhoe. Also, I found a clue from Korean newspaper articles revealing that beginning in 1923, a Korean priest of the St. Luke’s Episcopal Church joined Pak’s armed resistance against Japanese rule.\textsuperscript{52} Another article shows that Pak attended the Episcopal Church before leaving Hawai‘i.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50} Houchins and Houchins, in “The Korean Experience in America, 1903-1924,” notes that the Korean Episcopal Church was established in January 1905. However, the Korean Episcopal Ministry in Hawai‘i became visible in 1907 with the establishment of St. Luke’s Episcopal Parish in Honolulu, which ministered among Korean immigrants.

\textsuperscript{51} Dorothy Kim Rudie’s interview in Roberta Chang, \textit{When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young}.


\textsuperscript{53} Minjung Kim, “Hawaii hanin imin 100 nyŏn yŏksa e hamkke sumshwi nŭn sŏnggonghoe Hawaii kyodan” [Hawaiian Episcopal Church Breathing with the 100 Years-History of Korean
Even Korean female political organizations were divided into two groups. The Korean Women’s Relief Society (hereafter KWRS), which was established in 1919 by picture brides for fundraising and the daily maintenance of other Korean organizations for political and social movements in the U.S., had two branches. The support and the relief activity of KWRS for domestic and overseas Koreans included the sponsorship of church community, education encouragement, and relief of compatriots having misfortunes. Intriguingly, the KWRS was divided into pro-Tongjihoe and a pro-Kukminhoe sides after 1930, when there was a big fight between executives. Although there was no distinct difference between the two parties in the relief activity, the two sides existed and each selected their staffs, carrying out events separately until they were combined into one in 1941. These findings provide evidence that the first-generation Korean Hawaiians led separate political, religious, and social lives. They were members of either pro-Pak or pro-Yi affiliations, rarely interacting with the other side.

**Generational Conflicts**

Even second-generation Korean Hawaiians rarely had a chance to meet counterparts in the other political communities when they were young, as the sphere of their parents’ socializing

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54 Choi, “Hawaii Has Been My America,” 145-146.


did not get out of their own communities supporting either Yi or Pak. Even the educational institutes to teach Korean language and history to the second-generation Korean Hawaiians were affiliated with Korean churches. As the churches and communities were divided based on the political schism, youngsters of the parents understandably rarely had a chance to mingle with their counterparts on the other side until the early 1920s. The majority of Koreans, regardless of pro-Yi and pro-Pak loyalties, donated a significant portion of their income to nationalist causes, which included support for Korean private schools and language schools. Even though both sides had the same goal of preserving Korean identity for Korean youths by educating them in the Korean language at Korean schools, the divided parties led to separate Korean educational institutions.

There were private boarding schools that Korean Hawaiian political groups established at their affiliated churches: Korean Boarding School for Boys (1906-1918) passed on to Korean Central School (1913-1918) and Korean Girls’ Seminary (1915-1918) passed on to the Korean Christian Institute (1918-1928). The first institution was the Korean Boarding School (한인寄宿學校 Han’in Kisuk Hakkyo or Korean Compound), which was established in Honolulu in 1906 by the Korean Methodist mission. Located on the corner of Punchbowl and Beretania Streets in downtown Honolulu, the school had three White American teachers and two Korean teachers with a dormitory superintendent teaching elementary and middle school curricula. As the school was officially recognized as a private government school, graduates were allowed to attend other high schools after graduation, mostly the Mid-Pacific Institute, Mills School, or McKinley High School. As Yi Sŭng-man arrived in Hawai‘i, he assumed the

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57 Mary Hong Pak’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young.*
presidency of the Korean Boarding School in 1913. He changed the name of the Korean Boarding School to the Korean Central School (韓人中央學院 Han’in Chungang Hakwŏn). After Yi took control of the school, the number of students enrolled increased from 36 to 120. Yi also introduced a revolutionary practice with the adaptation of coeducation, which was “an earth-shaking move” that broke the long Korean Confucian tradition of not having boys and girls together in the same classroom.\(^{58}\)

After serving as a president at the Korean Central School for only three years, Yi left the school and established the Korean Girls’ Seminary (韓人女學院 Hanin Yŏhakwŏn) in 1915. The Girls’ Seminary was expanded as a coeducational institution in 1918, and its name changed to Korean Christian Institute (韓人基督學院 Hanin Kidok Hakwŏn). The Korean Central School, which managed to operate until 1918 with 66 male students, was discontinued as most of the students moved to the Korean Christian Institute upon its establishment, taking Yi’s side.\(^{59}\) It is similar to the pro-Yi members who defected from the Kukminhoe and joined the Tongjihoe. In this sense, their political rivalry included a dispute over school administration.\(^{60}\)

Not all Korean children attended the Korean boarding schools. Moreover, the Korean boarding schools were all closed in 1928 due to operational and financial challenges. However, almost every second-generation Korean Hawaiian attended a language school that Korean

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\(^{60}\) Houchins and Houchins, in “The Korean Experience in America,” 565.
churches operated as after-school activities. In addition to the aforementioned institutes comprising elementary and middle school curricula, there were twenty-five Korean-language schools, the number of which peaked in the 1910s. Nearly every Christian mission in Hawai‘i provided Sunday School and Korean-language classes for children as after-school programs. Descriptions of Dorothy Kim Rudie, who was born in 1920 in Hawai‘i, show the second-generation Korean Hawaiians’ experiences at the Korean language school very well (Figure 5). Many interviewees describe their experiences very much like her remarks, verifying their parents’ zeal to teach them Korean language and history:

We would go to public school first. Then, at 2:30 or 3:00, we would be dismissed and go home to get a bite to eat. Then, we changed into Korean uniforms. Black skirt and white blouse. Later, they modified it, and it had a button for us so that we, as children, could button the blouse to make it easy for us to play. They put us according to our age group. We learned reading, writing, and Korean history. That was up to about eighth grade.\(^{61}\)

\[\text{Figure 5. A Korean school class in 1937.}\] \(^{62}\)

\(^{61}\) Dorothy Kim Rudie’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young*.

\(^{62}\) Collected from the Susan Chun Lee Collection
Considering that they attended either the Korean boarding schools or Korean language schools affiliated with either the Kukminhoe or Tongjihoe, the second-generation Korean Hawaiians had limited chances to meet the other side of Korean political communities. Some interviews of the second-generation Korean Hawaiians demonstrate this. Mary Hong Park, who was born in 1908 in Korea and moved to Hawai‘i at age 3 with her parents, states that “making friends with the Korean Christian church members was kind of difficult. Because all the time, until I graduated from high school, I mean, just before graduating high school, we were living on a different island, so we had no contact with the Korean Christian Church people.”

According to Winifred Lee Namba, who was born in 1928 to 1.5-generation Korean Hawaiians, she got together quite often for holidays with her church members because they “were all Dr. Yi’s followers.” Another second-generation Korean Hawaiian, Mary Kim Halm, notes, “As a member of St. Luke Episcopal Church, we mingled within our own group of friends in the neighborhood and the children that went to our church and at the same language school.” All these interviews reminiscing about childhood illustrate Korean communities that were politically, religiously, and socially divided. To young Koreans, the separation resulted not so much from political conflicts as the different churches and language schools they attended.

However, as the second-generation Korean Hawaiians grew up to be young adults, there were contacts between youth groups of the divided Korean communities. As they attended high school and university, they began to extend their social activities beyond their own communities,

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63 Mary Hong Pak’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young*.

64 Winifred Lee Namba’s interview, ibid.

65 Mary Kim Halm’s interview, ibid.
supporting either Yi or Pak. Also, most of the Korean young adults lived, worked, or studied in a multiethnic urban society in and around Honolulu beginning in the late 1910s. These two points must have affected notions of the second-generation Korean Hawaiians on political conflicts, Korean independence, and relations with other racial groups, including Japanese. The notions must have been different from those of their parents, who had limited socio-religious experiences within their own communities and went through political turmoil in their homeland. Different from their parents, the second-generation Korean Hawaiians mingled with the members of other churches and had various chances to interact with other ethnic groups.

**Interactions of the Younger Generations with the Other Side of Korean Communities**

The 1.5- and second-generation Korean Hawaiians’ remarks on their experiences at high schools and universities demonstrate the blurred boundaries of social activities between the previously divided communities. For example, Mary Hong Pak’s interview notes that even if there was friction between the two churches (the Korean Methodist Church and the Korean Christian Church) among the first-generation Korea Hawaiians, the second-generation did not feel it that much. She adds that Korean youth groups from both churches participated in social activities in the school and YMCA together. Specifying the YMCA as the place “where the Methodist and Korean Christian Church young people met,” where “Donald Kang could start the basketball team with both kinds of youngsters,” Mary Hong Park describes frequent contacts between the previously divided Korean communities among the second-generation Korean
Hawaiian young-adult groups. Likewise, Dorothy Kim Rudie stated, “We, as St. Luke Church members, had friends from the other churches because we all went to the same public school.”

To the question as to the political conflicts among the older generations, the younger ones answered, “As far as Korean politics, I was not interested,” or “It didn’t mean anything for our age groups.” Most of the second-generation was not aware of specific reasons for the first generation’s political conflicts. There were even some cases that the second-generation Korean Hawaiians between the Methodist Church and the Korean Christian Church intermarried, although it was hard for them to persuade their parents to facilitate the process.

**Interactions of the Younger Generations with Other Ethnic Groups**

An urban community like Honolulu offered “an entirely different basis for intermingling with other races” from that of a rural community, giving lots of opportunity for meeting other ethnic groups. Living in the cities, Korean young adults from the divided Korean Hawaiian communities had chances to interact with people of different ethnic backgrounds at educational institutions, workplaces, and social organizations. Those who attended the Korean boarding schools went to public or private high school or university after graduation. Also, those who did not participate in the Korean boarding schools had chances to study with other ethnic groups from early childhood. As the Korean boarding schools were all closed in 1928 due to operational

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66 Mary Hong Pak’s interview, ibid.

67 Interviews of Mary Kim Halm and Mary Lee Moon Han respectively, ibid.

68 Both Mary Hong Pak’s interview on the marriage of You Chan Yang and Pauline Yang and Esther Soon Yee Hong Kang’s interview on her marriage mentioned this.

and financial challenges, most of the younger second generation attended public schools having many students of Asian descents.

At schools in Hawai‘i, students of Asian descent significantly outnumbered Whites. As a result, the anti-Asian sentiment prevalent on West Coast college campuses, especially in California, was rare to see in Hawai‘i.\(^70\) An urban community like Honolulu “offered an entirely different basis for intermingling with other ethnic races from a plantation community.”\(^71\)

Interrace marriage between the second-generation Korean Hawaiians and other ethnic groups demonstrates close relations between Koreans and other ethnic groups. Some primary resources show that there were several cases of intermarriage. According to a class paper from the RASRL archive, among the Koreans, the number of out-marriages in 1928 was only 9 out of 43 men and 4 out of 38 women, showing that the ratio was much higher compared with that of the Japanese. Among the Korean males, four were married to native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, four to East Asians, and one to a Puerto Rican while one woman married a part-Hawaiian and three women married White Americans.

Wayne Patterson describes the tension between the second generation who tried to marry partners from other ethnic groups and their parents who desperately opposed intermarriage.\(^72\) As he notes, “If most Korean parents opposed their daughters’ associations with white soldiers, an even more complex situation arose when their sons and daughters began dating or marrying

\(^{70}\) Choi, “Hawaii Has Been My America,” 147.


\(^{72}\) Patterson, *The Ilse*, 175-176.
Japanese, because of the political issue of the Korean conflict.” Dorothy Kim Rudie and her sister’s testimonies in the Roberta Chang Collection clearly show intergenerational conflicts from their intermarriages. Korean parents even forced their children to visit Korea for match-marriage. As Dorothy Kim Rudie notes, there were wealthy families in colonial Korea who were willing to pay money to the family in Hawai‘i in return for allowing Korean children to marry Hawaiian-born children. As a second-generation Korean Hawaiian born in 1920, Dorothy Kim Rudie married a haole, while her elder sister married a Japanese in the early 1940s, all against their parents’ will of match-married their children to Korean boys. Rudie’s remarks below explain the situation:

My mother preferred haole than a Japanese boy at that time. But my other sister, Daisy, the second daughter, married a Japanese boy... Her first daughter was married to a Korean, which was an arranged marriage, but it did not last. If the third daughter, me, married a Japanese, my mother would have been in hot water in the Korean community because she was letting her children marry again another Japanese.

As discussed above, the second-generation Korean Hawaiians, as they grew up to be young adults, mingled with those who were from the other side of Korean political communities and had various chances to interact with other ethnic groups in Hawai‘i. Such experiences of the younger generation, distinct from the older generation, sometimes fueled conflicts between them.

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73 Ibid., 176.

74 Dorothy Kim Rudie’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young.*
Concluding Remarks

This chapter discussed how Koreans immigrated to Hawai‘i for the first time, where and how they lived, and how their desire for Korean independence affected their lives in Hawai‘i. Korean immigrants were classified as Japanese nationals when going through immigration. However, they maintained their own style of living environments similar to those in their homeland while living in plantation villages, where the plantation owners intentionally segregated workers based on ethnicity to prevent unionization among the plantation workers.

Beginning in the late 1910s, they began to migrate to cities, where a growing number of Korean young adults had chances to mingle with the other side of the Korean political community and other ethnic groups.

There were ideological conflicts mostly resulting from political factions among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians. The political conflicts between Yi Sŭng-man and Pak Yong-man due to their different strategies for Korean independence led to divisions in churches and women’s social activities. Furthermore, the first-generation Korean Hawaiians’ political conflicts and anti-Japanese sentiment sometimes came into conflict with their children. This is because the second-generation Korean Hawaiians were exposed to settings facilitating contacts with the other side of Korean political communities and other ethnic groups, including Japanese.

In summary, there were not only political divisions among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians but also tensions between the first generation and the second generation over the issues of political factions and relations with Japanese. These circumstances raise a question as to whether there was a link unifying the divided communities out of political and generational conflicts. This dissertation finds the answer from Korean cultural activities, through which all Koreans presented their willingness to preserve Korean-ness in the island country far from their
(or their parents’) homeland. Chapters 4 and 5 will discuss how the Korean cultural activities in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i played a role of reconciling divided first-generation Korean Hawaiian communities, facilitating unity between different generations of Korean Hawaiians, and promoting their close interactions with other ethnic groups in Hawai‘i, including Japanese.
CHAPTER 3. KOREAN MUSICKING IN COLONIAL KOREA

As discussed in Chapter 1, musicking participants in colonial Korea became keen on clarifying a marked characteristic of Korean arts and emphasizing the importance of performances showing the features the best. This chapter focuses on actual practices of Korean traditional performing artists, demonstrating that colonial Koreans took the initiative in preserving and adapting existing Korean music and dance during the colonial period.

This chapter stresses multilayered efforts of colonial Korean performers to “curate” Korean-ness. As E. Taylor Atkins notes, “curation” denotes “a wide array of practices that include collection, documentation, analysis, and preservation, as well as exhibition, presentation, and publication of materials and customs regarded as historically, aesthetically, or ethnographically significant.”¹ Korean traditional performers broke with conventional practices to adapt to new cultural settings. There was more than preservation; there was selection, reframing, definition, re-contextualizing, education, and consciousness-raising. Their musical activities involved adapting original formats, widening a spectrum of performers and audiences, and showing foreign music and dance along with Korean traditional ones. As Maliangkay and Lau note, preservation for curating Korean-ness was more expansive and ambitious, involving adaptations.²

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This chapter attempts to stress that foreign culture and infrastructure, which were the products of the colonial authorities, provided existing Korean performing artists with multiple stimuli for other processes, namely curating Korean-ness by preserving and adapting Korean traditional music and dance. Japan’s intervention in introducing the foreign culture and new infrastructure, although designed to dominate and integrate Koreans within the Empire, thus served a positive function of diversifying Korean performing arts.

**Escape from the Conventions of Music Genres Classified by Performers’ Social Standings**

Before colonial times, Korean performers in charge of presenting traditional music and dance included court musicians of the Royal Palace Music Institute (雅樂部 Aakpu), female entertainers (妓生 kisaeng), p’ansori singers (廣大 kwangdae), and itinerant entertainers (流浪藝人集團 yurang yein chiptan). Kisaeng were largely divided into three groups depending on their classes: *ilp’ae* 一牌, *ip’ae* 二牌, *samp’ae* 三牌, meaning the first, second, third tiers of entertainers that reflected the stratification of Korean female entertainers. *Ilp’ae* refers to the highest ranking entertainers affiliated with the royal palace, called *kwangi* 官妓. They were essentially indentured servants employed by government offices. Private entertainers who were asked to perform for aristocrats’ parties or gatherings were *ip’ae*. Lastly, *samp’ae* were the lowest classes of *kisaeng*, most of whom were considered bar hostesses or prostitutes.

Court musicians, like *kwangi*, were employed inside the palace. They sometimes played music to accompany court dances of the highest ranking *kisaeng*. The *kwangi* and the court musicians were originally not entitled to present performances to the public; they performed only inside the palace or only for high-ranking officials. Meanwhile, the literati musicians (風流客
p'ungryugaek) and singers (歌客 kagaek) who performed in the aristocratic circles (兩班 yangban) were another important group of entertainers in late Chosŏn. They were another category of professional entertainers who enjoyed music among themselves or for the aristocratic circles.

Beginning in the late Chosŏn period, there was limited mobility between the different groups of performers as they had chances to interact with each other. Following a series of wars after invasions by Japan (壬辰倭亂, 1592-1598) and Manchus (丙子胡亂, 1636-1637), the court musicians and dancers of the late Chosŏn Royal Palace lost their jobs due to a reduction in the workforce during the war times. Some of the laid-off court performers joined the literati musicians’ musical performances in private salons (風流房 p'ungryu-pang), which brought forth rapid progress in literati music called chŏngak. Furthermore, the previous court musicians rejoined the Royal Palace Music Institute or participated in social events that the Chosŏn palace hosted, where they performed what they learned from their experiences at p'ungryu-pang. Included in performers in p'ungryu-pang during this time were not only literati musicians of the upper-middle class but kisaeng and professional musicians from the commoner classes.

Focusing on singers of the principal classical vocal genres (chŏngga), which had been developed in association with Korean classical poetry, Lee Bo-hyung stresses that the participation of kisaeng in the literati vocal music led into its different musical characteristics.4

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3 The terms p'ungryugaek and kagaek were occasionally used interchangeably. This dissertation uses the literati musicians or p'ungryugaek in a broad sense, including singers or kagaek.

Also, Im Mi-sŏn and Song Pang-song focus on a new rendition of *Yŏminlak* (與民樂), which was originally composed as ritual music with large-scale orchestration in King Sejong (世宗, 1397-1450). The emergence of small-scale orchestration and new styles of *Yŏminlak* played by the local literati instrumental ensemble (*hyangje chul p’ungryu*) beginning in the reign of King Sukjong (肅宗, 1661-1720) resulted from the court musicians’ transmission of the original ritual-music version of *Yŏminlak* to *p’ungryu-pang* musicians and the inflow of *p’ungryu-pang* versions of *Yŏminlak* back to the royal palace.\(^5\) As seen in *chŏngga* and *hyangje chul p’ungryu* in the late Chosŏn period, there were some cases where members of the Royal Palace Music Institute, musicians of the upper-middle class, *kisaeng*, and commoner musicians performed together.

However, there have been more visible signs of mobility in the colonial period. In the late period of the Chosŏn Dynasty, music genres were still stratified according to the social status of both performers and audiences. Many forms of music performed at the royal palace were limited to royalty and elite aristocrats as part of Confucian rituals and political events. Most music, whether instrumental or vocal, was still transmitted by practice from one generation to the next and usually circulated within limited and distinct regions.\(^6\) Escape from the conventions of music genres classified by performing groups’ social standings started in earnest during the colonial


period with the establishment of new institutions. This study focuses on activities of kisaeng and court musicians of the Aakpu.

**Kisaeng Covering a Wide Range of Performances**

In colonial Korea, kisaeng covered various genres of music and dance. Their performances included what *p’ansori* singers, itinerant entertainers, literati musicians, and the high-ranking kisaeng had previously presented. How could kisaeng learn and perform such a wide range of music and dance? Female entertainers in colonial Korea were affiliated with kisaeng unions (妓生組合 kisaeng chohap or 劜番 kwŏnbŏn), educational and professional private institutions to educate and train girls in various performing arts. Kisaeng unions embraced all female entertainers, including those who previously worked inside the palace, those who performed at private salons, and those who presented folk music and dance as itinerant entertainers, that is to say, *ilp’ae*, *ip’ae*, and *samp’ae*. After the 1894 Kabo Revolution leading to the abolition of social class systems in Korea and the 1907 release of palace *kwangi*, all female entertainers presenting traditional music and dance were collectively known as kisaeng. They were emancipated from previous social categories and joined different kisaeng unions. Female

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7 *Kisaeng* unions were called kwŏnbŏn (the Korean pronunciation of the Japanese term *kenban* 劜番) in 1915. For convenience, this dissertation collectively refers to female entertainers’ educational institutions as *kisaeng* unions.

8 The Chosŏn status system, hereditary and theoretically based on neo-Confucian principles, was comprised of the yangban literati (兩班, scholar-gentry), *sangmin* (常民 commoners: farmers, laborers, merchants, craftsmen, and fisherfolk), and *ch’ŏnmin* (賤民, “base people” or “vulgar commoners”), the rough equivalent of the “untouchable” or *dalit* caste in India and of the *hinin* (非人, “non-people”) or *eta* (穢多) in Edo-Period Japan. *Chung-in* (中人, “middle people”) were educated, skilled petit bureaucrats who did much of the administrative work for the kingdom.
entertainers could expand their radius of coverage much further by interchanging their own specialties and repertories in their respective kisaeng unions.

After the Protectorate Treaty between Korea and Japan in 1905, Japan abolished previous kisaeng systems in 1908 and reconstituted it within the structure of kisaeng unions, which incorporated the Japan’s yegi system (芸妓 Japanese geisha entertainer system). According to the new system, all kisaeng unions were required to report to the colonial police and obtain a license under the direction of the colonial authorities. It was not until kisaeng unions got the police-issued permit that they could train and manage female entertainers. They were not merely brokers selling entertainers’ performances and getting commissions; some kisaeng unions functioned as the successors of the royal music institutions of the Chosŏn Dynasty because some former court entertainers joined different kisaeng unions.

Starting with the Hansŏng Kisaeng Union established in 1908, the Tadong, Shinch’ang, and Sunch’ang Unions were founded in 1915. The Taejŏng, Hannam, Hansŏng, and Chosŏn Kisaeng became the most representative unions in Seoul as of 1924, among many others. Although mostly concentrated around Kyŏngsŏng (present-day Seoul), kisaeng unions were widespread all around the Korean peninsula, including the most famous ones like the P’yŏngyang Kisaeng Union, the Chinju Kisaeng Union, and the Taegu Kisaeng Union. All were established in the 1910s. Various public events led entertainers in rural areas to move to Kyŏngsŏng to be popular stars. For example, a 1937 newspaper article states that the Chŏnju

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10 Among these, colonial Koreans managed the Taejŏng Union and the Hannam Union, while the pro-Japanese ran the Hansŏng Union and the Chosŏn Union.
Kisaeng Union hosted a recital to introduce the culture of their own rural areas on stages in Kyŏngsŏng.\(^\text{11}\)

*Kisaeng* unions had their own specialties in presenting performing arts. Some unions were famous for having a lot of former *kwangi* while others included the lowest classes of entertainers. For example, the Hansŏng Kisaeng Union was famous for having many female entertainers who previously worked as female court entertainers before their emancipation in 1907. Also, the Chosŏn Kisaeng Union, having many female entertainers from P’yŏngyang, had pride in having Ha Kyu-il (河圭一, 1867-1937), a famous *kagok* (歌曲, literati vocal music) singer, as an instructor. A class of the Taejŏng Kisaeng Union had teachers of Ha Kyu-il and eleven other musicians who once worked at the Aakpu. The teachers, who had performed music and dance for the upper-middle class in pre-colonial Korean societies, worked as instructors in the Taejŏng Kisaeng Union. Meanwhile, key members of the Shinch’ang Kisaeng Union were those who previously performed folk songs such as *chapga* or *minyo* as itinerant entertainers. There was some degree of residual stratification, or prestige at least, as certain unions boasted of having former *kwangililp’ae* on staff. However, the abolition of female court entertainers and the establishment of *kisaeng* unions weakened the stratification.\(^\text{12}\)

*Kisaeng’s* ability to master such a wide range of performances must not have been possible without the consent of former members of the Aakpu and literati musicians. They were

\(^{11}\) “Chŏnju kwŏnbŏn hongguni chungangesŏ yŏnjuhoe” [Recital of Chŏnju Kwŏnbŏn Kisaeng in Kyŏngsŏng], *Maeil sinbo*, May 17, 1936: 7.

\(^{12}\) Under the colonial policy of legalizing prostitutes, most of the lowest group of entertainers became prostitutes, who were called *kisaeng* as a generic term along with the formerly upper rankings of entertainers. Many Korean scholars argue that the social stigma of *kisaeng* was a legacy of the colonial policy.
willing to break away from the practice of enjoying their entertainment only within the upper-class community to preserve their music. Some literati music ensembles flourished during the occupation period thanks to the support of wealthy patrons—such as that of Iri in the Chŏnnam area and Kurye in the Chŏnbuk area of south Chŏlla Province. However, the number of performance teams greatly diminished. The situation of the court music institutes was the same. After the forced annexation of Korea by Japan, the GGK established a department called Yi Royal Household (Yiwangjik) to take care of matters related to the Chosŏn royal family. The Aakpu, formerly Chang-akwŏn, continued its musical activities during the colonial period. However, most of its members lost their jobs due to the colonial authorities’ policy of downsizing the organization. Table 2 shows changed names of the institute in charge of court music and the number of members in the institute that drastically decreased after the Japanese protectorate of Korea in 1905.

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14 Finchum-Sung, “Designing a Fresh Tradition,” 123.

15 National Palace Museum of Korea, The King at the Palace: Joseon Royal Court Culture at the National Palace Museum of Korea (Seoul: National Palace Museum of Korea, 2015), 251.

Some expelled members of the court music institute continued performing and teaching court music. The role of a private musical organization called Choyang Club (調陽俱樂部 Choyang Kurakpu) is significant. Some members who were expelled from the Aakpu and previous literati musicians founded the Choyang Club in 1908. In 1911, the Choyang Club changed its name to the Korean Court Music Study Institute (朝鮮正樂傳習所 Chosŏn Chŏng-ak Chŏnsŭpso). They made an effort to preserve what they had enjoyed in the prior society, leading to the continued performances of formerly the highest classes of society. As seen in the above-mentioned Ha Kyu-il, who taught some kisaeng the literati’s vocal music, members of the newly established musical organization were open to passing on their specialties to kisaeng. Thanks to their openness, kisaeng as well as the expelled Aakpu members continued playing the prior literati’s instrumental music called chŏngak. There were some cases where kisaengs were involved in musical activities at private salons along with musicians of the the Royal Palace Music Institute and the upper-middle class in the late Chosŏn period. However, not until the colonial era were institutional systems where even the formerly lowest classes of female entertainers could learn and play the upper-class music established.
The Aakpu Performance Open to the General Public

The general public in the Korean peninsula appreciated ceremonial or banquet music performed by the Aakpu beginning during the colonial times. The Aakpu started to hold recitals in 1932 and continued them every month until 1945. General people were able to access the court music recitals via radio after 1928 and via phonograph albums from 1931. From 1937 on, the monthly Aakpu recitals became open to the public.17 The first recital took place on October 8, 1937, in Aakpu Recital Hall called Ilsodang and was broadcast live on radio. The regular concert was not only to preserve the court music but also to improve skills of the Aakpu-affiliated training school (雅樂部 養成所 Aakpu Yangsŏngso) in performing the music on stages.18 Established in 1919 in response to the request of the Aakpu, the school taught court music and theory to students. While previous court musicians passed their occupations down to their children, the students of the Aakpu-affiliated training school had no experience of access to court music before they entered the school in their teens. They had only to pass qualifying processes such as basic subject tests and the vocal test to prove musical talent for entrance. To educate those who did not come from a family of musicians, teachers of the Aakpu members changed the traditional ways of music education to modern ones. The teachers devised systematic curriculum and teaching methods (e.g., textbooks or a broader academic framework). The openness of the Aakpu recitals and its training institution to the public is noteworthy.


18 Pang-song Song, Chŭngbo han’gung ŭmak t’ongsa [The Revised Korean Music History] (Seoul, South Korea: Minsogwŏn, 2007), 562-563.
because it demonstrates the access of the general public to the court music and the breakdown of social segregation in music culture. In particular, the concerts prove that the functions of previous court music changed from holding ceremonial occasions to entertaining general audiences.

In addition, the colonial authorities put the Aakpu’s performance of Korean court music on stages at political events. The 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Empire, commemorating Emperor Jimmu’s enthronement in 660 BC through which the Japanese defined their empire, is a representative example. A 1939 newspaper article describes a ceremony to prepare for the 1940 anniversary. The Japanese authorities even built the Memorial Tower of Japanese Colonialization of Korea (皇國臣民誓詞塔 Hwangguk shinmin sŏsat’ap) to force Korean colonial subjects to worship the Emperor of Japan. It is interesting that the Japanese authorities inscribed a carved image of the Aakpu’s playing the Japanese anthem at the ceremony to the tower. The monument was located at the entrance of the Japanese shrine at Nam Mountain.19 Attendees at the 1940 event were supposed to sing “Umi Yukaba” (海行かば, one of the military songs during the World War II) and the National Anthem “Kimigayo” (君が代) played by the Aakpu at the opening ceremony.20 Lyrics of “Umi Yukaba” and “Kimigayo” were about glorifying the long reign of respectable lords and the people’s willingness to sacrifice themselves for their lords (see Table 3).21

19 The Memorial Tower was demolished in 1947.


Table 3

Lyrics of Japanese Songs Performed at the 2600th Anniversary of Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Kimigayo”</th>
<th>“Umi Yukaba”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May your reign</td>
<td>If I go away to the sea,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continue for a thousand, eight thousand generations,</td>
<td>I shall be a corpse washed up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Until the pebbles</td>
<td>If I go away to the mountain,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grow into boulders</td>
<td>I shall be a corpse in the grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lush with moss</td>
<td>But if I die for the Emperor,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It will not be a regret.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The court musicians presented a series of celebratory performances.\(^{22}\) Why did the Japanese authorities use the Korean court music and court musicians? Kyung-boon Lee points out that Korean court music was legitimate to propagandize the superiority of the Japanese empire by substituting the music of the long history of Korea with Japanese music.\(^{23}\) As Lee notes, the colonial authorities’ inscribing the court musicians in the stone on the Japanese shrine maximized the effect of propaganda. The court musicians carved into the stone symbolized that the music that once glorified Chosŏn was serving the Japanese Empire. It is similar to the Japanese strategy to symbolically hide and obscure the Chosŏn monarchy by placing its headquarters in front of Kyŏngbok Palace. The strategy is also indicated in two collections of children’s essays on the topic of “Our Readiness to Salute the 2,600\(^{th}\) Anniversary,” published by the GGK in early 1940. Korean students attending the Japanese-administered schools as well as the children of Japanese residents in Korea wrote the essays. The Korean contributors were

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\(^{22}\) “Hwanggi 2600 nyŏnŭi Kŏn’guk’gukche” [The Ceremony of the 2600th Anniversary of Japanese Empire], *Tong-a Ilbo*, February 11, 1940: 2.

supposed to express themselves as “imperial youth” (皇國少年 kōoku shōnen), not as Koreans. The essays provide “a window into how colonial subjects were inducted into the civil religion of Japan.”

It is reasonable to surmise that the use of court instrumental music for the Japanese political event was one of the mortifying experiences that colonial Koreans went through, firmly impressing the fact that Korea was under the authority of Japanese Empire. However, the Japanese use of Korean court music for its political event can be interpreted as Japanese fondness for the music genre, not merely means of oppression. Some Japanese obviously displayed their interest in Korean court music. As a representative exponent of Korean court music, Tanabe Hisao (1883-1984) associated the Korean court music with a pan-Asian essence presenting “the absolute superiority of Greater East Asian music over Western music because of the presence in the former of moral virtue” or the “spiritual unity of Confucianism.” As such, Japan’s use of Korean court music partly resulted from its same meaning propagating the pan-Asianism for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Also, the sincere aesthetic appreciation for the Korean court music by some Japanese, as seen in Tanabe’s remarks, may have played a role in including the Korean court music at the significant national event. It is very likely that different colonial officials and Koreaphile scholars themselves disagreed about what Korean court music meant or had their own agendas in using the music for various events.

To summarize, the efforts of former and present Aakpu members broadened access to Korean court and literati music by establishing new educational institutions. The mobility

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between different groups of performers, which appeared in the late Chosŏn period with the collaborative performances at private salons or parties, became prevalent in colonial Korea. New educational institutions were established to teach the formerly upper-class music to female entertainers of some *kisaeng* unions and young students who had never played any music before. It reflects blurred boundaries of music genres that had been associated with social rank. Also, the openness of performances by female entertainers and the Aakpu to the public, although some cases were initiated by the Japanese authorities, were emblematic of the “leveling” of Korean society. Their activities reflect that hereditary status no longer was as important as other factors in social distinction in colonial Korea. The breakdown of the old social order to preserve Korean traditional performing arts were unintended results of Japanese colonial influences.

**Adaptations of Korean Performers to the Influx of Foreign Culture**

Performers in colonial Korea made efforts to adapt themselves to new cultural settings where foreign music, dance, and mass media were pervasive. Their efforts to preserve Korean traditional performing arts involved adaptations. They merged foreign staging technique or music/dance elements into existing Korean performances. Female entertainers performed Japanese traditional vocal/instrumental music and Western popular dance along with traditional performances. Such new attempts of existing Korean performing artists to adapt traditional performing arts were unintended byproducts of the colonial project modernizing and transforming colonial territories.
Merging New Staging Technique into *P’ansori: Ch’anggŭk*

*P’ansori* is a genre of musical storytelling performed by a singer and a drummer. In *p’ansori*, a single vocalist delivers an entire story, or more commonly an episode from one, taking on the roles of the various characters in turn and acting as a third-person narrator.

*P’ansori* is thought to have originated in the late seventeenth century during the Chosŏn Dynasty, presumably in southern Chŏlla Province of the Korean peninsula. The earliest performers of *p’ansori* were most likely shamans and street performers, and their audiences were arguably the lowest class of people. It was originally the art of itinerant entertainers; however, in the eighteenth-century *p’ansori* was changed to an independent performance genre representing Korean folk music. The upper classes around the mid-eighteenth century began to appreciate the folk song genre.\(^\text{26}\)

During the nineteenth century, called the golden age of *p’ansori*, a *p’ansori* researcher and patron, Sin Chae-hyo (申在孝, 1812-84), reinterpreted and compiled songs to fit the tastes of the upper class and trained many *p’ansori* singers.\(^\text{27}\) During the late nineteenth century, *p’ansori* was performed even at the royal palace. Chosŏn King Kojong and his father Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn’gun (興宣大院君, 1820-98) hosted a banquet after building a pavilion at Kyŏngbok Palace, where a *p’ansori* singer showcased folk song performances. A pupil of Sin, Chin Ch’aesŏn (陳彩仙, 1842-?), became the first female *p’ansori* singer. She became very famous after


singing at the palace. While *p’ansori* was initially performed by male singers, females began to sing *p’ansori* after Chin’s successful performance.\(^\text{28}\)

During the colonial era, the number of female singers multiplied, as famous *p’ansori* singers taught *kisaeng* to sing *p’ansori* to appeal to the public, who favored it rather than the literati’s vocal music. Hence, the boundaries between *p’ansori* singers and *kisaeng* became ambiguous, especially beginning in the 1930s, as most *kisaeng* learned to sing *p’ansori* as well. *P’ansori* singers only presented *p’ansori* performances, while *kisaeng* presented *p’ansori* along with other various genres of performances as versatile entertainers.

Besides the appearance of many female singers, *p’ansori* experienced notable changes right before the colonial era. *Ch’anggŭk* emerged as the musical storytelling tradition of *p’ansori* was brought into the new public theaters in the early 1900s. *Ch’anggŭk*, as a newer genre of vocal music, added elements of Western theatrical traditions such as multiple actors playing assigned roles, stage costumes, and props for a performance of the existing *p’ansori* repertories. *Ch’anggŭk*, which reached a stable form just before the fall of the last Korean dynasty to Japan in 1910, became very popular. While *p’ansori* is accompanied only by a drum, the operatic version featured a whole orchestra of Korean instruments. In costuming, lighting, sound reinforcement, and the construction and movement of scenery, the full resources of a modern theater were deployed to make the performance aurally and visually accessible to everyone.\(^\text{29}\)


\(^{29}\) Killick, *In Search of Korean Traditional Opera*, xv-xxxii.
Ch’anggŭk was indicative of the influence of foreign cultures on traditional performing arts, despite previous scholars’ divergent opinions. Andrew Killick argues that Japanese rather than Chinese had an impact on the origins of Ch’anggŭk. As Killick notes, while American and Chinese influences may have helped to shape early Ch’anggŭk, and certainly played a role later on, it is now clear that the most immediate model and impetus for the creation of the genre came from Japan during the process that led to that country’s annexation of Korea in 1910. He points out that there were several Japanese theaters in Seoul around 1905, while Korean students studying in Japan often witnessed the “new school” plays. The assertion contrasts with Pak Hwang’s study demonstrating p’ansori singers created Ch’anggŭk based on the model of Chinese opera. Relying on quotes of a veteran p’ansori singer, Yi Tong-baek (李東伯, 1866-1947), Hwang explains that Koreans who often attended an opera house in the Chinese community in Seoul developed p’ansori into Ch’anggŭk. In spite of the divergent opinions, it seems evident that Koreans who witnessed cultures of the neighboring countries brought a group of p’ansori singers together to perform a drama that we now recognize as Ch’anggŭk. Understandably, female entertainers whose performances of p’ansori became prevalent during the Japanese colonial rule actively participated in Ch’anggŭk as well.

32. Hwang Pak, Ch’angguk-sa yŏn-gu [Study of the history of Ch’anggŭk] (Seoul: Paeng-nok ch’ulp’an, 1976), 17.
33. Killick refutes Pak’s study, stating that “no definitive record has been found of a Chinese theater in Seoul, nor of a visit by a Chinese opera troupe, before the first recorded Ch’anggŭk productions” (“Jockeying for Tradition,” 47).
Most of the theater performances disappeared in the early 1940s. However, it is notable that recitals to pick out the best p’ansori singers and ch’anggûk performances were continued in the early 1940s, when Japan implemented the repressive policy of obliterating Korean culture and mobilizing the entire country for the cause of World War II (1937-1945). The foundation of various organizations for the Korean vocal music contributed to presenting many p’ansori and ch’anggûk performances. In addition to the Society of Chosŏn Vocal Music [Chosŏn Sŏngak Yŏn’guhoe], which continued to play in the 1940s after its foundation by eminent p’ansori singers in 1933, new organizations (e.g., Chosŏn Ch'anggŭktan, Hwarang Ch'anggŭktan, and Tongil Ch'anggŭktan) performed the traditional Korean songs (see Table 4).

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Competition</th>
<th>Performances</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Primary Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940.3.16-17</td>
<td>The P’ansori Contest for the Relief of Koreans Abroad hosted by the Association for Chosŏn Vocal Music</td>
<td>Pumin’gwan</td>
<td>Chosŏn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941.6.21</td>
<td>The Contest for the Best Singer and Dancer (to two winners) in the department in P’ansori (recorded as Southern folk songs), dance, and western folk songs</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Maeil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942.7.11</td>
<td>The Recital of the Chosŏn Music Department &amp; the Chosŏn Dance Department, the subgroups of the Association of Chosŏn Music (the Chosŏn Music Hyŏp’oe)</td>
<td>Pumin’gwan</td>
<td>Maeil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942.7.12-14</td>
<td>Ch’unhyangjŏn; Sukyŏngnangjajŏn (Ch’anggûk), all directed by Ham Hwa-chin, mask dance (Folk dance), Shimch’ŏngjŏn (ch’anggûk)</td>
<td>Pumin’gwan</td>
<td>Maeil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942.8.14</td>
<td>The Contest for the Best P’ansori Singer and Dancer</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Maeil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued on following page)
As Table 4 shows, most of the 1940s concerts were to show p’ansori and ch’anggŭk rather than other genres of music and dance. Professional entertainers at the above-mentioned organizations continued to create and perform new pieces of ch’anggŭk. The vocalists tried to preserve and popularize the Korean traditional vocal music through the development of new stage productions even during the most turbulent times of war.

**Merging Foreign Elements into Korean Traditional Music/Dance**

There were different subgenres of popular vocal music (流行歌 ryūkōka) in Japan during the early twentieth century, such as jazz songs (ジャズソーゲン jazu songu) and new folk songs (新民謡 shin min’yō). The melodies were usually based on pentatonic major or minor yonanuki scales and featured either Western or Japanese instrumentation, or a mix thereof. More specifically, jazz songs were American popular songs with translated lyrics. New folk songs were either traditional folk songs arranged for Western orchestration or newly composed songs.
that sounded folkish. Although pentatonic melodies and lyrics were the most identifiably Japanese elements, orchestration and harmonies showed the Western music influence.\textsuperscript{34}

Vocal music in colonial Korea was analogous to that of Japan. New vocal music genres prove that colonial Koreans merged foreign culture, not only technically as seen in \textit{ch’anggŭk} but also musically, into previous musical performances. An analysis of programs at music contests in the 1930s, including All-Chosŏn (全朝鮮 \textit{Chŏn-josŏn}) Contest, Men and Women (男女 \textit{Namnyŏ}) Contest, and the Best (一流 \textit{Illyu}) Contest, reveals that Korean traditional singers continued to expand repertories of folk music by blending them with Western music’s orchestration, tonality, or rhythm.\textsuperscript{35} The remarks below demonstrate that heads of the Artists and Repertoire divisions at different recording companies merged the best of musical elements from both the traditional music and newly introduced music to attract a more comprehensive range of customers.

The most popular vocal music genre during these days seems to be \textit{sin minyo} followed by \textit{yuhaengga} and \textit{minyo}. It is undeniable that Chosŏn has been accepting the trends of Tokyo as they are, and recording culture is no exception. The popularity of \textit{sin minyo} resulted from our efforts to follow the Japanese tradition of appreciating the old songs. Therefore, \textit{jazz}, which became hugely popular in Japan, will be trendy in Chosŏn very soon. Hence, our company is planning to recruit poets in Chosŏn to let them write the lyrics that the public would be able to enjoy.

\textsuperscript{34} Atkins, \textit{A History of Popular Culture in Japan}, 117-118.

\textsuperscript{35} “Chŏnjosŏn Myŏngch’ang Taehoe” [All-Chosŏn Singing Contest], \textit{Encyclopedia of Korean Culture}, accessed on February 14, 2018. 
http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=%EC%A0%84%EC%A1%B0%EC%84%A0%EB%AA%85%EC%B0%BD%EB%8C%80%ED%9A%8C&ridx=0&tot=1101.
It is impossible to compose a new song by abandoning the old types of music. Therefore, there would appear popular songs combining both traditional folk songs in Chosŏn and popular songs from Japan or China in the future.\(^{36}\)

Based on the above articles, \textit{sin minyo}, which blended traditional music tunes and Western orchestration, was popular in the late 1930s. Although \textit{sin minyo} was sung in compound meters (6/8, 9/8, or 12/8) using the vocal timbre typical of traditional folk songs, its lyrics and music were composed by individuals and performed in a relatively fast tempo to the harmonic accompaniment of Western instruments. \textit{Yuhaengga} is another vocal genre of music that colonial Koreans appreciated a lot during this period. Literally meaning popular songs, \textit{yuhaengga} encompassed all Western-style vocal music, widely ranging from Western popular songs with lyrics translated from Korean to Western/Japanese popular music. \textit{Yuhaengga} was characterized by a two- or four-beat rhythm but had more melancholy lyrics imbued with grief over the loss of autonomy and forced relocation.\(^{37}\)

Korean music in the 1930s was more and more diversified, as new music genres such as \textit{sin minyo} or \textit{yuhaengga} became popular while traditional performing music and dance were continuously in demand by the public. The “transcultural records” were not just to construct modern Korean sound culture for Koreans but also to win over Japanese and others across the Japanese Empire as consumers of refashioned Korean sound products. By making globally informed yet locally inflected transcultural records, professionals in the recording industry established modern Korean sound culture contemporaneously with sound culture across the


The sound cultures via mass media and performing arts on stages are inextricably linked. As the recording industry in colonial Korea produced “cross-cultural” sound products, staged performances of such new “cross-cultural” vocal music increased.

Even Korean court music showed the influence of Western music. The Aakpu’s regular recital on November 2, 1933, included performances by Western instruments. Before the court music recital, there were pre-concerts of former literati music played on both Korean and Western instruments, to be specific, tangjŏk (唐笛 small Korean transverse bamboo flute) and piano played Urimnyŏng (雨淋鈴), followed by taegûm (大琴 large Korean transverse bamboo flute), haegûm (奚琴 Korean traditional two-string fiddle), and collaborative piano played Suyŏnjangjigok (壽延長之曲). Both Urimnyŏng and Suyŏnjangjigok were pieces that had previously been played for the upper classes for their social events, parties, or processions.

Court dance was no exception. There were creative dances specially created to commemorate different fairs and expositions. For example, there was a dance titled Anlakmu (安樂舞 The Dance of Comforting People). The dance was based on some dancing moves from Chosŏn court dance.

Among beautiful dances, the most eminent performance was a dance to commemorate the fifth anniversary of Japanese colonization of Korea. Thirteen dancers from Tadong Union represented thirteen colors of costumes representing different provinces. The dancers performed in different directions, finally making a square. When finishing their performance, they stepped up to the line in a row and background music accompanying the dance.

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39 Han’guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn’gwŏn [Academy of Korean Studies], Kyŏngsŏng pansongguk kugak pansonggok moknok [Index of Korean music broadcasted by Kyŏngsŏng Broadcasting Corporation] (Seoul, South Korea: Minsogwŏn, 2000), 161.
stopped. All the movements represent “going back to the original place to stay in peace and comfort.”

The newspaper article includes a picture (Figure 5) of dancers who performed the Fifth Anniversary Dance at the 1915 exposition.

Figure 6. Performance of Tadong Kisaeng Union at the 1915 fair.

Such events hosted by the colonial authorities contributed to preserving traditional dances, especially the court dance, which could have become extinct after the Chosŏn Dynasty and Korean Empire perished. More importantly, Korean female entertainers had chances to create new repertories of dance performances by adapting traditional dance moves when participating in the political event.

40 “Sijŏng o nyŏn kinyŏm kongjinhoe” [The Chosŏn Products Fair celebrating the Fifth Anniversary of Colonial Administration], Maeil sinbo, September 10, 1915: 1.

Western-style vocal music (唱歌 ch’angga) was also performed along with traditional folk songs and dance at events introducing Korean culture to the public. For example, programs at a recital that the Tong-a Ilbo newspaper hosted in 1927 included a Buddhist dance (僧舞 Sŭngmu), sword dance (劍舞 Kŏmmu), Western-style vocal songs (唱歌 ch’angga), traditional folk songs (雜歌 chapga), etc. This article states, “Sim Sun-ae’s solo singing was followed by shouts of encore,” demonstrating the popularity of Western-style songs. Female entertainers, like Sim Sun-ae, presented Western music and dance, besides long-aged and newly adapted Korean traditional performances. The professional female entertainers were considered conservators of Korean performing traditions; however, their active roles in accepting the foreign culture and introducing them to the public are noteworthy. They were not so much conservators as modernizers of Korean performing arts.

Female entertainers of kisaeng unions most frequently performed not court dances but Western dances at the 1929 event. As shown in Figure 7, kisaeng from four kisaeng unions (Chosŏn, Hannam, Hansŏng, Kyŏngsŏng) performed movements of Western dance at the event. The introduction of Western dance began in the 1900s and continued from then on. Kisaeng performed a creative dance on the stage and continued to include various types of Western dance in their programs.

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Kisaeng also performed at restaurants. Kisaeng dances at the restaurants included not only court dance such as Ch’unaengmu (春鶯舞 Nightingale Dance) and folk dances such as Sŭngmu (僧舞 Monk’s Dance) but also Western dances as illustrated in Figure 8.

Figure 7. Creative dances by kisaeng at the 1929 exposition.

Figure 8. Cancan dancing at Myŏngwŏlgwant (明月館).43

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43 Excerpted from Seoul Museum of History.
Some kisaeng even sang Japanese folk songs called naejip’ae (内地唄) at the 1929 exposition.44 The naejip’ae, introduced as a genre of Japanese vocal music comparable to Korean p’ansori, was one of the class subjects at the P’yŏngyang Kisaeng Union as well.45 The performance indicates that the female entertainers in colonial Korea were trained to perform Japanese music to present them in public events such as the 1929 exposition.

New cultural environments of colonial Korea provided Korean traditional performers with new opportunities to participate in cosmopolitan culture. As curators presenting Korean-ness through performing arts, they looked for a new direction in their musical activities; as an effort to preserve their musical heritage and Korean cultural identity, they actively capitalized on cultural resources and infrastructure, most of which were results of the Japanese agenda of colonizing Korea, for their own good.

**Korean Initiatives to Utilize the Byproducts of Japanese Assimilation Policy**

This study does not intend to refute the constraints of colonial rule and aggressive assimilation policy, some of which took some coercive measures before and after Japan’s cultural rule. The Japanese colonial policy during WWII showed a more obvious example of controlling Korean traditional music and dance. Japan implemented the “Japan and Korea as One Body” policy, intending to remove Korean cultural identity. The plan aimed at dismantling

44 Naeji/naichi (内地) referred to “inner territory” or “interior,” the Japanese metropole. In other words, Koreans, too, were expected to use the word “interior” not to refer to Korea but to Japan.

Korean language, names, history, and culture and urging Koreans to participate in the so-called Greater East Asia War to unite all of Asia under Japanese suzerainty. However, rather than Japan’s colonial policy of obliterating Korean culture, this chapter focuses on how existing Korean performers made use of byproducts of foreign culture, massive cultural infrastructures, and political events that Japan brought into colonial Korea.

Even in the “Dark Age” (暗黒期 amhŭkki) in the 1910s, when the military rule suppressed all political activities, colonial Korean modern theaters played a huge role in preserving traditional performing arts and presenting regional performing arts as staged performances. Commercial theaters were guardians of Korean cultural assets, protecting them from the influence of Western culture even in the hardest days of imperial Japan’s rule over Korea. There were unique events where people could appreciate competitive performances by eminent kisaeng from different kisaeng unions at one place. The female entertainers competitively presented regular performances at theaters or makeshift stages in the 1910s. Each of the unions made their own performances, but there were also cooperative performances that several unions made and presented together. Examples of the regular performances by more than two unions of kisaeng were the Union of Kisaeng Concert, the Union of Kisaeng Reception, the Union of Kisaeng Competition, and the Spring and Fall Periodical Concerts. These performances were usually presented during the dinner hour, sometimes continuing for several days. The “debut” performances of entertainers of different kisaeng unions were a venue for the public to appreciate various types of traditional performances on stage.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, the Japanese authorities openly allowed Koreans to found socio-cultural organizations with a deeper purpose of building up pro-Japanese collaborators. Colonial Korean performers took the relaxed policy as a chance to establish private organizations
where they practiced Korean traditional performing arts, hosted the various cultural events, and tried new performances merging elements of foreign music and dance into traditional ones. A wide range of Korean traditional music and dance, which went through the process of preservation and adaptation, became “aural archives of performance genres” that the Japanese corporations created during this period.\(^ {46}\) The Japanese corporations’ involvement of recording, packaging, and selling Korean music of differing types played an essential role in preserving and raising awareness of cultural heritage. Genres and regional styles previously inaccessible to some because of geographical or social distance were now available to wider audiences, facilitating a transcendental sense of national identity enshrined in sound.\(^ {47}\) The various types of Korean traditional music and dance preserved and adapted by the mass media affected all performing arts fields.

The Japanese use of the Aakpu performances for the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Empire in 1940 left a painful memory; however, not all the Japanese political events were harmful to Korean interests. Conversely, from the perspectives of diversifying Korean traditional performing arts, the political events provided a strong motivation, although some cases resulted from Japanese coercion, to create new performing arts and broaden their perspectives on performing arts. The colonial authorities aimed at facilitating solidarity between Japanese and Koreans, showcasing the modern culture of Japan to colonial Koreans and showing diverse Korean performances to the world as a symbol of Japanese contribution to diversifying Korean music culture.

\(^ {46}\) Atkins, *Primitive Selves*, 127.

One of the memorial postcards for the 1929 exposition indicates that the Japanese authorities hosting the event intended to stress Japanese and Korean female entertainers’ collaborative works at the event (Figure 9). The figures holding the fan with the word “commemoration (記念)” on it symbolize that colonial Koreans were proponents and beneficiaries of the fair. It also hints at the Japanese policy, naesŏn ilch’e (內鮮一體, naisen ittai in Japanese), implanting the idea that Koreans were more like the Japanese, ultimately to make colonial Korean subjects war-ready Japanese imperial citizens later on. However, understanding this merely as a result of Japanese coercion or humiliating vestiges of Japanese imperialism overlooks the demand of different musical performances among Koreans as well as Japanese settlers in colonial Korea and the voluntary effort of traditional performers to meet the demands.

Figure 9. Postcard of Korean kisaeng and Japanese geisha for the 1929 exposition.48

The exhibitions were a very meaningful place because of its potential to be a stimulant for colonial Korean performers in seeking new directions of Korean traditional performing arts.

To conform to the changing needs of targeted audiences of Japanese settlers and Koreans, not merely by the coercion of the Japanese host, Korean traditional entertainers mixed foreign culture with traditional music and dance or presented foreign music and dance as discussed above. At the political events hosted by the GGK, Korean performers had new experiences of presenting court dances, folk dances, newly adapted Korean traditional performances, and even Western/Japanese music and dances.

Besides, Korean performers had chances to see Japanese music and dance performed by Japanese entertainers, who visited colonial Korea to perform at special events. For example, in the entertainment hall in the 1915 Chosŏn Products Fair, the traditional performing arts of Korea and Japan were performed. Attendees had chances to watch magic and acrobatics by Tenkatsu Ichiza or Tenkatsu Troupe from Japan in addition to Korean performers’ music and dance. Also, the 1929 Chosŏn Exhibition included performances of the Japanese Marine Band playing military music and Japanese female entertainers presenting Japanese traditional dance dressed in traditional attire (Figure 10).

Figure 10. The Japanese Marine Band and dancing entertainers at the 1929 exposition.
Foreign music culture, mass media, and political events, all of which were byproducts of the Japanese colonial policy, became a stimulant of Korean adaptation and reinvention of traditional performing arts. In particular, the political events were what the GGK hosted to accomplish its colonial agenda of showcasing diverse cultural themes of colonial Korea. This study identified that such events gave Korean performers chances to find various ways to curate Korean culture not just by reenacting existing performing arts but also by adapting them. In the face of changing environments, Korean performers recognized the need to meet the needs of Korean audiences, not just the needs of the host. Some attempts, such as the court musicians’ performance at the 1940 Japanese event, were due to circumstances beyond their control. However, Korean performers’ musical activities were the product of not just the Japanese coercion but the voluntary efforts of Korean performers.

**Concluding Remarks**

Colonial Koreans continued their performances in commercial theaters while presenting their performance at events that had not been seen in pre-colonial society. From the cultural perspective of both colonial Korean performers and audiences, their new experiences of hosting and appreciating a broader type of performances are a salient feature of Korean traditional performing arts. The presentation of Korean traditional performing arts which resulted from the efforts of preserving and adapting existing music and dance for commercial, social, and political purposes was unintended as well as intended results of the Japanese colonial policies.

Performing arts of colonial Korea were affected by Japanese colonial policy. The cultural policy in the 1920s and early 1930s, in contrast with the repressive ones before and after the period, allowed a limited degree of freedom of expression for Koreans. The most salient feature
in this period is a broader range of repertories in Korean traditional music and dance, which included Korean traditional folk songs, folk/court dance, Korean court ceremonial music, and newly adapted performances. There were a variety of political events where Koreans curated Korean culture. The events showcasing Korean cultural diversity to the world provided Korean performers a stimulus for a new initiative to preserve their cultural heritage and meet the needs of audiences during the colonial period.

Colonial Korean performers, not as bystanders but as active participants, got involved in curating Korean-ness by adapting their performers, performances, and places. It is well recognized that modernity does not necessarily efface tradition; tradition is often revitalized or even re-invented in reaction to modernity. The impact of the logic and languages of the colonizers that some Koreans tried to repudiate cannot be ignored. However, as this chapter stressed, colonial Koreans were not merely passive conservators. They strove to popularize Korean traditional music and dance by embracing foreign culture into them.

49 Shin and Robinson, Colonial Modernity in Korea, 16-17.
CHAPTER 4. KOREAN MUSICKING IN HAWAI‘I DURING THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

As discussed in Chapter 2, Koreans began to move to cities in O‘ahu in the late 1910s. In plantation villages, Koreans maintained their own living environments similar to those of their homeland, mainly because plantation owners intentionally segregated workers based on ethnicity to prevent unionization among the plantation workers. Koreans, who previously had limited social activities, began to establish close relations with people of different political factions and of different ethnic backgrounds while living in cities. This chapter investigates musical activities of Korean Hawaiians that promoted unity among Korean ethnic groups and facilitated their interactions with other ethnic groups.

There were challenges restricting cultural activities of Korean Hawaiians. Korea was under Japanese rule (1910-1945). Korean communities in Hawai‘i were much smaller in population compared to the Japanese. The divisions in Korean Hawaiian society due to political factions were pervasive. Under these circumstances, were there events where Koreans presented their music and dance? Did Korean Hawaiians organize any musical groups to practice and present traditional music and dance? If so, did they make adaptations of existing performances, as colonial Korean entertainers did? In order to answer these questions, I examined archival sources collected from the Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, the Center for Korean Studies, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, and the Honolulu Museum of Art.
This research identified various events where Korean Hawaiians presented Korean traditional performing arts during the early twentieth century. Their musical activities presented periodically distinctive characteristics. They include performances of Christian religious songs with Korean lyrics until the early 1920s, more “diverse and purely Korean” contents incorporating adapted versions of Korean traditional music and dance in the late 1920s and 1930s, and presenting such performances at political events that Koreans hosted to cement friendly relations with Americans during World War II (1941-1945). Korean Hawaiians participated in cultural events actively beginning in the second period, when a growing number of Korean cultural organizations were founded. Not just preserving certain pieces of traditional performing arts, Korean Hawaiians in the organization continuously changed repertories representing Korean-ness by making adaptations to existing performing arts. Most of the events were not so much profit-making events as social events uniting local people of diverse ethnic backgrounds in Hawai‘i.

As the professional entertainers in peninsular Korea did, Korean Hawaiian performers kept promoting new forms of performances without making aesthetic judgments about the value of different genres of performing arts. This chapter particularly emphasizes efforts of non-professional intellectuals who took initiatives to curate Korean-ness through preserving and adapting Korean music and dance. These activities involving both preservation and adaptation of Korean traditional performing arts normally fell within the realm of professionals in the Korean peninsula. In early twentieth-century Hawai‘i, non-professional migrants carried out this project.
No Visible Presentation of Korean Traditional Music and Dance Before 1928

Until 1928, when a Korean cultural organization named the Hyung Jay Club was established, Korean Hawaiians rarely had chances to show their traditional music and dance. “Korean national dance by troupe with national music” presented at the 1917 Ball of All Nations is the only event that I could find as evidence of Korean traditional performing arts during the period:

Fun and frolic will vie with “beauty and youth of many races” this evening at the Ball of All Nations in the palace square … the dancing is to consist of fine exhibitions of American, European and Oriental dancing… the management of the ball, which is free and to which all the public is invited to attend and participate.¹

No more orderly crowd was ever seen in Honolulu, for the excellent exhibitions of folk dances of Europe and the Orient, with plentiful numbers for public dancing, kept the inclinations of all the individuals of the crowd in accord with the pleasure-seeking and entertainment spirit of the evening. There must have been nearly 1000 masked and costumed dancers who danced … Fully 5000 other persons sat upon the bleachers and witnessed the dancing…The dancing program at the Palace grounds was started promptly as scheduled at 8 o’clock, but not before the major portion of the crowd had filled the bleachers.²

The event featured folk dancing in costume by migrants of different countries and open-air dancing for the carnival crowds in the palace grounds. Korean dancers participated in the event, presenting “Korean national dance with troupe playing national music.”³ Besides the Korean performers, there were troupes performing national dances from Russia, Ireland, Japan,


² “Mask Ball is Gaiety and Life All Personified,” Honolulu Star-Bulletin, February 20, 1917.

Spain, and the Philippines; Hawaiian hula by three dancers with native music; Scottish national dance by Miss Cumming-Smith; and American society dance. The event was one of the programs opening the Mid-Pacific Carnival in Honolulu to celebrate Balboa Day (or Pan-Pacific Day). During September 1915, Liliuokalani, the former queen, initiated the Balboa Day. Subsequently, a social organization called Hands Around the Pacific, whose Honolulu branch became the Pan-Pacific Union (hereafter PPU) later on, hosted the Balboa Day. The founder of PPU was Alexander Hume Ford (1868-1945), who came to Hawai‘i at the request of the Governor of Hawai‘i, Walter F. Frear (1863-1948). The organization was to bring about closer relations of people of all Pacific races in Hawai‘i.

The Balboa Day was a perfect example showing the multicultural environment of Hawai‘i in the early twentieth century. The festival featured flag ceremonies and musical performances presented by representatives of different ethnic communities in Hawai‘i. It originally commemorated the first arrival in the Pacific islands by a European explorer, Vasco Nunez de Balboa (1475-1519). Ford, who came up with an idea that informal gatherings of a social organization could be a key to overcome racial and ethnic problems, first conceived of the Balboa Day in 1915 as a way to promote Hawai‘i as the crossroads of the Pacific. It indicates the Hawaiian authorities’ desire for an era of better understanding and closer cooperation between multiethnic immigrants in Hawai‘i as well as the Pacific nations. The PPU took charge of organizing the Balboa Day after its foundation in 1917 and developed it as an annual cultural event. The Balboa Day festival continued until 1941.

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4 Bulletin of the Pan-Pacific Union (Honolulu, HI: Pan-Pacific Union, 1920), 16.
The 1917 Ball of All Nations proves that a group of Koreans in Hawai‘i could perform Korean traditional music and dance in the late 1910s. However, except the 1917 event, most of the Korean performances at the festival until the 1920s were religious songs. According to the 1919, 1921, and 1922 Bulletin of Pan-Pacific Union, Koreans continuously participated in church services, one of the programs to celebrate the Balboa Day. The 1921 archive describes songs that Koreans sung at the service as below:

By 7:30 last night the Central Union Church was crowded to the door by a colorful throng, which had assembled at the call of the Pan-Pacific Union to participate in an interracial religious service commemorating Balboa Day or Pan-Pacific Day, as it is coming to be called. A hundred young men and women from the Kamehameha schools were seated to the left of the platform. To the right there was a group of 100 Koreans, the women dressed in their picturesque native garb.

The 1923 record shows that Korean children sang hymns while other ethnic groups performed traditional music or dances of their own countries. The Korean hymns sung in 1923 were based on the melodies of American hymns with lyrics translated in Korean. As discussed in Chapter 2, most of the Korean Hawaiians were Christians who had attended churches before coming to Hawai‘i, as American Protestant missionaries contributed to advertising, educating, and managing the Korean immigration to Hawai‘i beginning in 1903. Not only Korean laborers and picture brides but also most of the political leaders of the 1919 Philadelphia Congress that addressed an appeal for Korean national independence were devout Christian converts. Of the

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5 Due to the lack of information, it is hard to find out what kind of performances Koreans presented.

thirty-three signers of the Korean Declaration of Independence, sixteen were Christians and a number of them were pastors. Japanese authorities continued to crack down hard on the Korean Christian nationalists who established Korean organizations to strengthen Korean independence. Freed from persecutions that colonial Koreans faced, Korean participation in church services in the early Balboa Day was perhaps relevant to their zeal to lead a religious life and express their desire for national independence.

Some might argue that Koreans could not continuously present traditional performances at the early Balboa Days because there were never large groups enjoying traditional Korean music during that time. However, this was not the case. There was a group called Namp’ungsas (南豊祠) that the first-generation Korean Hawaiians organized in 1922. Some members of the Kukminhoe in Hawai‘i founded the Namp’ungsas with the purpose of teaching Korean heritage to young Koreans in Hawai‘i. The organization brought musical instruments and other paraphernalia from Korea.7 Despite the potential embodied in this organization, it was disbanded in 1926.

Anderson R. Sutton argues that Korean community funds were more likely to be devoted to the nationalist cause or to the various Korean churches, not to cultural activities. The Namp’ungsas could not gain the enthusiastic support of the greater Korean community in Hawai‘i

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7 Warren Y. Kim, Koreans in America (Seoul, South Korea: Po Chin Chai, 1971), 45. As described in Chapter 2, the Kukminhoe was established in Hawai‘i conjointly with the Kukminhoe in San Francisco, California, in 1909 for the purpose of uniting all Koreans in the United States in a common cause. The establishment of the Kukminhoe was motivated by the desire to liberate Korea from occupation by Japan, imposed in 1905, and to protest the deposing of King Kojong in 1907. The Kukminhoe mainly consisted of pro-Park members, opposing Yi’s diplomatic strategies for Korean independence.
for maintenance of traditional Korean arts. The Namp’ungsa left no detailed records about its scale or activities. The only information left was the list of founding members. As such, Koreans participation in the Balboa Day as mostly choral singers—not presenting Korean traditional cultures—resulted partly from no notable achievements of the first Korean cultural organization in showing presentational kinds of performances put before the public eye.

**Active Presentation of Korean Traditional Performing Arts Between 1928 and 1941**

Korean Hawaiians most actively participated in cultural events between 1928 and 1941. This period featured a growing number of Korean cultural organizations. One of the most notable organizations was the Hyung Jay Club founded by Ha-soo Whang (1892-1984) in 1928 as an institution of the YWCA. Whang immigrated to America when she was thirty years old. After finishing her BA in sociology in Alabama, Whang arrived in Hawai‘i in 1919 to accept an offer from the YWCA to work as a social worker for Korean females. She was not a professional musician or dancer. Instead, she made an effort to find older generation teachers who had learned Korean traditional music and dance before coming to Hawai‘i and who could teach them to the younger Korean Hawaiians. The two teachers, Susan Chun Lee (1895–1969, also recorded as Mrs. Henry D. Lee) and Young-ha Chae (approx. 1872–?), accepted Whang’s offer and dedicated their lives to teaching and performing Korean music and dance in Hawai‘i. A newspaper article notes that “a cast of 75 girls, members of Hyung Jay, Korean girls’ club of the

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8 Sutton, “Korean Music in Hawai‘i,” 103.

9 Hong-sup Kim, Han-bong Pak, Yong-wun Kim, Kŏng-sik Ko, Sa-wuk Pak, Yong-sun Ch’oe, and Se-whan Pak.

YWCA will give public programs of dances and song,” indicating that quite a large number of young female Korean Hawaiians joined the Hyung Jay Club.11

Susan Chun Lee came to Hawai‘i in 1918 with her two-year-old daughter to join her husband, K.S. Lyu. Her husband, after finishing his education at Boston University, eventually established a business in Los Angeles, California. Susan Chun Lee was different from other picture brides coming to Hawai‘i to marry Korean laborers without knowing English and Western culture. She came to Hawai‘i not to marry a plantation worker but to educate her child. Upon arriving at Hawaii, she taught in the Korean School at St. Luke’s Episcopal Church. She lived with her husband, who joined her from the mainland U.S. in 1918. Even though they gave birth to their second daughter in the same year, they got divorced in 1921. Subsequently, Susan Chun Lee married Henry Dongbin Lee and had three more children with her second husband.12

Her active role of teaching Korean performing arts at the Hyung Jay Club began when she lived with her new husband in Waialua, another big city where a considerable number of Koreans lived, about thirty miles northwest of Honolulu. Susan Chun Lee, a graduate of Ewha Woman’s University in Korea, had chances to observe some court dance rehearsals or performances. She had a brother who had studied Western medicine in Japan and practiced Western medicine in the royal court, leading to Lee’s frequent visits to the palace. Lee’s elder sister had studied kayagŭm as well. Hence, her playing kayagŭm offered Lee opportunities to


hear traditional Korean music. Susan Chun Lee, “who was reputed to be the finest Korean musician” in Hawai‘i, was in charge of choreography of Korean traditional dance.¹³

Yong-ha Chae came to Hawai‘i in around 1904 at the age of 32 and worked on a plantation in Hilo on the island of Hawai‘i. Ha-soo Whang, after getting the news of Yong-ha Chae’s ability to dance and play music, requested him to be a teacher of the Hyung Jay Club in 1940. Chae is known to have been a Buddhist monk before immigrating to Hawai‘i to be a plantation worker. His previous experience as a Buddhist monk diversified the Hyung Jay Club’s performance repertories, adding Buddhist dances to existing ones beginning in 1940. As he was not able to speak English, he had to teach the second-generation Korean Hawaiians by having them imitate his movements.¹⁴

In addition to the Hyung Jay Club, there was a Korean traditional wind and percussion ensemble playing instrumental music for dances by the Hyung Jay Club. Some former members of the Namp’ungsa continued to perform as guest performers with the Hyung Jay Club when needed. Some archival resources show that Hŭng-sup Kim, a leader of the Namp’ungsa, played Korean drum to accompany singing and dancing as Susan Chun Lee and Yong-ha Chae did, demonstrating continued efforts of the Namp’nagsa members to present Korean traditional music even after its disbandment in 1926. Furthermore, some students of the Hyung Jay Club organized Korean cultural organizations to practice and present Korean performances at their own institutions. Cultural activities of the Posŏnghoe (also recorded as Bo Song Whe, Po Sung Hoi, or Poh Song Whe) at the University of Hawai‘i and the Korean Student Alliance (KSA) at the

¹³ Judy Van Zile, “Korean Dance in Hawai‘i,” in From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai‘i, ed. Young Ho Choi (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1903), 259.

McKinley High School demonstrate it. The concerted efforts of multigenerational Korean Hawaiians made it possible for Korean ethnic groups to present a variety of Korean music and dance at festivals, recitals, school, and church events.

**Balboa Day Festival**

Koreans participated more actively in Balboa Day festivals during this period. Not only did they work as committee members, chairs of ceremonies, or tea party and ball hostesses, they also presented traditional music, dance, and folk games at tea parties and banquets of the Balboa Day festivals between 1938 and 1941. Koreans presented three types of entertainment on the Balboa Day festival: *nŏl*, folk song, and court dance. *Nŏl*, a Korean jumping game using a see-saw, had long been played on Korean traditional holidays. On the 1938 Balboa Day, *nŏl* was presented by four young Korean girls. Taking into consideration that the other groups presented their music or dance at the event, some music might have accompanied the Korean folk game. Korean folk songs and court dances were performed at the 1940 and 1941 Balboa Days, respectively. In addition to the Balboa Day, there were other gatherings of the PPU where Korean Hawaiians presented their traditional music and dance. Attendees of the PPU’s conference meetings, receptions (1928, 1930, and 1940), and a nationality dinner program (1932) could appreciate Korean folk dance and folk song. To summarize Korean participation in all of

15 The information is based on my analysis of the following materials: *Mid-Pacific Magazine, Bulletin of Pan-Pacific Union*, and archives of the Pan-Pacific Union Records titled “PPU: Other Programs Honolulu Pan-Pacific Club.”

16 According to a document in the box titled “PPU Conference Overview” of the PPU Archives, during the 1932 Nationality Dinner event, the Korean community gave a very successful dinner using only Korean food which was placed on the tables in the dainty *shinasilles* or “fairy stoves”—polished pewter pots with a tiny space in the center for charcoal fire.
the PPU annual events from the late 1930s until the disbandment of the PPU at the onset of WWII, Korean traditional folk games, folk songs, and both court and folk dances were presented.

Archives do not specify the Hyung Jay Club’s contributions to the Balboa Day. However, Whang, the director of the organization, was in charge of directing court dance at the 1941 Balboa Day. In addition, Mrs. Won Soon Lee (1903-1983), Sarah Lee Yang (1908-2001), and Mary Halm (1920-2006), all of whom took charge of Korean entertainment, were Hyung Jay Club members.  

Mrs. Lee, born in Hwanghae Province (located in the northwest of Korea), moved to Hawai‘i to follow her parents in 1904 when she was one year old. Finishing her degree in law from the University of Hawai‘i, she married to Won Soon Lee (1890-1983), who immigrated to Hawai‘i in 1914 as a political refugee in 1931. She focused on social works for Korean females in Hawai‘i and worked as a president of the Korean Christian Institute in 1939. Sarah Lee Yang, born in Hawai‘i in 1908 to first-generation Korean Hawaiians, earned a Bachelor of Education degree. After graduating McKinley High School and the Territorial Normal School, then at Greeley, Colorado, Sarah Lee Yang taught at Kawanakoa School and obtained her fifth-year certificate from the University of Hawai‘i. Mary Halm, who worked as a Korean representative hostess during the 1941 Balboa Day tea party, was recorded as an eminent

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17 Korean females sometimes were called by their husband’s name. In this case, Mrs. Won Soon Lee was Mr. Won Soon Lee’s wife. Her original name was Mary Shin. For example, Susan Chun Lee was recorded sometimes as Mrs. Henry D. Lee.

18 “Imin 104 chunyŏn hawai‘i hanin iminsa t’ŭkpyŏl kigo” [Special Articles to Commemorate the 104th Anniversary of Korean Immigration to Hawai‘i], Han’guk Ilbo [The Korea Times], August 28, 2007, http://ny.koreatimes.com/article/20070828/401946.

19 As discussed in Chapter 2, the Korean Christian Institute was a coeducational institution that Yi Sŏng-man established. The school closed its doors in 1928; however, the institution was changed into an orphanage and continued until 1952.

20 Collected from the Watumull Foundation Oral History Project.
student of the Hyung Jay Club. Whang selected Mary Halm when Halm was six years old in order to train her as a Korean traditional dancer.\textsuperscript{21}

Simply put, I found that key members of the Hyung Jay Club who directed and presented Korean traditional music and dance at Balboa Day Festivals were non-professional performers. However, PPU Archives do not provide any information as to what specific repertories the Hyung Jay Club performed in Hawai‘i. I found the answer from different sources, as follows.

\textbf{“The Music Week” Recitals at the Honolulu Academy of Arts}

The National Music Week provides a clue to understanding what kind of vocal music Korean Hawaiians presented to curate Korean-ness. The Music Week was an annual concert held in May to show various genres of music from different countries. This event proves active participation of Korean Hawaiians in music programs of the Honolulu Academy of Arts in the mid-1930s. The 1934 and 1935 concert pamphlets record that Korean Hawaiians participated in the concerts to present some pieces of Korean vocal music (Figure 11 and 12).

\footnote{\textsuperscript{21} Mary Kim Halm’s interview in Roberta Chang, \textit{When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young}.}
At the Music Week recitals, Koreans presented five pieces of folk songs: *Nong-ga Mena-ri* (Korean Spinning Song), *Heung Ta Ryung* (Korean Love Lyric), *Nanbong-ga* (Make Merry; Old Age Will Bring Its Sorrows), *Sa Bal Ga* (Youthful Hopes), and *Sijo* (A Philosophy of Spring). The first four pieces are titles of folk songs (*minyo* and *chapka*) that a group of female entertainers and traveling troupes performed, while *sijo* indicates a genre of Korean vocal music that the upper-middle class like *yangban* aristocrats frequently enjoyed in the late Chosŏn Dynasty.

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22 The information is based on my analysis of unprocessed archives of the Museum of Honolulu Arts Archives titled “Music Committee (May 1934 February1940 - June 1949.”

23 Collected from the Pan-Pacific Union Archives and the Susan Chun Lee Collection.

24 *Sijo* is recorded as *Sijho*. 
As discussed in Chapter 3, colonial Korean musical culture featured blurred boundaries between different vocal music genres. As an example, with its lyrics based on classical poetry, *sijo* originally “required high standards of literary expertise and aesthetic restraint, a cultural trait which perfectly befitted the spiritual worlds of Chosŏn scholars who placed high value on a solemn and frugal lifestyle.” However, as the formal class system in Chosŏn was abolished in 1894, the *kisaeng* and common people began to write lyrics for *sijo*, including more down-to-earth topics such as trade, corruption, and love. During Japanese rule, the *kisaeng* frequently sang *sijo*. The additional explanation next to *sijo*, which was originally enjoyed by the upper middle class, as “Classic from Korea” in the 1935 Music Week, not as “Songs from Korea” as for the other pieces, probably indicated the different social origins of Korean folk music genres. It is notable that Korean Hawaiians in the early twentieth century presented such diverse genres of Korean traditional vocal music consecutively, as professional female entertainers in colonial Korea did.

The only information about performers shown in the programs is the Korean percussionist who played the *puk* (double-headed hourglass-shaped Korean drum) to the songs. Susan Chun Lee, one of the teachers at the Hyung Jay Club, played the Korean drum. The teacher’s name on the brochures proves the contribution of the Hyung Jay Club to the musical program of the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

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25 Daehaeng Kim, *Classical Poetic Songs of Korea* (Seoul, South Korea: Ewha Womans University Press, 2009), 78.
Korean Spring Festival (Tano)

The Korean Spring Festival, called Tano in Korean, is a Korean traditional holiday commemorating the spring season on May 5th of the lunar calendar. It is well known for its practice of women washing their hair in special iris water and people’s folk games like swing and a wrestling match. It is striking that the Korean Spring Festival was held even in Hawai‘i. Korean Hawaiians enjoyed the festival every May or June at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, where they presented Korean traditional performances. The Honolulu Museum of Art, formerly the Honolulu Academy of Arts, holds various archives demonstrating the Korean Spring Festival was presented annually from 1928 to 1945.26 The Korean presentations were offered “to give Westerners some idea of the charm and beauty of the old Korean customs.”27 As a large-scale event, the festival hosted 75 Korean participants and 1,000 attendees. The festival was open to the public, free of charge.28

This chapter analyzes scripts of three Korean plays titled Wedding Ceremony (based on Korean customs of arranged marriage), Sim Chung (based on a folk tale), and Singing Wen (based on a folk tale), all of which were presented during the Korean Spring Festival.29 Analysis of the scripts reveals that the formats and contents of all the plays are unique. They are written in English. Acting is mostly narrative style. The plays add a scene of the Korean Spring Festival.

26 The Honolulu Academy of Arts combined with the Contemporary Museum and changed its name to the Honolulu Museum of Art in 2012.


29 The information is based on my analysis of unprocessed archives of the Museum of Honolulu Arts Archives titled “Korean Festivals.”
Korean folk songs, court/folk dances, and folk games are performed here and there in the plays. Interestingly, all the plays have some parts reflecting Christian/Western ideology. Audiences became well aware of Korean adaptability to Western culture as well as the Korean folk cultures and performing arts while watching the plays.

First, the *Wedding Ceremony* is what Ha-soo Whang dramatized and directed based on the Korean tradition of arranged marriage. The play showed the old customs of a Korean wedding beginning with the arranged marriage process by parents of a bride and a groom and go-betweens. The play begins with a scene of the Korean Spring Festival, where actors play Korean traditional folk games. By establishing the scene, Whang intended to show what people do in the Korean Spring Festival. The contents must have been interesting enough to draw the attention of multiethnic audiences.

The writer added some parts reflecting her Christian faith. At the moment of preparing to part with her beloved daughter right after the wedding ceremony, the mother says that “we shall be lonely, Lord of the House, but the Gods have been kind in giving us a good son-in-law so we need have no fear for our flower in the years to come.” This part is not aligned with the original ideology of marriage in Confucian society, which had a concept of severing parents’ ties to a married daughter.\(^{30}\) Showing the Christian ideology in such a play introducing customs of a Confucian patriarchal society is a unique characteristic.

Second, the 1938 Korean Spring Festival shows *Sim Chung*. Margaret Kwon (1917–2003), who was a second-generation Korean Hawaiian born in 1917 and a member of the Hyung Jay Club, dramatized and directed the production. The story is based on *Shimch'ŏngjŏn*, a

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\(^{30}\) The concept was described in the old saying, “A married daughter is no better than a stranger (出嫁外人),” prevalent in Korean Confucian society.
famous Korean folk tale. Simch’ŏngga is also one of the five surviving p’ansori based on the folk tale.31 As a non-professional play writer with no experience of living in the Korean peninsula, Margaret Kwon reinvented the Korean folk tale into a new style of the Korean drama play. She began writing Korean plays as she took a course of dramatic writing at the University of Hawai‘i. An English professor, Willard Wilson (1904-1974), taught drama writing and encouraged his students “to utilize their own culturally specific backgrounds for material.”32 In his class, “honesty and sincerity of purpose in saying something important to the student” was rated much higher than imitation of Broadway or Hollywood technique.33 Kwon was one of the students who took the course.34 Her first work submitted to the class was not Sim Chung but Mama’s Boy. Mama’s Boy is about a Korean mother opposing her daughter's marriage to a Chinese man, whom the mother describes as a “foreigner.” The daughter in Mama’s Boy wishes to marry the Chinese man to leave her alcoholic mother and impoverished household. Conversely, Sim Chung, which Kwon adapted from the Korean folk tale, describes “the filial piety” of Korean culture.

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31 There are five surviving p’ansori: Ch’unhyangga (“The Song of Ch’unhyang”), Simch’ŏngga (“The Song of Sim Ch’ŏng”), Hŭngboga (“The Song of Hŭngbo”), Sugungga (“The Song of the Underwater Palace”), and Chŏkbyŏkga (“The Song of the Red Cliff”). Each one of them conveys a different Confucian value to the audience.


34 Margaret Kwon wrote another biographical novel of her parents, The Dreams of Two Yi-Min, in 1989.
The play *Sim Chung* is about a dutiful daughter, Sim Chung, whose mother died when she was young and whose father is blind. Promised that the sight of her father will be restored if she sells herself to sailors for sacrifice, Sim Chung throws herself into the sea to calm the waves. Her adventures in the sea end up with meeting the Dragon King of the Sea. Sim Chung’s admirable work touches the heart of the king. The king and Sim Chung go back to Sim Chung’s father to get him and other blind people regain their eyesight. The play ends in a festive mood.

In the original version, there are no scenes of the Korean Spring Festival. However, the English play *Sim Chung*, like *Wedding Ceremony*, had the scene showing what people do in the Korean Spring Festival. To be specific, the second scene of the first act begins with a conversation between Sim Chung and her father about the Korean Spring Festival. The background of such a pleasant ambience on the holiday maximizes the sad emotions of the father and daughter on the eve of their parting. A newspaper article stating that the Korean Spring Festival “is celebrated yearly with merrymaking, dancing, and singing, with picnics in the hills where the throngs gather,” describes the scene in Figure 13. The performers play flower matching and *subak-chiki* while the girl on the right plays on the swings.35 This scene is very similar to the part describing Korean Spring Festival in the *Wedding Ceremony*.

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35 Flower matching is a game of guessing even or odd number of flowers attached to a branch that players randomly break off; *subak-chiki* is like the Bean Porridge Hot as the script notes.
As the *Wedding Ceremony* does, Kwon revised the original story of *Sim Chung* to reflect the writer’s religious concept of the afterlife. In the original story, Sim Chung meets the Dragon King of the Sea after she pushed herself into the sea to receive money for her blind father. Instead of this, Kwon set up a scene where not the Dragon King but “heaven” saves Sim Chung by sending “a gigantic water-lily floating by our heroine” so that Sim Chung can cling to its stem and be taken to “the palace of the king of Korea.” Like the *Wedding Ceremony, Sim Chung* revealed the writer’s belief in Christianity by slightly changing storylines.

Third, the play premiered at the 1940 Korean Spring Festival was *The Singing Wen*. The play based on another Korean folk tale was “dramatized by Richard Sooki Chun of Mrs. Fern McQuesten’s dramatic class at Mckinley High School.” Richard Sooki Chun (1920-2012), as a

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36 Collected from the Susan Chun Lee Collection.

37 Synopsis of the Korean Play, *The Singing Wen*, collected from the Honolulu Academy of Arts Archives.
second-generation Korean Hawaiian, was born in 1920 in Waialua, O‘ahu. As a career military man, Chun served with distinction in WWII and the Korean War.\textsuperscript{38} Although he was not a professional writer or performing artist, his work written in his high school years in a drama class was onstage for the Korean Spring Festival. Chun wrote the play while taking a class of Mrs. Fern McQuestern. Mrs. McQuestern, “the English Department Head of McKinley High School and a peace activist,” worked as a director of school plays.\textsuperscript{39} The role of Mrs. McQuestern at the high school as a powerful spur to various works displaying students’ ethnic backgrounds parallels Willard Wilson’s dedication at the University of Hawai‘i.

The program booklet records that Mr. Peter Hyun directed the show. Peter Hyun (1906-1993) is a little different from Margaret Kwon and Richard Shooki Chun in that he was a professional performance director majoring in theater arts and had experience living in colonial Korea.\textsuperscript{40} Born in Hawai‘i on August 15, 1906, Peter Hyun returned to Korea with his family when he was barely nine months old. His father, Soon Hyun, went to Hawai‘i with the first massive group of Korean immigrants in 1903 as a Methodist minister and went back to Korea in 1907. His father was a founding member of the KPG and an important organizer of the March First Movement of 1919. Under constant surveillance by the Japanese police, Peter’s mother took her eight children out of Korea and joined her husband in Shanghai. In Shanghai, Peter enrolled in an independent Korean school, where he was taught in his mother tongue and learned Korean arts and history. Peter Hyun’s father accepted a job offer from the Methodist Church in


\textsuperscript{40} He wrote a biography, \textit{Man Sei: The Making of a Korean American}, in 1986.
Honolulu, which led to the family’s return to Hawai‘i in 1924. So, Peter Hyun returned to Hawai‘i after a seventeen-year absence.

Upon graduation from high school and mastery of English, Hyun studied religion at DePauw University in Indiana. However, he turned his attention to theater arts and attended the Gloucester School of Little Theater during the summer of 1930. After getting an offer to be the assistant stage manager at the Civic Repertory Theater in New York, he kept working as a director of socialist plays, children’s plays, and marionette shows in North America. In 1937, he earned a chance to present a play on Broadway; however, the actors were determined not to go on Broadway with a “Chinaman as the director,” and Hyun was fired. He directed *The Singing Wen* when he came back to Hawai‘i after going through the experience of racial discrimination in the mainland and before he joined the Army in 1944. His participation in the Korean play at the 1940 Korean Spring Festival refutes a current study arguing that Hyun “left the world of the theater and never returned” because he was disgusted by the latest racial affront.41

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The script is based on a folk tale of a good old man called Park who removes the big lump on his neck with the help of goblins (tok-gabbies) due to their misunderstanding of Park’s lump as the source of his great singing. With his immense wealth that Park gets from the goblins in return for giving up his lump under coercion, he comes back to his family safely and lives a happy life. A greedy old man called Kim, after listening to Park’s news, tries to sell his lump to the goblins. However, the goblins give Kim another lump and punishments, as they realize the greedy man’s intention to deceive them. As such, the original story emphasizes the theme of the good triumphing over the evil.

Like the two plays discussed above, The Singing Wen has a scene of the Korean Spring Festival. The playwriter set up a scene where Park comes back home with his wen removed and throws a party for village people to celebrate the Spring Festival:
Wife: Let us have a dance (all approve with cheers). Come, girls, dance for the guests. (They dance … the people laugh and watch the dance as the matchmaker talks to Park at the side of the stage).

Match-Maker: [to Mr. Park]… I come with an offer of marriage to you for your daughter.

Park: But this was not necessary, for young Ho … he has lived with us as my adopted son. We know he wishes to marry. I have already given him my blessings as my son-in-law.

As the above dialogue indicates, the play shows traditional customs of Korean arranged marriage and the play’s characters not following the customs at the festival scene. The overall plot and style of the play are noteworthy in that the writer merged diverse contents of Korean folk culture such as the Korean Spring Festival and arranged marriage into the existing folk tale. By setting up Park’s future son-in-law marrying his daughter not through an arranged marriage but through casual meetings, the writer intended to present unconventional ways of marriage among Koreans in Hawai‘i.

This study focuses on another similarity among the plays: they all have scenes showing Korean traditional music and dance in common. Basically, at the scenes of the Korean Spring Festival that Whang, Kwon, and Chun added as backstory, Korean performers presented different dances and songs as well as folk games. First, the script of the Wedding Ceremony instructs actors to present “the Butterfly Dance,” “the Spring Dance,” and a Korean folk song. 42

The dances are like some choreography moves taken from Korean folk dance and court dance, not the full version of original Korean dance. The young females sitting in the front row

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42 Excerpted from the “Korean Girl’s Cycle of Joy” script, which was presented in the Wedding Ceremony play.
in Figure 15 look like dancers who presented the Spring Dance and Butterfly Dance. Susan Chun Lee “taught dances in Hawai‘i that bear similarities to court dances, the monk’s drum dance, and a sword dance, all of which came from Lee’s fertile imagination.” The teacher combined her memories with her artistic gifts, which also included the design and construction of costumes, to teach children who performed in many events. As a 1936 newspaper article states, “Both court and folk dances were presented, sometimes in full evenings of pure Korean entertainment.” The dances in the play were what Susan Chun Lee choreographed based on Korean folk and court dance she watched while living in the Korean peninsula.

Figure 15. The Hyung Jay Club in *Wedding Ceremony* in 1928.

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43 Judy Van Zile, “Korean Dance in Hawai‘i,” 259.


45 Collected from unprocessed archives of the Bishop Museum Library & Archives titled “Ethnic Culture Korean.”
Figure 16 of the Wedding Ceremony taken in late 1930s presents that those dances include imitations of court dance like Ch‘unaengmu, which was originally performed inside a palace of Chosŏn Dynasty during the early nineteenth century at party events. Based on a picture of members (Figure 17), the yellow costumes with red sashes, sleeve extensions over the hands, and headpieces are similar to those of Ch‘unaengmu. The salient feature of Korean court dance is dancers’ use of long rainbow-colored sleeves called hansam (汗衫). Throwing long sleeves into the air is one of the characteristics of court dances. At this time, breathing and the movement of both arms occur through the chest as a unit.46 Dance performances at the plays must have shown such distinct dance moves of traditional dance in the Korean peninsula, featuring the utmost elegance and serenity.

![Figure 16. Korean performers of the Korean traditional wedding scene.](image)

46 Mi Hyun Chun, “Developing a Somatic Teaching Method for Korean Traditional Dance” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 1999), 74.

47 Collected from the Honolulu Academy of Arts Archives.
Another photo shows a former member of the Namp’ungsa, Hŭng-sup Kim, played the *changgo* (double-headed, hourglass-shaped Korean drum) to accompany the Hyung Jay Club’s performance of *Wedding Ceremony*. The first-generation old man played the Korean percussion instrument to younger performers’ singing and dancing. Furthermore, brochures of the three Korean plays provide a list of male members who performed an ensemble piece with Korean traditional wind and percussion instruments: Hŭng-sup Kim [Hung Sup Kim], Han-bong Park [Han Bong Pak], Young-sun Choi [Young Sun Choy], Harry Cho, Yong-sik Cho [Yung Sik Jo]. Among them, the first three were previous members of the Namp’ungsa that briefly existed between 1922 and 1926. The program books recording them as “Orchestra” demonstrate that a few former members of the Namp’ungsa joined the Korean wind-percussion ensemble playing traditional instrumental music to the Hyung Jay Club performances.

Some newspaper articles and the play scripts enable us to imagine what the plays such as *Wedding Ceremony*, *Sim Chung*, and *The Singing Wen* must have been like. As a 1936

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48 Collected from unprocessed archives of the Bishop Museum Library & Archives titled “Ethnic Culture Korean.”
newspaper article states, “Older male musicians provided the instrumental music, described by one reporter as a typical oriental group which furnished an unusual rhythm for the dances by pipes, gong, and drum.” The first scene of *Sim Chung* begins with “three majestic drumbeats resounding from the orchestra.” The orchestra men “attired in complete Korean costume are seated on a specially improvised platform on one side of stage.” The Korean traditional wind-percussion ensemble accompanied music to actors’ performance that included singing and dancing in the middle of the play. For example, at the last scene expressing an overwhelming moment of Sim Chung’s reunion with her father, the script instructs performers to present “court dance,” which was what Susan Chun Lee choreographed by imitating Korean court dance moves.

*The Singing Wen* shows new ways of including musicians and dancers into the story as actors. At the party scene, “musicians” and “dancers” stepped out onto the stage as entertainers that the Park family in the play hired. The script instructs the ensemble to sit “at the side of the stage,” while directing that the main character to say, “Here come the dancers.” The parts indicate the writer’s strategy to connect naturally to the next scene introducing traditional music and dance. Furthermore, the 1940 play showed more diverse genres of Korean traditional dances and songs than the previous ones. A pamphlet of the play includes casting members of Flower Dancers, Sword Dancers, and Court Dancers. As mentioned above, Yong-ha Chae, who was a Buddhist monk, joined the Hyung Jay Club as another teacher in 1940, when *The Singing Wen* was presented. Chae instructed *Ch’unangmu* (春鶯舞 court dance), *Kŏmmu* (劍舞 sword dance), *Sŭngmu* (僧舞 monk dance) for two years after he joined the Hyung Jay Club. So, Flower

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Dancers, Sword Dancers, and Court Dancers in the 1940 play script would have included what both Yong-ha Chae as well as Susan Chun Lee taught to the Hyung Jay Club.

No titles of songs are recorded in the scripts. We can only guess that they sang one of the repertories presented at the National Music Week. Besides the folk songs presented at the recitals, another folk song appears in the synopsis of The Singing Wen. A happy scene of the main character’s coming back home with great fortune begins with a song. The lyric of the song recorded, “Nar rul pa pee ko ka nun nim ah Sim lee rul mot ka so park paying e nun da” [The one who abandoned me shall not walk even 4 kilometres before their feet hurt], indicates that the song is “Arirang” because this part parallels the first verse of the best known version of the song.\(^5\) The writer finished the synopsis in the late 1930s when he attended McKinley High School. Therefore, the scene of The Singing Wen verifies that Koreans in Hawai‘i began to appreciate “Arirang” in the late 1930s.

To sum up, collaborations between multigenerational Korean Hawaiian writers, directors, the Hyung Jay Club, and the Korean wind-percussion ensemble were key to the plays presented at the Korean Spring Festival. They kept promoting performances representing Korean-ness by adapting Korean literature, customs, games, and most importantly music and dance.

**School Events**

Archival resources of the biggest public schools in Honolulu, the McKinley High School and the University of Hawai‘i (UH), prove that Korean young adults performed Korean

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\(^5\) The recorded lyric in the script is slightly different from the original lyric, “narŭl pŏrigo kashinŭn nimŭn shimnido motkasŏ palbyŏngnanda,” in its pronunciation.
traditional performing arts at schools from the late 1930s on. The materials portraying the Korean student organizations offer another clue to what dances the Hyung Jay Club presented at the Balboa Day and the Korean Spring Festivals. This is because the Posŏnghoe was composed of members of the Hyung Jay Club attending the University of HawaiʻI (Figure 18).

Figure 18. Posŏnghoe members.

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51 I examined the UH Archives. In addition, Ka Leo O Hawaii and The Pinion, newspapers archiving activities of the University of Hawaiʻi and the McKinley High School students, respectively, are important resources for this study.
Costumes of the Posŏnghoe members in the picture show that they practiced Korean traditional music and dance. The four females standing in the back row are wearing with jeweled headpieces and the six females sitting on both sides of the front row are dressed in costumes of Korean court dance like Ch’unaengmu or Kŏmmu. As mentioned above, the headpieces and long sleeves connected from the hand are the most important feature of Korean court dance costume. The person who is behind the changgo played the percussion instrument to accompany these dances as well as folk songs with the Korean drum, as Susan Chun Lee or Hŭng-sup Kim did. The person standing in the very center of the back row dressed in pure white clothes and a cone hat is just the same as stage outfits of Korean Buddhist dance like Sŭngmu or Nabichum. Adorned with gokkal, a pointed Buddhist hood for monastics, Buddhist dances use slow movements symbolically to guide people on the Buddhist path. The repertories are aligned with what Yong-ha Chae taught to the Hyung Jay Club. This suggests Chae, as a former monk, contributed to passing on a more diverse Korean traditional dance to the Hyung Jay Club members in the early 1940s.

Likewise, the publication of the Korean Student Alliance, The Korean Students’ Annual, demonstrates that the Korean high school students who were the Hyung Jay Club members presented what they learned from the Korean Club at their school events. The Korean Student

52 Chang and Patterson, The Koreans in Hawai‘i, 151. No historian has discussed Posŏnghoe before. Only Chang and Patterson present the picture with a description that the Po Sung Hoi [Posŏnghoe] was “the first Korean sorority at the University of Hawai‘i.”

53 The split “jackets” the seated dancers are wearing in the picture represent the court version of Kŏmmu.


Alliance at the McKinley High School was the biggest Korean Student Alliance in the territory, hosting cultural events accompanying Korean traditional music and dance. As shown in Figure 19, its members performed court dance moves in groups and a short play titled “Family Scene,” where they “presented an ordinary Korean family scene including a colorful Korean dance.” A newspaper article also notes that Ha-soo Whang directed the Korean play called the “Korean Wedding Scene” for the school event. In addition, young females wearing headpieces and long sleeves in the pictures look similar to those in the photo of Wedding Ceremony. As such, the “Family Scene” seems to be part of the Wedding Ceremony.

![Dancing Beauties and Family Scene](image)

**Figure 19. Activities of the McKinley High School Korean Students’ Alliance.**

An analysis of the McKinley High School newspaper, *The Pinion*, reveals that there was an annual festival called “Festival of Nations,” which was one of the school events where students of different ethnic background shared their own culture and customs. A sorority of the

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56 “McKinley Racial Groups in Pageant This Afternoon,” *The Pinion*, November 7, 1930

57 *The Korean Students’ Annual*, collected from the Susan Chun Lee Collection.
McKinley High School, Girl Reserves, hosted the event at the YWCA beginning in late 1920. Students of Korean descent at the school actively participated in the event in the 1930s, presenting songs, dances, foods, and dresses. They presented performances that they had learned from the Hyung Jay Club at such events, as the above-mentioned archives prove.

**Church Events**

I found a few cases when Korean traditional performances were presented at Korean churches in the late 1930s. The events were either to promote fellowship among Korean church members or to raise funds for the church. The findings reveal that Korean churches played a pivotal role not only in meeting communal needs of the Korean immigrants but also in sharing Korean culture including music and dance.

According to archival resources from the Susan Chun Lee collection, there was a meeting of 25 young Koreans at the Waialua Korean Church. Under the leadership of Henry D. Lee, who was Susan Chun Lee’s husband, the young Korean Christians from the eighth grade to the senior high students organized a society. Its aim was to “promote fellowship and Christian character building and to perpetuate the Korean language.”

58 At the gathering, they sometimes had musical events, where Susan Chun Lee sang folk songs.

Another document in 1939 records a special entertainment sponsored by the Korean Women’s Relief Society of the Korean Christian Church. As a description of the event notes, a young girl named Martha Park appeared in the special event at the old Korean Christian Church in Honolulu. All the profits from the event went toward defraying the mortgage expenses on the

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new church building. The performer’s costume proves that the court dance moves were what Korean Hawaiians appreciated most frequently as performing arts in Hawai‘i.

The overall configurations such as long sleeves and gowns, all of which represent court dance, can be conceived of as very similar (see Figures 16, 18, and 19). The visual resources taken in the late 1920s and 1930s suggest that Korean court dances mostly in groups of four or five were what Korean Hawaiians most often presented to represent Korean-ness during this period. The form of group dance sometimes differed from a standard of the original court context. For example, *Ch’unaengmu* was originally performed by a solo dancer, not as a group, while *Kŏmmu* was danced by even numbers of dancers, such as two, four, and eight, according to the styles.

As discussed above, the concerted efforts of Korean Hawaiian organizations contributed to preserving and promoting Korea traditional performing arts. They performed choreographed dances imitating Korean folk and court dance movements, folk songs, folk games, and Korean drama plays incorporating these repertories. The Korean plays adapted from Korean folk customs and tales in English demonstrate Korean Hawaiians launched a new attempt to introduce Korean culture to local audiences. It is noteworthy that under the politically and socially insecure situations, Korean Hawaiians presented Korean traditional singing and dancing accompanied by instrumental music at various venues including Balboa Day, the Korean Spring Festival, and concerts at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, schools, and churches from 1928 to 1941. In doing so, social and regional distinctions between genres of performance art, while noted with descriptors such as “court” or “folk,” still had little relevance in the presentations. All expressive culture—elite or commoner, Chŏlla or Kyŏnggi—was presented as “Korean.”
Korean Traditional Performing Arts for Political Purposes During WWII (1942-1945)

A surprise military strike by the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Service against the U.S. naval base in Hawai‘i on the morning of December 7, 1941, led to the U.S. entry into WWII. The PPU was disbanded, bringing about the cessation of Balboa Day festivals. It was inevitable that most of the musical events in social and educational institutions disappeared during the war years. Moreover, Ha-soo Whang left the Hyung Jay Club in 1943 for health reasons.\(^59\) Despite these challenges, Korean Hawaiians continued to present Korean traditional performing arts during WWII in Hawai‘i. The Korean court/folk dance movements that Susan Chun Lee and Yong-ha Chae choreographed, folk songs, and either parts of or the whole Wedding Ceremony were what Korean Hawaiians continuously selected as the best repertoire to show Korean-ness during the war years. Newspaper articles in WWII record specific pieces including Ch‘unaengmu, Sŭngmu, Kŏmmu, Nabich‘um, and “Arirang,” providing clues that Korean Hawaiians presented such performances during the preceding period. Korean Hawaiians used the traditional performing arts for political purposes.

A major concern of Koreans in America was that they would not be taken into consideration by the U.S. in its postwar decisions respecting Korea. Hence, many activities of the Koreans in America were designed to convince the American government that Koreans should not be treated as Japanese and that they should be allowed to govern their own nation. In addition to military training and financial support through purchase of defense bonds, Koreans in America joined in anti-Japanese war propaganda with great fervor, declaring their allegiance to the Allied

\(^{59}\) “Whang Ha-so-si saim” [Retirement of Ha-soo Whang], Kukminbo, September 29, 1943.
Likewise, Koreans in Hawai‘i, although they continued to socially interact with Japanese Hawaiians, put their utmost efforts to prove their loyalty to the U.S. during WWII by contributing to the war effort. Musical activity was one of the methods displaying such efforts. I identified several cases of Korean performances for political purposes between 1942 and 1945.

A series of newspaper articles in *Kukminbo* describe a Korean fund-raising concert for the American Red Cross in 1942. The UKC, which was established in 1941 to unify dispersed Korean political organizations in Hawai‘i and America, was the host of the event. The UKC obviously expressed Korean full support for the war efforts by saying that “Koreans felt so pleasant to find that proceeds of the benefit concert would be helpful for the Red Cross and a driving force leading into the US victory in the end.” The event showed the predominantly White American Red Cross officials and Hawaiian local people a wide range of performing repertories including Korean folk song, court/folk dance, and wedding ceremony.

It began with the Korean wedding ceremony, with a table with all kinds of gold and silver plates, colorful candles, and snacks like chestnut jujube as stage props. All the procedures of the wedding ceremony hold the attention of audiences, most of whom were “white people with no experiences of watching such an interesting scene” of the traditional Korean wedding.

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61 For detailed information of the UKC, see Chapter 2.

62 “Migukchŏkshipchasa chiwŏnŭl wihan kongyŏn” [Performance to Sponsor the US Red Cross], *Kukminbo*, June 3, 1942.

63 “Chaemihanjokyŏnhabwiwŏnhoeŭi migukchŏkshipchasa chiwŏnhwaltong” [Activities of the UKC to Support the US Red], *Kukminbo*, May 13, 1942.

64 “Chaemihanjokyŏnhabwiwŏnhoeŭi migukchŏkshipchasa chiwŏnhwaltong II” [Activities of the UKC to Support the US Red II], *Kukminbo*, May 13, 1942.
wedding ceremony must have been equivalent to some of scenes in the Korean play *Wedding Ceremony*. Additional information of the event specifies exactly what performances Korean Hawaiians presented: The Korean Instrumental Band comprising with four players played wind and percussion instruments to accompany Clara Ahn’s *Sŭngmu*. There was also performance of *Kŏmmu* and *Nabich'um*. Mary Lee sang “Arirang” with Mrs. Kum-yeo Park’s piano accompaniment. The repertories are in accordance with costumes of the Posŏnghoe. It also proves that “Arirang” has continuously been appreciated since the late 1930s.

Three months later, Koreans hosted a musical event for the African American troops in Honolulu as described below:

As a combined efforts of Korean, Chinese, Filipino, and Hawaiian ethnic groups of the Morale Section of the Military Governor's Office in Honolulu, the Honolulu Academy of Arts invited about 200 African American troops to enjoy music and dance on August 30 at 3 pm. Mrs. Noji Shon, with a support of Chŏng-song Ahn, performed Korean court dance and Sŭngmu, young females’ *nŏl* (Korean see-saw game), and Patra Pang’s singing “Arirang.” For the court dance, four females recorded as Suk-myŏng Ahn, Suk-sŏng Ahn, Hee-soon Lee, Hee-yŏn Lee danced Korean traditional dance in *hanbok* [Korean traditional clothes], invoking endless bliss among them. The Chinese treated snacks and desserts for them and the Filipinos their own rice cake for the event. This event was possible with a generous donation of American Methodist Church in Wahiawa and in Honolulu, Korean St. Luke’s Episcopal Church, and Korean Christian Church.  

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65 “Chaemihanjokyŏnhabwiwŏnhoeŭi migukchŏkshipchasa chiwŏnhwaltong II” [Activities of the UKC to Support the US Red II], *Kukminbo*, May 20, 1942.

66 “Migukchŏkshipchasa chiwŏnŭl wihan kongyŏn” [Performance to Sponsor the US Red Cross], *Kukminbo*, June 3, 1942.

As shown in the above description, Koreans played a leading role hosting the morale-boosting concert, where people of Chinese, Filipino, and Hawaiian descents joined. Each of the ethnic groups’ representatives were affiliated with the Morale Section of the Military Governor's Office, an interracial committee established right after the Pearl Harbor Attack to comply with the US military’s request. The Committee traces its origins back to the Oahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense, advisory groups of Japanese Americans organized in 1941 to promote the loyalty of Hawai‘i’s Japanese population and suppress subversive elements. The Committee contributed to the loyalty program to minimize any friction among different ethnic groups in Hawai‘i. The Morale Section of the Military Governor's Office replaced the activities of these advisory groups right after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. This means that the Morale Section of the Military Governor's Office included the Japanese. Therefore, the event initiated by Korean groups to show their support of the U.S. government, leaving Japanese out, reflects that Korean Hawaiians purposefully hosted the event to accomplish their ultimate goal of Korean independence from Japanese rule.

The concert was not for the general US armed forces but for the African American troops. There were about 30,000 African American military personnel and war workers who served in Hawai‘i during WWII. They were mostly residents of Hawai‘i who rarely experienced racial discrimination. Therefore, the event did not aim at solving a racial issue. Rather, it was

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indicative of Korean support for the war efforts in different ways. Korean active endeavors to integrate all ethnic groups except Japanese through the musical event imply their intent to appeal to the U.S. government that they were different from the Japanese.

The second-generation Korean Hawaiians who presented the performances were not professional performers but specialized in different areas. For example, among the four Korean dancers, Suk-sŏng Ahn and Suk-myŏng Ahn were both daughters of Chŏng-song Ahn, the Korean director of the event. Both majored in business, not in performing arts.\(^{70}\) It is notable that all the court dances took the similar format of a group dance having four or five dancers, which aligns with visual resources taken in the preceding period (1928-1941).

A 1945 article from the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* recounts that Koreans presented the play *Wedding Ceremony* at the United Service Organizations (hereafter USO) Victory Club in 1945. The play “occasioned great admiration by the thousands of service men who saw it at that time.”\(^{71}\) The USO was an organization to support the Navy and Marines by providing respite, recreation, and entertainment to soldiers who joined the Second World War. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the USO in Honolulu needed to expand quickly. So, the YMCA offered its building in Honolulu to the USO for the duration of the war. The USO was open to all members of the armed forces regardless of gender, religion, or race.\(^{72}\) The morale-boosting concert provided the armed forces of different backgrounds with chances to appreciate the Korean play.


\(^{72}\) Michael Case, “Inside the Archives: Down Honolulu Way: The USO and The Navy in Hawai‘i 1942-1947,” *International Journal of Naval History*, November 18, 2016,
As discussed above, the *Wedding Ceremony* included Korean folk songs, folk games, and choreographed court/folk dance moves. *Kukminbo* articles emphasize that the event presenting the *Wedding Ceremony* required a concerted effort of all Korean Hawaiians. Before March 4, 1945, when the play was scheduled to be onstage, *Kukminbo* continuously requested Korean Hawaiians’ cooperation to prepare for the event. It was quite a large-scale affair. The performance required a huge number of female young adults who could guide visitors inside of the hall. It planned to host at least 10,000 Army/Navy troops in Honolulu so that they could enjoy the “unprecedented Chosŏn program.”73 The Hyung Jay Club urgently called on Yong-ha Chae, who was staying in the Big Island at that time, for the preparation of stage decoration and the performance. The director of the event, Esther Lim (1912-2001), urged Korean Hawaiians to actively participate in the event through donating money, participating the events, and even lending anything that could represent Korean culture such as paintings, old items, or clothes for the show.74

There was another reason the Hyung Jay Club strongly and repeatedly stressed Korean support for the 1945 morale-boosting event: the musical program was a part of the series commemorating the 1919 March First Movement. Beginning with the opening ceremony hosted by the UKC on March 1, the event included selling war bonds by the Korean Women’s Relief Society for the following two days. The Korean play, *Wedding Ceremony*, was the last day’s


74 “Hyŏngjehoeŭi chŏnt'ong hollyegŭk kongyŏn” [The Play of Wedding Ceremony by the Hyung Jay Club], *Kukminbo*, January 24; January 31; February 21, 1945.
program, wrapping up the four-day event. It was such an important event for all Korean Hawaiians who differentiate themselves from Japanese, presented their support of the U.S. government, and ultimately appealed their desire for Korean independence.

The performance ended in great success. The generals of the Navy and Army even asked the Korean performers to present the exact show especially for the highest ranking military officers in Honolulu. The article states that the 15th of the same month, the Korean performers were invited to the military base to perform *Wedding Ceremony* for the military officers. In addition, the Hyung Jay Club members also presented traditional performing arts at a local veteran's hospital on May 16, 1945. Under the auspices of the Hyung Jay Club and the Honolulu YWCA, twenty Korean young females visited the Schofield Veterans Hospital to cheer up hundreds of patients there. The commanders both appreciated and complimented the Korean performers with a word, sending a letter to the Hyung Jay Club. All the articles reflect that the large-scale event elicited a positive response to the U.S.-Korea political relations during the war.

In 1944, the Korean Committee of Honolulu and Wahiawa even hosted a banquet showing Korean traditional performing arts. The banquet was “to show the appreciation of the Korean community in a united front for the timely introduction of House Bill 4940 by a territorial delegate, Joseph R. Farrington (1897-1954), known as the Korean Quota and Nationalization bill.” In 1944, Farrington introduced the bill allowing immigration and

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75 “3.1 chŏl kyŏngch'uk'aengsawa kongch'aebalmae” [The Event Commemorating the March First Movement and War Bonds], *Kukminbo*, February 21, 1945.

76 Branches of the United Korean Committee in America (UKC).

naturalization rights to Koreans in the U.S. Koreans felt elated, as the bill symbolized the U.S. recognition of Koreans’ effort to “become a part of the daily fabric of American life” by becoming American citizens.\(^7^8\)

During the war, Koreans from Hawai‘i began lobbying the U.S. Congress to secure an immigration quota for Korea and citizenship eligibility for foreign-born Koreans. Seeking to capitalize on the 1943 repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Acts, which established an immigration quota for China of around 105 visas per year, Koreans from Hawai‘i supported the Farrington Bill, or the Korean Immigration and Naturalization Bill (KINB). They claimed common enmity with the U.S. against the Japanese on the one hand while playing up their solidarity with America’s Chinese allies on the other hand. The banquet was one of the tools for lobbying. At the political event, “Korean native dances” under the direction of a Hyung Jay Club teacher, Yong-ha Chae, were presented.\(^7^9\) American politicians, including Farrington, attended the banquet. Also present were other high-ranking officers, civic leaders and officials, as well as prominent business leaders of various organizations. Accordingly, the banquet provided American political figures with opportunities to appreciate Korean traditional dance. Even though the U.S. Congress did not pass the bill, it was a very important event for Korean immigrants in America as the bill also reflected the support of the U.S. government for Korea’s independence.

The continued musical activities of Korean Hawaiians were possible due to the efforts of Hyung Jay Club members as well as the Korean traditional music ensemble who continued to


practice and perform Korean traditional performing arts. Korean political organizations such as the UKC and the Korean Women's Relief Society hosted and sponsored the activities. The Hyung Jay Club, even without Whang, kept presenting Korean traditional performing arts during WWII. With Esther Lim as a new leader, the Hyung Jay Club showed what they had practiced since the late 1920s. As a younger second-generation born in 1912 in Hawai‘i, Lim contributed to finishing Korean concerts for American soldiers and politicians successfully, filling Ha-soo Whang’s void. Arguably, the events would not have been possible without the contribution of Susan Chun Lee, Yong-ha Chae, and the Korean wind-percussion ensemble, who continued to teach and perform with young adults of Korean descent.

Concluding Remarks

Koreans actively participated in musical events during the early twentieth century, presenting choreographed Korean court dance/folk dance moves, folk songs, and Korean plays. Korean Hawaiians showed the performances at festivals, special recitals at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, school activities, church events, and political events. Korean Hawaiians participated in the cultural events most actively in the late 1920s and 1930s, featuring a growing number of Korean cultural organizations and multicultural events hosted by the social and educational institutions in Hawai‘i. Korean Hawaiians, both young and old, practiced Korean dancing and singing in order to present them to multiethnic audiences. Despite a huge decrease in cultural events, they continued to present Korean traditional music and dance during WWII.

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for political purposes. A series of morale-boosting concerts and a banquet were to present their loyalty to the U.S. and to elicit American support for Korea’s independence from Japanese rule.

Their musical activities involved adaptation of existing traditional music and dance. Newly choreographed court dance moves featuring a group dance by four to five dancers and folk songs were what Korean Hawaiians showed most frequently beginning in the late 1920s. This chapter highlighted Korean plays that the first- and second-generation Korean Hawaiians wrote based on Korean traditional customs and folk tales by incorporating adapted Korean traditional folk songs and dances. Among the three plays, Korean Hawaiians presented the play *Wedding Ceremony* most frequently. With an interesting story of the betrothal through a matchmaker, colorful costumes, and a stage showing traditional residential environment, Korean traditional performances must have been reasons enough to be selected as the best performance representing Korean-ness. Court/folk dances and folk songs were what professional female entertainers (*kisaeng*) performed in colonial Korea. Therefore, it is remarkable that the amateur performers, not professional entertainers, covered a wide range of Korean performances in Hawai‘i through the process of preservation and adaptation.
CHAPTER 5. KOREAN MUSICKING IN THE MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT OF HAWAI‘I

Just as the urban consumer culture of colonial Korea was a complex, cosmopolitan mixture of European, American, Japanese, and Korean traditional elements, Hawai‘i was exposed to various cultures of different ethnic backgrounds. Besides American mainstream music and Western classical music, Hawai‘i had a more complex musicscape to which immigrants and native Hawaiians contributed. As discussed in Chapter 3, Japan intervened in the process of forming the cosmopolitan musicscape in colonial Korea. Likewise, Western imperialists played a role in introducing foreign culture and infrastructure in Hawai‘i.

Hawai‘i first experienced Western culture via missionary groups and immigrants from Europe and America. With the arrival of the missionaries, a significant influence came upon the Hawaiian musical scene: Christian hymnody. The introduction of hymns to Hawai‘i can be dated precisely to April 23, 1820, when the newly arrived missionaries, accompanied by Prince George Kaumuali‘i, sang for both the court and commoners in Honolulu.¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, Hawaiian names began to appear both as translators and composers of hymns. Concurrent with the development of hymns in the mission stations and churches of the islands was the court-centered musical organization known as the Royal Hawaiian Band, a Western-style ensemble that took shape with a repertoire derived from the secular European tradition. It

served as a training ground for some of best-known musicians in Hawai‘i, set high standards for both instrumental and choral performance, and popularized Hawaiian music outside the Islands through several visits to the mainland.²

Considering these circumstances, this chapter answers two questions. First, how and why were Hawaiian institutions eager to promote multicultural events? Second, how did the Hawaiian cultural environments, where Koreans presented what they curated to show Korean-ness using Korean traditional music and dance, affect Korean communities in Hawai‘i? As this chapter points out, Korean Hawaiians culturally took advantage of multicultural environments in Hawai‘i, which were byproducts of assimilation policies of Hawaiian institutions. Performing arts played a significant role in uniting Korean communities in Hawai‘i and signifying their belonging to multicultural Hawaiian society. By emphasizing their cultural difference from their neighbors and their adaptability to new environments, Koreans—indeed, all participants with different backgrounds—were creating a new sense of community in which those differences were not just tolerated but embraced.

**Multicultural Environments in Hawai‘i and Colonial Intervention**

The ethnic composition of the Islands, in contrast to the mainland, did offer greater occupational mobility for Asian immigrant communities. I do not mean to suggest that Hawai‘i was a racial paradise, as they argued. While Whites were the minority, a haole elite routinely controlled local politics, the local economy, and dictated cultural standards. Also, the dominance of this White elite in Hawai‘i in the first half of the twentieth century existed within a broader

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² Ibid., 48.
context of colonial subjugation and racial hierarchies established through the plantation economy. The executives of plantation authorities and their descendants were the ones who previously overthrew the Hawaiian monarch, established the new provincial government, and approved formal annexation of Hawai‘i as U.S. territory until Hawai‘i officially became the fiftieth state in 1959.

However, I emphasize the positive functions of their assimilation policy that promoted multicultural events. The assimilation policy encouraged different immigrant societies to preserve and share their own cultures, aiming at preventing disputes between them and retaining immigrants as labor forces. The multicultural environments in urban areas of Hawai‘i resulting from such policies had a very positive effect on the rich cultural life of the cities. As Koreans and other ethnic groups moved to cities beginning in the late 1910s and the second generation grew up to be young adults, the cities in Hawai‘i became a venue to promote social interactions between different immigrant communities. The interethnic cultural interaction was valid even between Koreans and Japanese, whose relations in their homelands were as the colonizer and the colonized. I could find various resources verifying close relations between young Koreans and Japanese. Below are two examples:

I remembered a person by the name Mother Rossie at a Catholic College. She asked me how I felt about Japanese, and I told her I had a very good friend who was Japanese, and I didn’t have any prejudice against the Japanese, and she asked me if I was afraid. I said no, I wasn’t scared.

Two women on the sidewalk said, “you better get out of here you ‘Jap,’” very angrily. I was hot-tempered myself, I came out of the car with my hands on hips, and I said, “Don’t you dare talk to me like that, my husband is fighting

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3 Choi, “Hawaii Has Been My America,” 149.

4 Agnes Park Kwon’s interview in Roberta Chang, When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young. She was born in 1913 in Hawai‘i Ewha Plantation and later moved to Honolulu.
for you, and here you’re talking to me like I’m, a Jap. I am not Jap, and to begin with, if I were Japanese, I wouldn’t be disloyal.\(^5\)

As the above interviews indicate, younger generation Korean Hawaiians did not always have hard feelings against their friends of Japanese ancestry. Instead, their interviews prove amicable relations between Koreans and Japanese continued even during World War II. Agnes Park Kwon’s recollection, “I was so used to mixtures of people in Hawai‘i, where I don’t think we have extreme racial prejudices,” also demonstrates no specific tensions among ethnic groups. Significant numbers of oral resources verify the relationship among young Hawaiians of different ethnic backgrounds during the early twentieth century, which was “quite free, natural, and amiable.”\(^6\) On analysis of archival resources recording activities in schools, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, YWCA, YWCA, and the PPU, multicultural environments with the tolerance to different ethnic cultures were pervasive in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century, especially beginning in the late 1920s, when all of the immigrants adjusted to urban life.

I examined institutions that promoted the unity between different ethnic groups in Hawai‘i: public schools; social organizations like YMCA, YWCA, and the PPU; and the Honolulu Academy of Arts. Multicultural settings and programs of these institutions provide information on the contexts of Korean multigenerational efforts to preserve and adapt their traditional performing arts in Hawai‘i.

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\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Ritsuko Hirai (a second-generation Japanese Hawaiian) mentioned this in his class paper, an excerpt from the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL) database.
Public Schools

Kanuma Kaneo, a child of a Japanese plantation worker, states that “they [multiethnic immigrants in Hawai‘i] have been plunged into the conglomeration of races in Hawai‘i and today have emerged triumphant, shaping their destinies here amidst different racial and social environments and leading a peculiar life, perhaps found nowhere in the world except in Hawai‘i.” Schools were essential venues proving that subsequent generations of Asian immigrants preserved and shared their own cultural customs and traditions while accustoming themselves to American culture.

The most notable feature showing multicultural settings was racial clubs in the University of Hawai‘i and McKinley High School. The McKinley High School is historically significant as the oldest public high school in Hawai‘i. Through the 1920s, more than half of the high school students in Hawai‘i attended McKinley. More interestingly, the school is famous for having the majority of the student body of Asian ancestry. Likewise, one of the University of Hawai‘i Archives Collections, Graduating Class Photographs from 1912 to 1934, shows growing racial diversity of college graduates since the 1920s. The collection describes that “the classes of 1923 and 1924 demonstrate the rapid growth in the size of the student body of the University.” The yearbook of the class of 1923 at the University of Hawai‘i presents students of different ancestry, including Japanese, Korean, and Chinese. Korean traditional performances in

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The clubs provided multiethnic students with chances to enjoy their own cultures. Like students of Korean descent organized Posŏnghoe, students from other ethnic groups had their social clubs in the University of Hawai‘i.\textsuperscript{10} Table 5 is a list of such racial clubs at the school founded in the 1920s and 1930s.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Table 5}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ |l|l|p{10cm}|} \hline
Organization & Ethnic Groups & Purpose \\
\hline
Te Chih Sheh & Chinese & To promote friendship among university women; to play an active part in community and service project \\
Wakaba Kai & Japanese & To encourage fellowship among the Japanese women students and to the welfare of the Associated Students and Japanese people \\
Ke Anuenue & Hawaiian & To foster interest in Hawaiian culture, promote scholarship, to give aid to needy Hawaiian families \\
Ka Pueo & Caucasian & To sponsor their social affairs, and to assist the carnival and run dance events \\
Posŏnghoe (Poh Song Whe) & Korean & To foster a closer relationship among the Korean women students of the UH \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{9} Students of Korean ancestry were comprised around 5% of the total population at McKinley. “Melting Pot of Pacific,” \textit{The Pinion}, January 24, 1940.

\textsuperscript{10} Collected from the RASRL database.

\textsuperscript{11} Based on the Bureau of Student Activities, UH Archives.
The McKinley High School also had racial clubs. Associations of Chinese and Japanese students were founded in the early 1920s; those for Koreans and Filipinos were established in the 1930s. The clubs for students of specific ethnic ancestry enjoyed events by themselves to promote fellowship and knowledge of their own culture. More importantly, sharing such varied cultural heritages with other ethnic groups facilitated interactions between young adults from diverse communities. I primarily focused on the Ka Palapala Pageant and the Festival of Nations that the UH and McKinley High School hosted respectively.

The Ka Palapala Pageant first was held in 1937. Neal Batchelor, an assistant editor of the Ka Leo (UH student newspaper) and Calvin McGregor, who was a student body officer, came up with the event. The pageant was a significant annual affair for the entire territory until the establishment of the East-West Cultural Center at UH in 1960 that led to the expansion of the cultural aspects of the Ka Palapala Pageant. Students who could offer first-hand knowledge of the customs and standards of their native East Asian countries participated in the events. The Ka Palapala Pageant, queens, chosen on the “big night,” represented the seven racial groups dressed in the costumes of Japan, China, the Philippines, Hawai‘i, Korea, America, and Cosmopolitan (Figure 20). Not many archives of the early twentieth-century beauty pageant are left. Only some visual resources and newspaper articles record the beauty pageant of the 1940s, where “beauties” representing different ethnic groups won the prizes at the University of Hawai‘i.13

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12 Ka Palapala Beauty Pageant 1956-1959, ASUH Activities Bureau of Student Activities, UH Archives.

13 According to the ASUH Activities Bureau of Student Activities, UH Archives, “Cosmopolitan” represented “mixed-race.”
Figure 20. “Racial beauties” at the Ka Palapala Pageant in the 1940s and 1965.\textsuperscript{14}

Due to the lack of archival materials recording the show before 1945, it is hard to find how the event must have proceeded. However, some data on the beauty pageant between 1956 and 1965 gives a clue.\textsuperscript{15} Figure 21, documenting the beauty pageant in the early 1960s, shows young females of different racial backgrounds. They are wearing their traditional costumes while posing for a picture side by side. Program books of the beauty pageants prove that there were performances of music and dance of different racial groups as opening ceremonies. It is very interesting that competition was within ethnic groups rather than between them. They seemed wary of allowing their respective cultural standards of beauty to clash. There existed such “multiracial” beauty contests for a long time, which demonstrates multicultural settings in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century very well.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{14} Associated Students of the University of Hawai‘i (ASUH) from UH Archives (left) and “Ka Palapala Queens Chosen,” Ka Leo o Hawai‘i, March 16, 1960 (right)

\textsuperscript{15} Ka Palapala Beauty Pageant yearbook, collected from the ASUH Activities Bureau of Student Activities, UH Archives shows that the “Negro” division was once added to the seven racial beauties in 1961.

\textsuperscript{16} The UH archive records that the Ka Palapala Pageant began in 1937. Archival sources labeled as the Ka Palapala Pageant in the Bureau of Student Activities from the UH archives record events of the 1950s and 1960s. Thus, I found that the event lasted until the 1960s, for almost 40 years at least.
Another program proving multicultural settings in school was the Festival of Nations. Chapter 4 already mentioned Korean participation in the Festival of Nations, where the second-generation Korean Hawaiians at the McKinley High School presented Korean food, costumes, music, and dance. In the 1933 Festival of Nations, Japanese girls in colorful *kimono* served *sukiyaki*, tea, and candy for twenty-five cents; the Chinese presented tea, sweets, and cake; Hawaiians showed Hawaiian dancing, singing, and entertainment; and Koreans offered noodles with Korean dancing and singing by young girls.\(^{17}\) The 1936 event presented American, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Hawaiian food, folk games, and entertainments.\(^{18}\) The 1937 Festival of Nations featured comedy, games, and singing and dancing.\(^{19}\) From 1938 on, the Festival of

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\(^{17}\) “Girl Reserves Race Festival Due Tomorrow,” *The Pinion*, March 10, 1933.


\(^{19}\) “GR Festival Set,” *The Pinion*, April 15, 1937.
Nations stopped its various programs. Instead, the dance events called “Clipper Dance” or “Spring Frolic” still had some programs showing various dances of different ethnic backgrounds.  

**YMCA, YWCA, and PPU**

Hawaiian newspapers, biographical essays, photographic materials, and archival documents illustrate the YMCA, YWCA, and PPU activities promoting social interactions among the multiethnic groups in Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century.

One of the most remarkable institutions showing the interactions between different ethnic groups is the YMCA in Hawai‘i.  

The YMCA in Hawai‘i: 1869-1969 presents how the YMCA was integrated in 1917 to combine the racial associations with one building for Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos. The YMCA employed multiethnic administrative staff in the organization in the 1910s. In 1925, members were no longer required to be church members, broadening the path to more diversity of immigrants in Hawai‘i.

The Young Men’s Division, a small gathering of the YMCA, shows interactions that transcended nationalities. The Young Men's Division was the organization for solidarity among young male members from various countries. A picture of island boys of the Young Men's

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22 Allen, *The YMCA in Hawaii*, 60.

23 Ibid., 85.
Division attending the first international camp in Japan in 1930 (Figure 22) demonstrates that Americans, Japanese, and young Korean males actively partook in social activities.\footnote{Allen, \textit{The YMCA in Hawaii}, 94-95.}

![Figure 22. Island boys of the Young Men’s Division.\footnote{Likewise, activities of the YWCA demonstrate such interactions. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Hyung Jay Club was one of the YWCA-affiliated organizations founded in the late 1920s. The YWCA hired three social workers from Asian countries to work for immigrants’ adaptability to American lives. The social workers included Ha-soo Whang from Korea, Mrs. Yi from China, and Miss Kisinoto from Japan. Miss Whang, as the founder of the Hyung Jay Club, helped the “picture brides” solve their domestic problems sometimes by}]

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acting as interpreter to speak for them and by conducting a class to help cultural affinity with American (haole) society. The Chinese and Japanese social workers at the YWCA would have done something similar to what Whang did. Females of respective ethnic groups at the YWCA shared their own cultures and customs so that they passed them down to younger generations.

The manuscript collections of the PPU Archives provide relevant sources to trace interethnic relations among Hawaiian immigrants. One of the documents recording the correspondence sent by the PPU secretary says that the object of the trip (of mostly university-trained young people) in 1938 is “to tell the story to the mainland of Hawaii’s interracial friendship.” Another document describes musical activities of Hawai‘i-Nei entertainers. According to the resource, the pageant included “folk dances and songs of six nationalities, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Portuguese, Samoans.” It adds that “these girls and boys are also able to join with Hawaiians in their aloha hula and songs.” The youngsters’ performing groups, called the Hawai‘i-Nei entertainers, performed music and dances “to show the harmonious relations between the different races in Hawai‘i.” These archival resources prove the dedication of the PPU to facilitate a variety of multicultural events.

**Honolulu Academy of Arts**

The Honolulu Academy of Arts provided venues for Koreans to present various musical performances. Anna Rice Cooke (1853-1934), a woman born into a prominent missionary family, founded the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1927. Growing up in a home that appreciated the arts, she married Charles Montague Cooke (1849-1909), also of a prominent missionary family. In 1882, they built a house on Beretania Street in Honolulu and began to assemble an art collection. As their art collection outgrew their home, Anna Rice Cooke decided to create the
first visual arts museum in Hawai‘i, which became the Honolulu Academy of Arts. Beginning in 1927, the institution offered local Hawaiians a vast opportunity to appreciate Asian art pieces, performing arts, and art classes.26

Through various programs, the Honolulu Academy of Arts aimed at a better understanding of varied folk cultures and performing arts of different ethnic groups. The Korean Spring Festival was part of the Asian festival series hosted by the Honolulu Academy of Arts. There were also the Japanese Bon Festival, Chinese Moon Festival, and Filipinos Rizal Day in addition to the Korean Spring Festival. Like the Korean festivals, all the other ethnic groups’ celebrations were open to tourists and residents in Honolulu.

Figure 23 shows women wearing traditional costumes of their own nations. Mary Whang Choy, who was Ha-soo Whang’s niece and a member of the Hyung Jay Club, states that the photo shows “the early productions of Korean dance and Korean stories that were produced by my Auntie (Ha Soo Whang) and the Hyung Jay Club.” Her explanation, “I have other photographs of young women who learned to dance the Korean dance, performing at some huge general community gathering,” lets us know that there were multiethnic groups of women who performed various genres of music and dance from multiple nations.27 The picture is presumed to be taken in the late 1920s at the earliest because both the Academy of Arts and Hyung Jay Club were founded in 1928.

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The cultural environments were quite different from those in the U.S. mainland. During the early twentieth century, the Yellow Peril was still palpable in the U.S. mainland. As an example, at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), the members of the first Asian American sorority called Chi Alpha Delta had to fight for equal access to housing that had been denied to them on racial grounds. The Chi Alpha Delta, opening its membership to all women of Japanese descent and later to those of Asian descent, had trouble in finding a house due to restrictive housing covenants and racial prejudice. The policy restricting Asian American life

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28 Mary Whang Choy’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawai‘i was Young.*
went on and on until the restrictive housing policies were only abolished in the postwar era.29
Under the circumstance, it was hard for them to enjoy their own culture and customs. As Shirley Jennifer Lim stresses, during the period when xenophobic sentiments were prevalent in the mainland, displaying ethnic pride in public events was fraught with danger because many Americans mistook displays of ethnic pride, “such as Japanese dressing in kimonos,” as “markers of foreign allegiance.”30

The Chi Alpha Delta’s cultural activities were a striking contrast from cultural activities that second-generation students enjoyed in Hawai‘i. The Chi Alpha Delta “participated in events that marked their participation in mainstream modern American culture.” At a fundraiser carnival event that they organized in 1930 to benefit the newly formed organization, its members staged fox trot and waltz contests with music by the Wanderers, and some members performed a tap dance. Meanwhile, they served “rolls, meatloaf, potato chips, pickles, cake, and macaroni salad” to introduce their immigrant parents to American-style meals in a 1938 event.31

According to Lim, the sorority members were not unusual in their function as an organization in the mainland that initiated members into the dress and manners of bourgeois behavior drawn from European American culture. Rather than showing cultures displaying their own ethnicity, members of ethnic sororities displayed what the broader campus community appreciated to reveal their social fitness to the mainstream society in the U.S.32 Such characteristics are a

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30 Lim, *A Feeling of Belonging*, 43.

31 Ibid., 34-36.

32 Ibid., 44-46.
striking contrast to ethnic communities in Hawai‘i that displayed their own cultures and customs at public events with the support of educational and social institutions.

**Korean Initiatives to Utilize the Byproducts of US Assimilation Policy**

The analysis of the historical background of social organizations reveals political and diplomatic circumstances that prompted the interethnic cultural interactions in Hawai‘i. As addressed in Chapter 4, a proposal of the governor of Hawai‘i established the PPU in 1917 to promote the unity between Pacific nationals and immigrant societies in Hawai‘i. The Hawaiian authorities intervened in promoting musical events such as the Balboa Day as a campaign of making Hawai‘i a paradise for the Pacific. As the founder stated, Hawai‘i deployed a smart advertising campaign that promoted Hawai‘i as an idyllic isle of beauty and racial harmony. The campaign partly aimed at developing the local tourist industry. Not only that, but owners of plantations and factories also needed cheap “colored” labor. The image of Hawai‘i as a model of racial harmony served their business interests well.33

The founder of the PPU, Ford, joined a troop of these opportunistic Euro-Americans and was endorsed by the territorial government to promote interests of Hawai‘i in the region. Ford was also initially driven by Pan-Americanism; the U.S. had a mission to extend its unique and superior civilization to areas of the U.S. territories and to create a peaceful and mutually beneficial regional community. Although Pan-Americanism focused mainly on the American continents, Ford thought its scope should be extended to the Pacific Rim powers, not neighboring Polynesian islands. He implemented this idea by establishing the Pan-Pacific Union, which he

33 Akami, “From the Center to the Periphery Hawai‘i and the Pacific Community,” 19.
modeled after the Pan-American Union. It was not a blatant assertion of the American hegemony in the Pacific; instead, the PPU emphasized the cooperation among Pacific powers on relatively equal ground. According to Ford’s internationalism, an anti-imperial tone needed to be dropped. He loved to rub shoulders with all the big names from powerful countries.\textsuperscript{34}

The Institute of Pacific Relations (hereafter IPR) was another organization established in 1925 to provide a forum for discussion of problems and relations between nations of the Pacific Rim. The IPR was founded in the spirit of Wilsonianism, an awareness of new American role as a world power after World War I, and a belief that liberal democracy should be promoted throughout the world. It shared the vision of the Pacific Community and accepted Hawai‘i as its center. As the IPR members contended, Hawai‘i represented new ideas and attitudes that were implied in the concept of the Pacific Community. The views were critical of the dominant ideas of international politics of the time. They criticized the Eurocentric worldview, proposed more equal relations between the “East” and the “West,” and corrected the state-centered and security or defense-centered thinking of international relations. As key members of the IPR, those representing the U.S. and Japan were strong backers of the policy promising good economic ties between them. The organization emphasized an unofficial status was optimistic about solving problems by informal discussions and was willing to deal with “the Orient on a relatively equal basis.”\textsuperscript{35}

The multicultural events in Hawai‘i were accelerated beginning in the 1920s when Hawaiian institutions were active in promoting cultural programs. The programs that both the

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 20.

\textsuperscript{35} Akami, “From the Center to the Periphery Hawai‘i and the Pacific Community,” 30.
PPU and IPR supported were an assertion of American-led regional order, in which American moral superiority and its benevolence were assumed. However, both aimed for a synthesis of the “East” and “West,” not by domination but by cooperation on relatively equal footings. Rather than advocating the inevitability of war or stirring up fear and insecurity, both the PPU and IPR proposed a solution: a relatively balanced relationship to reduce grievances that were caused by the imbalance of power between the “Western” and “Oriental” powers.

The 1920s and 1930s were also the times when Americanization campaigns in Hawaiʻi were prevalent. Several scholars discuss that while primarily targeted at Japanese immigrants, the Hawaiian authorities were deeply concerned with eradicating the vestiges of Asian immigrant culture, especially their own language and history.36 As evidence of the campaigns, Hawaiian authorities tried to control educational institutions and language schools of different ethnic groups, especially targeting the Japanese. So musical programs discussed in Chapter 4 were a different direction of the Americanization campaign. In contrast to the educational policies, the Hawaiian authorities encouraged multicultural events as a sign of their respect for all cultures of different ethnic groups. “The melting pot,” “paradise for Pacific nationals,” and “Americanism” were words that newspapers frequently mentioned when describing such diverse multicultural programs. The group identification created by national pride was central to the Americanization programs at Hawaiian institutions.

In summary, multicultural programs of the public schools, the Academy of Honolulu Arts, and social organizations could be understood as strategies of the Hawaiian authorities that

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had ulterior motives to Americanize people of different ethnic backgrounds. Due to a significant number of young adults of Asian ancestry in Hawai‘i, “the anti-Asian sentiment or Yellow Peril prevalent on the West Coast was muted in Hawai‘i.” However, the efforts of the Hawaiian institutions to facilitate closer relationships for economic, political, and diplomatic reasons should not be overlooked. Many newspaper articles associate the features of respecting all racial groups with Americanism, which they labeled as “a true democracy.” Allowing different ethnic groups to cherish their own traditional folk cultures was one of the strategies that the Hawaiian institutions devised, which gave the multiethnic Hawaiian residents a feeling of satisfaction of living in the democratic society as “Hawaiians.”

Korean Hawaiians took advantage of the rich cultural life. Living far way from their homeland, which was under colonial control, they appreciated opportunities and freedom of curating Korean-ness for the public eye. In doing so, Korean traditional music and dance were important tools to unify divided Korean communities and present their adaptability to the multicultural environments in Hawai‘i.

**Use of Korean Traditional Music and Dance to Curate Korean-ness**

As discussed in Chapter 2, there were obstacles for Korean Hawaiians in the early twentieth century in preserving and presenting traditional music and dance. Korean immigrants were legally classified as Japanese. As latecomers, their population was much smaller than that of other ethnic groups. Also, in addition to political factions among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians, there were tensions between the younger and older generations over the issues of the

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37 Choi, “Hawaii Has Been My America,” 147.
political factions and intermarriage. Despite these challenges, Korean Hawaiians preserved and presented their traditional music, dance, plays, and folk cultures at various events. Living in the multicultural environments, Koreans, whose homeland was under Japanese rule, recognized the need to show their own performances representing Korean-ness. Regardless of different political factions, generations, genders, and religious beliefs, they were enthusiastic about curating Korean-ness and presenting the results to other ethnic groups in Hawa‘i.

First, the musical activities were a driving force to the unity of the politically divided Korean communities. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Korean clubs founded in the late 1920s and early 1930s to preserve and present Korean traditional music and dance were huge contributors that led to the active Korean participation in musical events in Hawa‘i. Korean Hawaiians’ various types of Korean performances were all possible due to Korean efforts to unify Korean communities that had conflicts due to political factions. Korean Hawaiians confirmed Korean ethnic identity through practicing and presenting traditional music and dance, which fostered solidarity between different groups in Korean communities.

The Korean University Club, members of which planned Korean performances at Balboa Days, was a mixture of first-, 1.5-, and second-generation Korean Hawaiians. They were mostly Korean Christian Church (KCC) and St. Luke’s Episcopal Church (EC) young adults. The former church was what Yi Sŭng-man managed; the latter church supported campaigns of Pak Yŏng-man. The purpose of establishing the Korean University Club was to “pool the resources

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38 As historian Wayne Patterson has called it, the 1.5 generation, also called the “middle generation,” refers to the first-generation immigrants who came as children before experiencing the homeland’s culture. Korea-born older-generation Korean Hawaiians were precluded from naturalization by the 1790 Naturalization Act that limited naturalized citizenship to “free whites.” However, as the middle-generation cohort, they were primarily socialized and acculturated to what passed for American life in Hawaii.
of professional men and women without regard to politics and religion.” Both gradualists, arguing for diplomatic methods, and revolutionaries, preferring military attacks for Korean independence, were welcome to join the Korean University Club. As such, the Korean nonpartisan social organization demonstrates Korean efforts to achieve unity overcoming their different political approaches for Korean independence from Japanese occupation.

Very little is known of Ha-soo Whang’s political preference. The only record left is that her family was involved with the Kukminhoe. Whang’s brothers were Korean Methodist Church ministers. According to Whang’s niece, the Whang family regarded Yi Sŭng-man as a “traitor” (panyŏkcha), which reflects their extreme political animosity against Yi. However, Whang made efforts to unify Korean communities regardless of their political lines through cultural activities. Her niece mentioned, “young Korean girls from all the broad community of Hawai‘i, despite the political cleavage among their parents, came and joined this organization [the Hyung Jay Club].”

The social clubs for Korean young adults at school were to mingle with their race and to discuss Korean customs and cultures. The 1937 yearbook shows the ultimate goal of Posŏnghoe activities very well:

The Korean sorority club, like other racial organizations, brings together girls of Korean ancestry to encourage closer relationships among them... A welcome addition to club activities for Posŏnghoe was the Korean men’s fraternity, Bkack Yong. Together these two Korean affinities skated, swam, hiked, danced, and listened to a series of talks on their motherland. To further interest in the rich culture of the Orient, particularly that of Korea, the


40 Mary Whang Choy’s interview in Roberta Chang, When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young.
Posŏnghoe undertook to sponsor a series of study classes. Meetings were also held downtown, at which time an opportunity was given members to associate with older people and gain their viewpoints. In addition to working together with the men's Korean fraternity in undertaking social and business affairs, the Posŏnghoe has cooperated freely with the Associated Women Students and contributed to ASUH activities.41

As seen above, the sorority for Korean Hawaiians aimed at finding their cultural identity and sharing their ideas with the older generations, all of which ultimately led to solidarity between different generations and political groups of Korean communities. Likewise, the McKinley Korean Student Alliance was involved in the Korean Student Christian Movement of Hawai‘i, which was the project building the Korean Christian community regardless of religious denominations. Tai-Sung Lee, the founder of the Korean Student Alliance, presented his opposition to political and religious factions in Korean societies. According to Lee, “It is to be deplored that among themselves [the first-generation Korean Hawaiians] they are not so amicable.” He stressed that “leaders [of the Korean Student Alliance] have proof that feuds and factions are dying out and are looking forward to the near future when inter-Korean quarrels will be no more.”42 It is noticeable that Lee, as a first-generation Korean Hawaiian, raised questions about the prevalent factionalism pervasive among the first-generation Korean Hawaiians. In short, the Hyung Jay Club, the Korean University Club, the Posŏnghoe, and the Korean Student Alliance are all indicative of Korean multigenerational efforts to solidify cultural identity and to unify divided Korean communities.

41 “Poh Song Whe—a Sorority for Women of Korean Ancestry,” 1939 Ka Palapala, 208.

This study also argues that gender conceptions in Korea were internalized, idealized, embodied, contested, or challenged by performers. Men and women of all ages participated in practicing and presenting Korean traditional performing arts, although the activities were initiated by non-professional females. In directing, acting, and presenting musical performances, both males and females of the Korean University Club participated (Figure 24).

![Figure 24. The members of the Korean University Club in 1926.](image)

Also, old males who were former members of the Namp’ungsa joined the Korean ensemble playing music to the Hyung Jay Club performances. Visual resources demonstrate the first-generation males presented Korean percussion and wind instruments along with young female performers acting and dancing. Figure 25 seems not that different from the conventional practice of Korean traditional music and dance in the Korean peninsula, where males played

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musical instruments to accompany female entertainers’ dancing and singing. In short, playing wind and percussion instruments was considered the “male-dominated realm.”

Figure 25. Korean male instrumental players in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i.44

However, in Hawai‘i, the female teacher of the Hyung Jay Club, Susan Chun Lee, also played Korean percussion instruments on stage. Figure 26 depicts daughters of Lee playing Korean percussion instruments. A description of the photo, “Dorothy beating drum and daughter Rose to hold brass gong at Korean Christian church picnic mid-1940s,” proves that Korean Hawaiians did not follow the internalized rules of Korea that only males were supposed to be in charge of musical accompaniment.

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44 “Wedding Day-1927, Hyung Jay Club (CP 97326),” collected from the Bishop Museum Archives (on the left) and Korean musicians participating in Hoolaulea (Spring Festival). Photographed by Pan-Pacific Press Bureau, February 1939 (on the right).
Furthermore, the Hyung Jay Club was not exclusively for women. The scenes of the Korean plays confirm that the Hyung Jay Club opened its doors to male students so that both young males and females participated in musical activities together (Figure 27).

Figure 26. Susan Chun Lee’s daughters playing Korean percussion instruments.⁴⁵

Figure 27. Main characters of Sim Chung (1938) and The Singing Wen (1940).⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Collected from the Susan Chun Lee Collection.

⁴⁶ Jane Choy and Robert Ahn playing Sim Chung and the King in the Korean play, Sim Chung, May 5, 1938. Collected from the Honolulu Academy of Arts Archives (left). Alfred Hong playing Park Bok Dong. 1940 Collected from the Honolulu Academy of Arts Archives (right).
The performing arts led to the unity of Korean people of differing religious backgrounds as well. As Chapter 2 highlights, most Korean Hawaiians were Christians. The founding members of the Hyung Jay Club were leaders of Korean churches in Hawai‘i. It is noteworthy that the Hyung Jay Club willingly invited Yong-ha Chae, a Buddhist monk, as a new teacher. The members did not care about his religious practice as long as they could learn more diverse repertories of Korean traditional performing arts and use the new repertories in curating Korean culture at multicultural events. Susan Chun Lee was recorded to have taught some folk dance and a monk’s drum dance. However, the performances that she watched in the Korean peninsula before moving to Hawai‘i were mostly court dance presented inside the royal palace. Her ability to teach Buddhist dance was limited in its scope. Therefore, the Korean cultural organizations welcomed teachers like Chae who could teach folk and Buddhist dance and music.

Korean females in Hawai‘i transgressed the stereotypical notion that only the professional female entertainers were supposed to engage in traditional performing arts. The involvement of amateur females in curating traditional performing arts was something new at that time. Picture brides did not join the club, not because of negative perceptions toward musical activities. They could not because they were busy running small businesses, social events, and domestic tasks. Even if Korean picture brides did not directly get involved in Korean traditional musical activities, they were very passionate about sending their children to the Hyung Jay Club. They wanted the second-generation Korean Hawaiians to learn Korean traditional culture to preserve Korean ethnic identity. Also, the second-generation Korean Hawaiians enjoyed multicultural events where they could present their ethnic identity through presentation of Korean music and dance. The Korean

women in Hawai‘i were free from the Japanese colonial policies restricting their activities. They cherished the freedom abroad to enjoy their own cultures and put them on stages.

**Adaptations of Korean Hawaiians to Multicultural Environments**

As discussed in Chapter 4, Korean Hawaiians adapted forms and structures of Korean traditional dance while adding some elements of Christian ideology to folk tales. In addition to these, they incorporated musical elements of foreign culture when introducing Korean culture to the public. They blended Korean folk culture with performances of Western instruments. At some formal events, they presented local Hawaiian dance, American popular entertainment, and Western art music along with Korean traditional performances.

At the 1934 Korean Spring Festival, *Wedding Ceremony* included a performance of a violin solo and a flute solo in the first part of the wedding scene. A newspaper article states that “Andrew Park will play a violin solo in the scene of Young Moon’s [the bride] childhood,” while “Henry Kim will play a flute solo at the scene of the wedding ceremony.”\(^{48}\) Andrew Park and Henry Kim were second-generation Korean Hawaiian males. Whether the inclusion of Western instruments to the play was standard is not certain because no parts of the script mention it. Even though it could have been a one-time event, the newspaper article shows significant information that the young Korean Hawaiians had been accustomed to European classical music. The scenes verify that Korean Hawaiians showed a new type of performance combining foreign music with Korean traditional folk culture, which had already begun happening in the Korean peninsula.

Korean Hawaiians presented Korean traditional music and dance along with the U.S. mainstream entertainment and Hawaiian local dance at events introducing Korean culture to non-Korean audiences. The 1936 McKinley High School event hosted by the Korean Students Association is a good example. Programs for the event included a display of Korean costumes, folk songs, court/folk dances, and folk games. Besides them, the Korean Club included pantomime as performing arts introducing Korean culture to other classmates. Likewise, the 1942 UKC-hosted performance for the US Red Cross included Korean Hawaiian young adults’ hula, Western classical music, magic tricks, and talk shows followed by Korean traditional performing arts. Richard P. Choi, “The Banjo King” known for having won first place in an international banjo competition held in New York City in 1935, played three American songs, including “Old Black Joe.” Hopil Kim’s stand-up comedy created laughs, tears, and excitement among the audiences. Persia Chun Halm, who was famous as a dancer in the mainland, showed her talent dancing on the tips of her toes, which sounds like ballet. Besides, Rora Kim, in a costume of the white-silver skirt, danced the hula.49

All of the above cases in the 1930s and the early 1940s show that young Koreans in Hawai‘i, as colonial Koreans, were under the influence of foreign culture. Jazz music, American popular songs, as well as Western classical music were pumping out of the speakers in cafés, streets, parties, and music halls. At school, there were a series of musical activities of marching bands, jazz ensembles, and orchestras. Young-adult Korean Hawaiians, most of whom were Christians, were accustomed to hymns using Western rhythm, melody, and harmony. Some

49 “Chaemihanjokyonhabwiwonhoeui migukchokshipchasa chiwownhaltong II” [Activities of the UKC to Support the US Red II], Kukminbo, May 20, 1942; “Migukchokshipchasa chiwonnul wihan kongyoon” [Performance to Sponsor the US Red Cross], Kukminbo, May 27, 1942; “Migukchokshipchasa chiwonnul wihan kongyoon” [Performance to Sponsor the US Red Cross], Kukminbo, June 3, 1942.
Korean Hawaiians joined these musical activities while others made all-Korean orchestras and music bands practicing and presenting Western classical music and American popular music. There appeared professional music performers and opera singers among Korean youths. Donald Young Gak Kang (who was a pianist and composer), Richard “Banjo King” Choi, and Florence Ahn (an opera singer) are good examples.

As discussed in Chapter 3, professional female entertainers in colonial Korea showed diverse types of music and dance, including newly adapted dance, Western dance, and Japanese traditional vocal/instrumental music. As the Korean entertainers did, amateur Korean Hawaiian performers kept promoting new forms of performances, not being judgmental about different genres of performing arts between folk, court, aristocratic, and literati culture. They were eager to learn and present Buddhist dance irrespective of their Christian belief. Moreover, they covered Western classical music, American popular songs and entertainment, and Hawaiian local music and dance in addition to Korean traditional performances. Presenting such diverse musical performances showing Korean-ness, all Korean Hawaiians felt a sense of belonging to the multicultural environments.

**Concluding Remarks**

This chapter examined the circumstances and consequences of active Korean participation in musical events during the early twentieth century. Korean Hawaiians took advantage of many opportunities of curating Korean-ness in Hawai‘i, which were byproducts of assimilation policies of Hawaiian institutions. The processes of Korean Hawaiians to showcase Korean-ness to other ethnic groups led to the unity of Korean communities and various attempts
to show performances of different ethnic backgrounds besides Korean traditional music and dance.

Hawaiian institutions such as public schools, the Honolulu Academy of Arts, YMCA, YWCA, and the PPU worked on a project making Hawai‘i the paradise for all ethnic groups. Before the 1910s, when Koreans mostly resided in rural plantation villages all across the Hawaiian Islands, the plantation owners were trying to keep them apart to prevent unionization. However, the immigrants began to move to urban areas in O‘ahu in the 1920s, when international official and unofficial organizations emphasized the unity across the Pacific Rim and the location-wise significance of Hawai‘i. So the enormous diplomatic and social changes in the 1920s led into establishing the multicultural environments in Hawai‘i. The settings of Hawai‘i, where different Asian immigrants were the majority population in Honolulu, naturally led the Hawaiian authorities to encourage programs for friendship, especially among people of East Asian ancestry.

For Korean Hawaiians, the performing arts were an essential means of cementing unity and showing their adaptability to Hawaiian society. Regardless of differences in their political leanings, ages, gender, and religions, Korean Hawaiians were very passionate about preserving traditional music and dance so that they could present them to the other ethnic groups. Living in a complex mixture of the music culture of different ethnic backgrounds, Koreans in Hawai‘i combined Korean folk culture and Western instrument music, sometimes presenting local Hawaiian dance, American popular shows, and Western concert music. Korean Hawaiians were open, flexible, and adaptive to multicultural environments in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i.
CHAPTER 6. KUGAK AS A TRANSNATIONAL PROJECT

This study expands the understanding of Korean traditional music and dance in early twentieth century by comparing musical activities of colonial Korea and the Korean diaspora. I focused on Koreans in Hawai‘i as a counterpart of colonial Koreans. Korean Hawaiians were the first sizable Korean group to emigrate overseas. Moreover, both peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i were experiencing a large influx of foreign culture under the influence of imperialism. This dissertation aimed to identify how Koreans in and out of the Korean peninsula have reacted to significant changes in their cultural environments. As such, I present similarities and differences between the musical activities of colonial Koreans and Koreans in Hawai‘i, examining their attempts to preserve and adapt Korean traditional performing arts.

Different Places, Performances, and Performers

The musical activities of colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians were closely related to their respective political and social environments. Both colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians most actively participated in musical events and presented various genres of Korean traditional performances in 1920s and 1930s. The period featured relaxed colonial policies permitting Koreans to appreciate Korean culture in the Korean peninsula. In Hawai‘i, there were various programs promoting interethnic cultural interactions to facilitate the assimilation of Asian immigrant communities. Both were affected by the military hostilities between the U.S. and Japan in the early 1940s, even though the time when the respective colonial authorities changed
the cultural policies to contribute to the war efforts was slightly different. Hawaiian authorities reduced all cultural programs as the U.S. entered World War II in 1941. It was four years after Japan reintroduced harsh measures of Japanese colonial rule by sending Koreans to Japanese factories and to the frontlines of war.

There were differences between the two populations in the cultural events and repertories, as organized in Table 6. Most traditional performances in colonial Korea were presented at commercial theaters, Japanese authorities’ political events (e.g., 共進會 fairs and 博覽會 expositions), charity concerts, and restaurants. Meanwhile, Korean Hawaiians presented Korean traditional performances at festivals, special recitals at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, and school and church events. Both presented traditional performances at political events hosted by either Japanese colonial authorities or Hawaiian institutions. However, colonial Koreans rarely presented traditional performances at schools or festivals in comparison to Korean Hawaiians. In contrast to colonial Koreans, I found no record of Koreans in Hawai‘i performing Korean traditional arts to make money at commercial theaters or restaurants.

There were differences in the genres of performances that colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians presented most frequently. Colonial Koreans often presented court/literati instrumental music and p’ansori. Meanwhile, what Korean Hawaiians presented most frequently were choreographed court dances, folk songs, and Wedding Ceremony, a Korean play incorporating these traditional dance and folk songs. In colonial Korea, ceremonial procedures called hollye (婚禮) occurred as actual weddings; however, there was no wedding ceremony onstage for public consumption as a performance of Korean identity. In addition, no p’ansori or court instrumental music was presented in Hawai‘i (see Table 6).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Colonial Korea</th>
<th>Hawai‘i</th>
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| Until 1920s       | - Commercial theater performances  
- Political events hosted by Japanese colonial authorities  
- Charity concerts by kisaeng  
- Continued performances of diverse repertories (folk/court music/dance, acrobats)  
- Newly created dances at fairs | - Balboa Day (just one time in 1917)  
- no documented Korean traditional performances |
| Late 1920s - 1930s | - Commercial theater performances  
- Japanese authorities’ political events  
- Regular recitals of the Aakpu  
- Concerts hosted by civic clubs or music organizations  
- Charity concerts by kisaeng  
- Commercial entertainment at restaurants  
- A wide range of traditional music and dance  
- New genres of diverse vocal music (sin-minyo, yuhaengga, p’ansori)  
- Newly created dances/Western dances at fairs  
- Performances presented along with Western and Japanese music  
- Court music performances open to the public  
- Court music played on Western instruments | - Balboa Day  
- Tano  
- Recitals of the Honolulu Academy of Arts  
- School events  
- Church events  
- A wide range of traditional music and dance  
- Newly choreographed court/folk dances  
- Folk song (not p’ansori but minyo and chapga)  
- Folk games (nŏl)  
- Plays adapted from Korean folk tales  
- Performances presented along with Western and Hawaiian music/dance  
- Performances at multicultural events |
| Early 1940s       | - Political events hosted by Japanese colonial authorities  
- Commercial theater performances  
- Charity concerts by kisaeng  
- Decrease in musical activities  
- Korean court music used in Japanese political events  
- Continued popularity of p’ansori and ch’anggŭk | - Concert for U.S. Army  
- Political events hosted by Korean Hawaiians  
- Tano  
- Decrease in musical activities  
- Korean musical activities to present close ties with US  
- Continued performances like Korean plays even after disbandment of Korean cultural organizations |
Differences in musical activities have something to do with performers having varying backgrounds. In colonial Korea, performers who showed traditional music and dance were professional entertainers. Among them, this dissertation emphasized the contributions of female entertainers, called *kisaeng*, who handled all types of music and dance except performances of the Aakpu. Besides folk music and dance the female entertainers had previously performed, they presented *p’ansori* and *minyo* that had previously been performed by *p’ansori* singers and itinerant entertainers. More importantly, they presented previous court dances and literati musicians’ vocal music that only members of high society were supposed to enjoy in late Chosŏn. Therefore, *kisaeng* were the most important preservers and purveyors of Korean traditional performing arts in modern times.

On the other hand, Korean cultural organizations presenting performing arts in Hawai‘i consisted of non-professional performers, mostly 1.5- or second-generation Korean Hawaiians. The first-generation Korean Hawaiians who established and directed the organizations were mostly from the elite classes. Their educational and social background presents striking contrast to professional performing artists in colonial Korea. They were familiar with Western culture before coming to Hawai‘i as they attended missionary schools. Their family members also received higher education both in the Korean peninsula and the U.S. The first-generation Korean Hawaiian teachers, as non-professional performers, taught Korean traditional performances to the younger generation, most of whom were born to the first-generation Korean couples who came to Hawai‘i as plantation workers and picture brides.

Korean non-professional performers in Hawai‘i were not responsible for following the regulations or orders of Japanese colonial authorities. As leading intellectuals, they were free from the perceptions of the public toward female entertainers in Korea, which were ambivalent.
In the 1920s and 1930s, diverse ideologies such as socialism and communism affected the formation of the New Women in colonial Korea. As examples of New Women, Korean female entertainers were objects of envy among young females because of the entertainers’ access to new foreign cultures and their economic independence. However, there still existed a condescending attitude toward female entertainers as the lowest class of society. Freed from the constraints of both colonial and traditional social hierarchies in colonial Korea, non-professional Korean performers in Hawai‘i not only preserved Korean traditional music and dance but also developed repertories, programs, and practices distinct from those in the peninsular Korea.

Musical Nationalism and Cultural Convergence

Korean traditional performing arts in peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century were different from each other in their repertories, performers, and performance contexts. However, both had two things in common. First, presenting Korean traditional music and dance, regardless of genre, played a crucial role in affirming Korean cultural identity. Second, their musical activities involved not only preservation but also adaptations challenging conventional notions and practices. Both continuously adapted existing traditional performing arts to best represent Korean-ness by adjusting to rapidly changing societies of peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century.

Musical Nationalism

In describing performances of Korean traditional music and dance in colonial Korea, Korean vernacular newspaper articles emphasized the long history of Korean music culture. Korean traditional performances were described as precious cultural heritage having “the longest
history in the world and a theory that is very profound.” The 1930 article stresses that only Chosŏn preserved 56 pieces of Asian music (all of which were court music pieces), while a 1932 article introduces folk songs as the precious Korean vocal music that had been passed down for centuries. Based on these articles, regardless of different types and genres of performances, Korean traditional performing arts were considered tools to express “the sentiments of Chosŏn” or “Chosŏn culture and customs” during the colonial period. Most newspaper articles had in common that they seem to agree that colonial Koreans considered Korean performing arts as precious cultural heritage and an important tool to confirm the long history of Korean culture.

Korean Hawaiian newspaper articles also stress the role of Korean performing arts to show ethnic identity. Some articles describe Korean plays as “the pride of our nation,” while others note, “Korean performing arts are an effective tool for advertising Korean ethnicity to the world.” Interviews of the second-generation Korean Hawaiians and newspaper articles in Hawai‘i demonstrate that Korean traditional music and dance played a pivotal role of maintaining Korean cultural identity. Mary Whang Choy states the importance of Korean performances. As she notes, through the musical activities, young-adult Korean Hawaiians “never lost sight of the fact that we were Koreans and had pride in Korean cultural heritage.” The second-generation Hyung Jay Club members felt proud of their performances, “which were so well received due to the color, the music, the dramatic presentation of the programs which were

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1 “Shinin ŭi kongmyŏngŏdŏ kwihwaltoenŭn Chosŏn ŭmak” [Re-popularized Chosŏn Music due To New People’s Sympathy], *Maeil sinbo*, June 11, 1927: 2.

2 “Honolulu kidokkyohoe kŏnch'ukpi chiwŏnŭl wihan hanindŭrŭi yŏn'gŭkkongyŏn” [The Korean Play to Support the Construction of the Honolulu Christian Church], *Kukminbo*, November 17, 1937; “Migukchŏkshipchasa chiwŏnŭl wihan kongyŏn” [Performance to Support the Red Cross], *Kukminbo*, June 3, 1942.
well written.” Korean Hawaiians could read many articles of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and the Honolulu Advertiser describing “the very wonderful production by Ha-soo Whang.” The praise from non-Korean local people instilled in Korean Hawaiians a sense of national pride.

For both colonial Koreans whose homeland was under Japanese control and Korean Hawaiians who constituted a smaller population than ethnic Japanese, Korean traditional performing arts played a pivotal role in maintaining the Korean cultural identity. Koreans expressed pride in their own country, even while observing Korean performing arts by non-Koreans.

**Cultural Convergence**

A comparative analysis of performing arts in colonial Korea and Hawai‘i reveals three aspects of cultural convergence demonstrating a departure from conventional practices. First, both professional performers in colonial Korea and non-professional Korean Hawaiian performers covered both court dance and folk music/dance, eliminating distinctions between performers’ different social standings in presenting different genres of music. Second, neither group played a passive role in preserving cultural heritage; they promoted new performances by adapting traditional performances and merging them with foreign cultures. Third, both began to present Korean traditional performing arts along with music and dance from foreign origins.

Both colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians began to present various genres of traditional performing arts, deviating from conventional practice that performers were committed to certain genres of performances congruent with their social status. Professional entertainers

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3 Mary Whang Choy’s interview in Roberta Chang, *When the Korean World in Hawaii Was Young.*
affiliated with *kisaeng* unions in colonial Korea performed court dances and literati songs in addition to folk performances. Female performers in the royal palace, after the abolition of class distinctions (1894) and subsequent emancipation of the female entertainers (1907), joined *kisaeng* unions and presented what they had performed for certain classes of people to the public. The Aakpu, which played music for ceremonies inside the palace, began to perform Korean instrumental court music to the public during the colonial period as well. The female entertainers’ access to formerly elite performing arts and the recital of the court music open to the public was emblematic of the “levelling” of Korean society, reflecting that hereditary status no longer was as important as other factors in social distinction in colonial Korea. Korean Hawaiians had greater freedom. Non-professional performers took the role of presenting Korean traditional performing arts. They were freed from the constraints of Japanese colonial policies controlling musical activities that colonial Koreans had. It is noteworthy that even though the female performers were devout Christians, they were willing to learn even Buddhist dances like *Sŭngmu* and *Nabich’um* and introduce them to local people. Korean Hawaiians cherished the cultural value of all genres of Korean performing arts.

Both colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians promoted new performances by making adaptations of existing Korean traditional performances. The newly created dance performed at Tansŏngsa in 1912 is a good illustration. Female entertainers transformed some dancing steps of Chosŏn court dances to create a new style of Korean dance. The 1933 recital of the Aakpu, which included the harmony of Korean and Western instruments playing Korean court music,

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4 This study does not exclude the possibility that the Aakpu, whose members were not females but male instrumental players, participated in designing female entertainers’ dance performances. Future study is needed to find the mechanics of these performances.
also exemplifies this. Adaptations of Korean traditional performing arts in Hawai‘i include
Korean plays performed by the Hyung Jay Club. The playwrights translated Korean folk customs
and tales to English, changed their original storylines to show Christian/Western ideology, and
inserted scenes showing adapted forms of Korean traditional music and dance. The plays also
included the solo performance of violin and flute in the scene of Korean traditional wedding
ceremony. In this sense, Korean performers in both peninsular Korea and Hawai‘i in early
twentieth century gave variety to existing Korean traditional performing arts.

Koreans in both colonial Korea and Hawai‘i performed foreign musical performances
along with Korean traditional music and dance at events introducing Korean culture. In colonial
Korea, the Chosŏn Music Hyŏphoe, a government-affiliated music organization under the GGK,
hosted recitals presenting performances of Western music (洋樂), Japanese music (邦樂), and
Korean traditional music (朝鮮樂). As an example, at an event called “The Night of Beautiful
Chosŏn Music,” Korean musicians in the three divisions showed not only Korean traditional
performing arts but also Japanese folk music and Western classical music. The performance of
female entertainers to present contemporary Western dances such as cancan at restaurants or a
Japanese folk song at the 1929 exhibition exemplify Korean incorporation of foreign music and
dance into their repertories. In Hawai‘i, Koreans presented not only Korean traditional music and
dance but also foreign cultures. At events that Korean cultural organizations independently
hosted to introduce Korean culture to multiethnic audiences, Korean Hawaiians presented

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6 “Hyŏnmohan Ŭmnyurŭi Yŏp'ung, Chosŏnŭmagŭi Pam” [The Night of Beautiful
Chosŏn Music, The Big Recital], Maeil Sinbo, June 3, 1941: 2.
pantomime, opera songs, solo performances of Western classical music, and hula along with Korean traditional performances.\(^7\)

In summary, both colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians performed diverse Korean music and dance to preserve cultural identity (musical nationalism) and promoted new forms of performances that challenge conventional practice in traditional performing arts (cultural convergence). Both broke the conventional hierarchical structure of music culture, mixed elements of foreign cultures with old Korean traditional performing arts, and performed foreign music and dance along with existing/adapted traditional performances to present Korean-ness.

**Conclusion: New Perspectives on the Origins of Kugak**

The findings of this study challenge prior research that documents origins of the preservation and adaptation of Korean performing arts to the postcolonial government in Korea and their associated initiatives. This study emphasizes that the phenomenon in kugak predates the postcolonial period to the early twentieth century when preservation and adaption of Korean traditional performing arts was used as a tool to respond to ever-changing social and cultural circumstances. The Korean performing arts, which continuously adapted to demands of the rapidly changing society, was leveraged as a valuable tool to express Korean-ness. Even though the term kugak was not settled during the period, the concept and practice to use various types of Korean music to affirm their group identity as Koreans in and out of the Korean peninsula were palpable. The implication and adaptability of the early twentieth-century Korean traditional music performances, which connote musical nationalism and cultural convergence, are

\(^7\)“Hanin yŏn’gŭgŭi pamsunsŏ” [The Programs at the Play Nights of Koreans], *Kukminbo*, May 5, 1937.
consistent with the features of today’s Korean traditional music performances called kugak. The efforts of Korean traditional performers to preserve long-aged traditional performances and create new styles of performances foreshadowed what today’s traditional performing artists are doing.

This dissertation linked Korean efforts to preserve and promote Korean traditional performing arts with colonial situations that both colonial Koreans and Korean Hawaiians faced during the early twentieth century. In colonial Korea, Japanese colonial authorities tried to assimilate Koreans into modern Japanese and Western cultures they introduced, while allowing some space for autonomy to enjoy their own traditional cultures in a regulated environment. Likewise, Hawaiian authorities, who consisted of the Hawaiian elites and American sugar planters, took measures to satisfy multiethnic residents by letting them maintain and share their own culture and customs. Both Korea and Hawai‘i during the early twentieth century were under the huge influence of new culture, ideas, infrastructure, all of which were byproducts of the colonial administration. By capitalizing on given socio-cultural environments, both actively looked for ways to preserve traditional music and dance that kept their cultural identity and to adapt them to keep up with trends.

Many scholars trace the origins of Korean movements to preserve and promote kugak to the establishment of institutions in the postcolonial period. The 1962 law to enrich Korean cultural heritage from the past required top-down curatorial efforts because decisions were taken by the authorities “as to what is deemed necessary to retain affinity with an inherited tradition of performance or creation.”\(^8\) In contrast, this study emphasized that both professional entertainers

in colonial Korea and non-professional performers in early twentieth-century Hawai‘i took initiative to preserve and diversify traditional performing arts. It is true that the colonial authorities promoted and encouraged multicultural events and environments. However, Korean professional entertainers and Korean Hawaiian amateur entertainers actively accepted foreign culture and voluntarily added an element of the foreign culture to a traditional art form. The cultural movements began with the “grassroots” of both professional and non-professional performers, as opposed to the top-down government initiatives.

As Laurent Aubert notes, “the nature of tradition is not to preserve intact a heritage from the past, but to enrich it according to present circumstances and transmit the result to future generations.”

9 Kugak has never been a fixed concept. The lack of its stable definition held true for both colonial Korea and Hawai‘i. The Korean traditional performing arts involving adaptations to keep up with the times are the distinct features that have existed since the early twentieth century through the present day. Within and outside the Korean peninsula, Korean traditional performing arts have been an important source of the national identity and the cohesion in ethnically and culturally diverse societies since the early twentieth century. The efforts of Koreans to preserve different genres of Korean traditional performing arts and add variety to them by incorporating the continued influx of foreign cultures demonstrate the two roles. In summary, this dissertation redefined the concept and practice of kugak including all outcomes of a two-way effort that has been handed down from the colonial times beyond the Korean peninsula.

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GLOSSARY

*aak* (雅樂)  
Korean court music

*Aakpu* (雅樂部)  
the Royal Palace Music Institute, formerly Chang-akwŏn, which took care of musical activities related to the Chosŏn royal family

*Aakpu Yangsŏngso* (雅樂部 養成所)  
Aakpu-affiliated training school established in 1919 to teach court music and theory to students

*Aksa* (樂師)  
Vice-president of Music Department of the Reorganized Court Music Institute (1907-1910)

*Ak-sajang* (樂師長)  
President of Music Department of the Reorganized Court Music Institute (1907-1910) in charge of educating and performing Western classical music

*Anlakmu* (安樂舞)  
(literally, the Dance of Comforting People) a dance adapted from Korean court dance

*Balboa Day*  
a multicultural event hosted by the PPU between 1917 and 1941 in Hawai‘i featuring performances presented by representatives from different ethnic communities

*budan seiji* (武斷政治)  
military rule during the first decade of Japanese governance in Korea

*bumin* (府民)  
municipal people (*fumin* in Japanese)

*bunka seiji* (文化統治)  
cultural rule after 1920 and before the war mobilization of the late 1930s

*ch‘angga* (唱歌)  
new pieces of vocal music in a Western style in Japanese era (*shōka* in Japanese)

*ch‘anggūk* (唱劇)  
a newer genre of vocal music similar to Western opera, which added elements of Western theatrical traditions such as multiple actors playing assigned roles, stage costumes, and props for a performance of the existing *p’ansori* repertories
ch’ìn-il’p’a (親日派) pro-Japanese faction

ch’ìn-rŏp’a (親露派) pro-Russian faction

Ch’u’naengmu (春鶯舞) (literally, Nightingale Dance) a traditional Korean court dance featuring a female dancer clothed in a brilliant yellow dress with sleeves of multi-colored stripes and a flower crown adorning her head

CHA Cultural Heritage Administration

changgo (杖鼓) double-headed, hourglass-shaped Korean drum

Ch’angjak Aktan (創作樂團) Contemporary kugak orchestra affiliated in the National Gugak Center

chapka (雜歌) a Korean folk song genre originally sung by professional singers in and around present-day Seoul

chŏngak (正樂) music enjoyed by the royalty and aristocracy of Chosŏn

chŏngga (正歌) poetic songs beloved by the literati elite

chŏngjae (正財) court dance that was originally performed for the king and aristocrats at celebratory state events

Chosanbu Yangsŏngso (助產婦養成所) Private Nurse Educational Institute established in 1910

Chosŏn Chŏng-ak Chŏnsŭpso (朝鮮正樂傳習所) Korean Court Music Study Institute, formerly Choyang Kurakpu

Choyang Kurakpu (調陽俱樂部) Choyang Club, a private musical organization founded by some expelled members of the court music institute in 1908 to perform and teach court music

flower-matching a Korean folk game of guessing even or odd number of flowers attached to a branch that players randomly break off

fusion kugak (퓨전國樂) contemporary hybrid genre of music, including creative and rearranged Korean traditional music, a genre aimed at the public

GGK Japanese Government-General of Korea

haegŭm (奚琴) Korean traditional two-string fiddle
Han’in Chungang Hagwŏn (韓人中央學院) Korean Central School (1913-1918), a coeducational institution, formerly the Korean Boarding School

Hanin Kidok Hagwon (韓人基督學院) Korean Christian Institute (1918-1947) that Yi Sŭng-man established by expanding the Korean Girls’ Seminary

Hanin Kisuk Hakkyo (韓人寄宿學校) Korean Boarding School (1906 – 1913) established in Honolulu in 1906 by the Korean Methodist mission

Hanin Yŏhakwŏn (韓人女學院) Korean Girls’ Seminary that Yi Sŭng-man established in 1915

*hansam* (汗衫) long rainbow-colored sleeves that Korean court dancers wear

*Haoole* White person or Whiteness in Hawai‘i

*Hūidae* (戲臺) an outdoor stage of Hyŏpрыulsa, the first outdoor performance theater in the Korean peninsula established in early 1900s

*Hula* a Hawaiian dance form accompanied by chant or song

**Hwangguk Shinmin Sŏsat’ap** (皇國臣民誓詞塔) The Memorial Tower of Japanese Colonialization of Korea built in the Japanese shrine in Seoul to commemorate the 2600th Anniversary of the Japanese Empire in 1940

**Hwang-hwa-man-nyŏn-gi-gok** (皇化萬年之曲) (literally, song for Ten Thousand Years of Imperial Influence) newly composed piece in 1940 by Kim Ki-su using the Korean traditional court music orchestra and Western staff notation

*hyangje chul p’ungryu* (鄕制 줄風流) the local literati instrumental ensemble

Hyung Jay Club (형제클럽) a Korean cultural organization established in 1928 in Hawai‘i as YWCA-affiliated club for Korean immigrants

*ilp’ae* (一牌) the first tiers of *kisaeng* mostly affiliated with the royal palace

*ilse* (一世) the first-generation Korean immigrants

*ip’ae* (二牌) the second tiers of *kisaeng*, private entertainers who were asked to perform for aristocrats’ parties or gatherings

**IPR** Institute of Pacific Relations
| **ise** (二世) | the second-generation Korean immigrants |
| **jazu songu or Jazz song** (재즈송) | American popular songs with translated lyrics |
| **Ka Palapala Pageant** | a beauty pageant first held in 1937 at the University of Hawai‘i featuring queens representing seven racial groups |
| **kagaek** (歌客) | literati singers singing *chŏngga* in late Chosŏn Korea |
| **kagok** (歌曲) | literati lyric song genre |
| **kayagŭm** (伽倻琴) | twelve-string plucked zither |
| **kayagŭm pyongch’ang** (가야금 병창) | a genre of Korean vocal music where singers accompany themselves on the *kayagŭm* as they sing excerpts from *p’ansori* |
| **KBC** | Kyōngsŏng Broadcast Corporation |
| **Kimigayo** (君が代) | the National Anthem of Japan |
| **kisaeng** (妓生) | Korean female entertainers |
| **kisaeng chohap** (妓生組合) | (literally, *kisaeng* union) educational and professional institutions to educate and train female entertainers in performing arts (*kwŏnbŏn*劵番 in Japanese) |
| **kŏminka** (皇民化) | war-time campaign (1937-1945) to make people become subjects of the emperor |
| **Kōmmu** (劍舞) | a sword dance that has been settled as a Korean court dance in late Chosŏn Korea |
| **kŏmun’go** (거문고) | Six-string plucked zither |
| **Korean Student Association** | a united social organization founded by Korean young adults at various high schools and universities in Hawai‘i |
| **KPG** | the Shanghai-based Korean Provisional Government established in 1919 |
| **kugak** (國樂) | “National music” Korean traditional music (*kokugaku* in Japanese) |
| **kugakkwa** (國樂科) | Korean Music Department |
**Kugaksa (國樂師)**  
Vice-president of Chosŏn Music Department at the Reorganized Court Music Institute (1907-1910)

**Kugak-sajang (國樂師長)**  
President of Chosŏn Music Department at the Reorganized Court Music Institute (1907-1910) in charge of educating and performing court music

**Kungnip Kugagwŏn (國立國樂院)**  
National Gugak Center

**Kwangdae (廣大)**  
p’ansori singer

**kwangi (官妓)**  
the highest ranking female entertainers affiliated with the royal palace

**Kyŏngsŏng (京城)**  
present-day Seoul (Keijō in Japanese)

**minjok (民族)**  
ethnic group or race in Korean

**minsok-ak (民俗樂)**  
Korean folk music that was originally enjoyed by commoners

**Minyo (民謠)**  
(literally, the song of folklore) Korean traditional folk songs transmitted from mouth to mouth and was created either by a group of people or by a single person

**mun’yebu (文藝部)**  
The Artists and Repertoire Division (A&R) at a recording company

**Munhwajae Ch’ŏng (文化財廳)**  
Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA)

**nmyŏng kaehwa (文明開化)**  
the nationalist drive for civilization and enlightenment as part of Korea’s pursuit of modern nationhood beginning in the late nineteenth century

**Nabichum (나비춤)**  
(literally, Butterfly Dance) a Korean folk dance originally performed as a Buddhist dance characterizing dancers’ wearing white cloaks with extremely long sleeves

**naejip’ae (內地唄)**  
a genre of Japanese folk song comparable to Korean p’ansori

**naesŏn ilch’e (內鮮一體)**  
(literally, Japan and Korea are One Entity, naisen ittai in Japanese) the slogan that Japan used for the kōminka (皇民化) movement to eradicate Korean national identity
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namp’ungsya</td>
<td>Korean ensemble playing traditional Korean wind and percussion instruments established by the first-generation Korean Hawaiians organized in 1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitchiku</td>
<td>Nihon Chikuonki Shōkai, The Japan Phonograph Company <em>(Ilbon Ch’ugûmgi Sanghoe</em> in Korean)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nŏl</td>
<td>a Korean jumping game using a see-saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’an’soari</td>
<td>a Korean genre of musical storytelling performed by a drummer and a vocalist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’ungmulnori</td>
<td>contemporary genre of Korean percussion music developed from traveling entertainers’ performances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’ungryugaek</td>
<td>the literati musicians playing chōngak in late Chosŏn Korea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P’ungryu-pang</td>
<td>the literati musicians’ musical performances in private salons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posŏnghoe</td>
<td>Social and cultural club for Korean young women at the University of Hawai‘i established in 1937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPU</td>
<td>Pan-Pacific Union, an organization established by local internationalists to encourage political and cultural understanding across the Pacific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puk</td>
<td>double-headed hourglass-shaped Korean drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyŏnsla</td>
<td>silent-film narrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RASRL</td>
<td>Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samp’ae</td>
<td>the third tiers of kisaeng, most of whom were considered bar hostesses or prostitutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samulnori</td>
<td><em>(literally, four things play)</em> contemporary genre of Korean percussion music, developed from p’ungmul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin minyo</td>
<td>new folk songs including either traditional folk songs arranged for Western orchestration or newly composed songs that sounded folkish <em>(shin min ’yō</em> in Japanese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sijo</td>
<td>Literati lyric song genre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sim Chung</td>
<td>a Korean folk tale used as a p’ansori piece</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**sinp’a (新派)**
new-style plays

**subak-chiki ( 수박치기 )**
a Korean folk game similar to the Bean Porridge Hot

**Sŭngmu (僧舞)**
(literally, Monk’s Dance) a Korean dance originally performed by Buddhist monks characterizing exaggerated movements of the long sleeves of the dance costume

**Suyŏnjangjigok ( 壽延長之曲 )**
a piece of Korean traditional orchestra music originally played at royal family events in late Chosŏn Korea

**taegŭm ( 大琴 )**
large Korean transverse bamboo flute

**Taehan Cheguk Aegukka ( 大韓帝國 愛國歌 )**
the National Anthem of Korea

**taiko ( 太鼓 )**
a broad range of Japanese percussion instruments or Japanese art of drumming that involved a music ensemble and tightly choreographed movements

**tangjŏk ( 唐笛 )**
small Korean transverse bamboo flute

**Tano ( 端午 )**
a Korean traditional holiday commemorating the spring season on May 5th of the lunar calendar

**ŭmak ( 音樂 )**
music (ongaku in Japanese)

**Umī Yukaba ( 海 行かば )**
one of the military songs during the World War II

**Urimnyŏng ( 雨淋鈴 )**
a piece for wind and percussion ensemble formerly performed for the royal or military procession

**USO**
United Service Organizations, an organization to support the Navy and Marines by providing recreation and entertainment

**yangak ( 洋樂 )**
Western music

**yangban ( 雅班 )**
the aristocratic circles

**Yŏminlak ( 與民樂 )**
a Korean court instrumental music of the Chosŏn Korea

**yuhaengga ( 流行歌 )**
Japanese-era popular music (ryūkōka in Japanese)

**yurang yein chiptan ( 流浪藝人集團 )**
a group of itinerant entertainers