RETHINKING GENDER, GENERATION, AND THE EVERYDAY LIFE

THROUGH ALICE HYUN IN HAWAI’I, 1936-1941

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**INTRODUCTION**

Alice Hyun, the eldest daughter of the Methodist reverend and Korean independence activist Soon Hyun, was born in Hawai’i in 1903, spent most of her childhood in Seoul, and fled to Shanghai with her family when she was sixteen due to her father’s involvement in the anti-Japanese March First Independence Movement of 1919. After several years in Shanghai, the family moved to Hawai’i, where Alice spent most of her adult years. During the Pacific War, Alice, along with her brother Peter, joined the U.S. military as an interpreter and censor in Tokyo and then Seoul, until she was deported back to the U.S. for interacting with the Korean Communist Party. She headed to North Korea alone in 1949, where she ultimately was charged as an American spy and executed around 1956. Alice Hyun’s story has been sensationalized in Korean media due to alleged romantic links with prominent Korean socialist leaders like Pak Hŏn-yŏng or Yŏ Un-hyŏng, but there have been few serious academic investigations into her life. While her life story itself is fascinating, I seek to specifically examine Alice Hyun’s time in Hawai’i, where she was involved in the Communist Party, and shed light on what it means to be a Korean nationalist, an American citizen, and a woman in Hawai’i in the 1930’s.

In this thesis, I argue that Alice Hyun was a transnational, radical woman who challenged power relations, especially gender norms, through her everyday life. I also argue that the experience of migration, the specific locality of Hawai’i as a land of exile, and first-hand experience of limitations imposed on women in existing structures shaped her decision to defect to North Korea. I believe a close investigation of Alice Hyun’s experience in Hawai’i can provide a deeper understanding of the influence of Communism and socialism on diaspora communities. As an independent, determined woman, Alice Hyun also offers an alternative to the male-dominant, political narrative of modern Korean history and insight into the reality for women at the time.

Current Literature

Since the South Korean government was founded in 1948 after three years of U.S. trusteeship, the writing of contemporary Korean history has been largely shaped by the anti-communist, pro-American Cold War paradigm, and any scholarly investigations of figures who have criticized the U.S. for their military involvement in Korea or have had communist tendencies have been suppressed. Soon Hyun, Alice Hyun’s father, is one of these figures, according to Robert Kim.[[1]](#footnote-1) The digitization and consequently increased accessibility of primary sources on the Hyun family and the publication of Soon Hyun’s autobiography and genealogy by his son David Hyun in the early 2000s have also allowed more works to be written on Soon Hyun by scholars including Robert Kim, as well as Han Kyu Mu and Daniel Kim.[[2]](#footnote-2) These works mainly focus on Soon Hyun’s leadership in the Korean nationalist movement both inside and outside of Hawai’i. I agree that Soon Hyun is an important and interesting figure. After all, he was the first one to telegram the Koreans in Hawai’i about the 1919 March First Movement, which brought a brief but tangible unity within the Korean immigrant community in Hawai’i. In this thesis, I am interested in exploring beyond the Korean nationalist movement, while maintaining the historiographic trend to look at previously neglected figures in modern Korean history who had had anti-U.S. and pro-Communist ideas. While all of Soon Hyun’s children were influenced by their father’s leadership and nationalism, Alice Hyun was the only one to defect to North Korea. One could say that she was just part of the group of intellectuals, artists, and writers influenced by leftist movements who defected to North Korea after liberation, envisioning a socialist paradise. However, there is still very little written about these intellectuals, let alone women, who chose to defect to North Korea.[[3]](#footnote-3) Why might have they defected? This is an area I would like to shed light on through the case of Alice Hyun.

In 2015, Byung-Joon Jung published the book *Hyon Aellisu Wa Ku Ui Sidae: Yoksa E Hwipssullyogan Piguk Ui Kyonggyein* *[Hyun Alice and Her Era: Tragically Swept Away into the Margins of History]*, which is the most recent and comprehensive work of research on Alice Hyun.[[4]](#footnote-4) Jung is the only scholar, as far as I know of, who has done primary research on the life of Alice Hyun.[[5]](#footnote-5) His book follows her life from birth to alleged death, providing a thorough and sympathetic biography. He uses not only the autobiographies of Peter Hyun,[[6]](#footnote-6) the brother closest to Alice Hyun’s age, but a wide variety of sources from lists of boat passengers to military intelligence records, from congressional reports to birth certificates. By explicitly acknowledging some of the missing pieces of evidence and exhaustively documenting his sources, he also encourages future research on this topic. Jung, however, seems to be mainly interested in Alice Hyun’s political ideologies and connections.[[7]](#footnote-7) Only two paragraphs in his 395-page book is dedicated to analyzing the twenty-six letters Alice Hyun sends to Soon Hyun from her new house in Honolulu to Kauai, where her parents live. As Jung notes, the content of those personal letters does seem apolitical, especially compared to Peter Hyun’s letters to Soon Hyun.[[8]](#footnote-8) They may even seem mundane, as she worries about securing a job, describes her new house, and asks for things like pots, silverware, pillows, and books to be sent to her by boat. However, drawing on theories of analyzing the quotidian, I wish to revisit these seemingly trivial letters and take a deeper look into the “everyday” of this time period and social context. I would also like to explore what it meant to be a citizen and to be Korean, and later to be “Un-American” in Hawai’i. Also, although Jung has written several articles in English, his book is written primarily for a Korean audience.[[9]](#footnote-9) In writing this thesis, I hope to bridge the gap between Korean scholars and Americanists and open a meaningful discussion about the significance of Alice Hyun.

Scholars like Bernice Kim and Wayne Patterson have produced groundbreaking work in the history of Koreans in Hawai’i. Patterson’s two books *The Korean Frontier in America: Immigration to Hawai’i, 1896-1910* (1988) and *The Ilse: First-Generation Korean Immigrants in Hawai’i, 1903-1973* (2000) provide a comprehensive narrative of the first wave of Korean immigrants to Hawai’i and their lives after immigration. He draws on autobiographies, newspapers, interviews, student journals, and various records to paint a picture of the everyday lives lived by the immigrants. Although Hyon Sun (Soon Hyun) and Peter Hyun appear considerably often in Patterson’s work, probably because both Hyuns have left autobiographies, Alice Hyun is not dealt with. Moreover, a large part of the literature on Koreans in Hawai’i centers around Syngman Rhee, the first elected President of South Korea, or Park Yong-man, another prominent leader from Hawai’i, and their political activities, strife, and rivalry in Hawai’i.[[10]](#footnote-10) This leaves little room for other stories of Koreans in Hawai’i. Although some scholars have taken into account in their work women’s everyday lives,[[11]](#footnote-11) the historical scholarship on Korean immigrant women has focused primarily on the “picture-bride phenomenon” or the Korean immigrant women’s participation in the Korean independence movement, giving little attention to experiences beyond these frameworks.[[12]](#footnote-12) I hope Alice Hyun’s narrative can further diversify the literature on Korean lives in Hawai’i.

Methodology

In executing my project, I will use the analytical framework of Ann Soon Choi (2004) of putting the locality of Hawai’i to the forefront. She uses Esther Park as a vehicle to understand generation, gender, and Korean immigrant experience in Hawai’i before World War II. As she asserts, “the distinctive context of Hawai’i” as a place where the majority of residents were immigrants, not yet formally a state, and “a place of exile rather than settlement” led Korean immigrants to experience “generational identity, gender, and homeland politics differently than on the mainland.”[[13]](#footnote-13) I believe that this sense of “exile” was crucial in Alice Hyun’s decision to go to North Korea. She had always longed to “go back,” even though technically she had been born in the U.S., grown up in Seoul, and had no relation to North Korea. As her father was one of the most prominent Korean Methodist reverends that encouraged immigration to Hawai’i, where she was born as the first Korean American, Alice Hyun is closely tied to the specific locality of Hawai’i from birth.

I also wish to use Choi’s framework that examines the intersections of generation and gender in personal experience. Alice Hyun can be considered the Korean equivalent of *kibei*, a term used for Japanese who were native-born American citizens but had spent their educational years in Japan. Although she had American citizenship, Alice Hyun grew up mostly in Korea and was in her twenties when she came to Hawai’i. In contrast, David Hyun, Alice’s youngest brother, was born in Seoul, but came to Hawai’i when he was five. He was under constant threat of deportation to Korea because he was ineligible to naturalize due to the 1790 Naturalization Act that limited naturalized citizenship to “free whites.”[[14]](#footnote-14) However, he identified more as an “American” than Alice or Peter, his oldest sister and brother. Both Alice and Peter worked in the US military during the Allied Occupation of Korea as interpreter/censors and were deported for fraternizing with the Communist Party in Korea. Considering these backgrounds, what might have prompted Alice Hyun but not Peter Hyun to ultimately defect to North Korea?

Although there could be a variety of reasons, I think gender is a very big factor. I hope to examine the ways gender constrained or shaped Alice Hyun’s life, and what it meant to live as a single (divorced) mother in the 1930s, especially as a Korean/American. I will use Hyun Ok Park, You-me Park, Hyun Yi Kang’s works which point to the fact that the “radicalization of women as revolutionary subjects” emerged from the “experience of migration from home and community as colonized women.”[[15]](#footnote-15) Kang’s work especially discusses the meanings of nation and “home” for Korean diasporic women.

Lastly, I am interested in the idea of the “everyday life,” which recently Suzy Kim has explored through her book on the North Korean Revolution.[[16]](#footnote-16) Even a simple event such as “a woman buying a pound of sugar” must be analyzed, asserts the French thinker Henri Lefebvre, not just by “describ[ing] it,” but by examining “her job, her family, her class, her budget…her opinions and her ideas, the state of the market etc.” to grasp the picture of the “society, the nation and its history” as a whole.[[17]](#footnote-17) The quotidian experience has increasingly become an object of study by historians, ethnographers, sociologists, and philosophers, including Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau. It is also what I am interested in exploring in this project of Alice Hyun’s emergence as a radical leftist in Hawai’i. How can we define and analyze everyday life in order to draw out meaningful social relations from seemingly mundane, trivial, “apolitical,” and personal writing?

Inspired by Suzy Kim’s combination of two different theories of the everyday, I intend to demonstrate in my paper that Alice Hyun was engaging in everyday life as a realm of both submission and resistance to relations of power and social organization. I constructed my own model that combines Lefebvre’s preoccupation with alienation and de Certeau’s emphasis on the difference between “place” and “space.” Lefebvre believes the “modern individual is ‘deprived’ not only of social reality and truth, but of power over himself.”[[18]](#footnote-18) In critiquing everyday life, he urges scholars to search for evidence that “a consciousness of alienation is being born…and that an effort towards ‘disalienation’…has begun.”[[19]](#footnote-19) Founded in Marx’s social theory, the alienation that Lefebvre discusses is the externalization of one’s private self (one’s everyday life) from one’s economic, social, political, ideological, and philosophical self. In this paper, I will not only use “alienation” in the Marxist sense but also in meaning separation or isolation from society and from other people. Also, whereas Lefebvre examines literary, cinematic, and theatrical works to demonstrate a collective consciousness of alienation, I look at personal letters to find individual consciousness of alienation. This reformulation of Lefebvre’s theory will help explore Alice Hyun’s experience of everyday life as a realm of submission to relations of power and social organization, such as the State, educational institutions, and market economy. Michel de Certeau offers a more optimistic view of everyday life, suggesting that “we may be able to discover creative activity where it has been denied that any exists.”[[20]](#footnote-20) He insists on making a distinction between space and place. For de Certeau, a place “implies an indication of stability,” while space is a “practiced place,” an “anthropological space.”[[21]](#footnote-21) Although de Certeau uses the metaphor of speech and language to analyze the actual practice of physically walking in the city, I want to analyze the language Alice Hyun uses in describing two places and see how a description, a “virtual” practice, can still create “space.” In this way, Alice Hyun’s everyday life becomes a site for creative resistance.

De Certeau’s interest in resistance and in minority positions makes his work especially relevant to women of color like Alice Hyun, whose creative activities and tactics of resistance have been traditionally obscured.[[22]](#footnote-22) Historians of women’s history, such as Laurel Thatcher Ulrich or Belinda J. Davis, have also been interested in how women participate in and practice what is broadly defined as politics.[[23]](#footnote-23) I suggest that the “everyday” in Alice Hyun’s life, which has not yet been thoroughly explored, is not apolitical but in fact engaging in Davis’s broad definition of the political terrain. The “everyday” has also been emphasized by postcolonial scholars. In critiquing Chakrabarty’s approach to postcolonial studies, Arif Dirlik says it is important to redirect attention from “culture” to structures,” because if “Eurocentrism resides ultimately in the structures of everyday life as they are shaped by capital, it is those structures that must be transformed in order also to challenge Eurocentrism.”[[24]](#footnote-24)

**LOCALITY OF HAWAI’I**

Communism in Hawai’i

Before delving in to the realm of Alice Hyun’s “private life,” it is necessary to first examine the geographical and “anthropological” space of Hawai’i to situate her experience in the proper context. Hawai’i’s history cannot be separated from its location in the middle of the Pacific and its plantation economy. These particularities shaped the different trajectories in the development of communism in the 1920s and 1930s on the mainland and the Territory of Hawai’i. Despite its status as a U.S. territory in this period, Hawai’i—with its relative proximity to Asia and geographical isolation from the continental United States, a population in which non-whites significantly outnumbered whites, complicated by the colonial relationship between the U.S. and Hawai’i—existed “on the margins of American life.”[[25]](#footnote-25) The plantation economy also was one of the main differences between the mainland and the Territory of Hawai’i. Laborers were imported from Asia to supply the work force of the plantation system. Sugar planters pitted ethnic groups against each other to “maintain a docile, compliant work force.”[[26]](#footnote-26) In *The Specter of Communism in Hawai’i*, Holmes discusses how the Chinese workers first came in 1852, the Japanese came during the 1880s and 1890s, and the Filipinos came from 1910 to 1932, but does not mention the Korean immigrants. Although fewer in number, the Koreans also play an important part in this history. Initially recruited to work on the sugar plantations, roughly 7,000 Koreans migrated to Hawaii between 1902-1907.[[27]](#footnote-27) It was during this time Soon Hyun, Alice Hyun’s father, actually recruited Koreans from his congregation to immigrate to Hawai’i, and he was on one of the first boats that brought Koreans to Hawai’i.[[28]](#footnote-28) I will deal with the Korean immigrant community in Hawai’i more in the next section. In the 1930 census, we see that Caucasians only comprise 21.8 percent, while the Japanese comprise 37.9 percent, the Filipinos 17.1 percent, the Native Hawaiian 13.8 percent, the Chinese 7.4 percent, and the Koreans less than 2 percent. In the 1940 census, we see an increase of Caucasians, but they still only make up 26.5 percent of the total population of Hawai’i.[[29]](#footnote-29)

These factors shaped the way communism and anti-communism developed in Hawai’i. Although many communists had passed through Hawai’i over the years, there does not seem to have been an official party organization until 1937, the delay most likely due to the Islands’ distance from the contiguous United States.[[30]](#footnote-30) Some writers argue that the party in Hawai’i was created as a result of Soviet orders, noting that the 1935 Comintern’s Anglo-American Secretariat Meeting in February 17, 1935 discussed the “Hawaiian question” and sent a “Letter to the CPUSA on Hawaii” the following July, calling for assistance to the development of a “mass revolutionary movement” against the “exploitation of American imperialism with its policy of militarization of the Hawaiian Islands.”[[31]](#footnote-31) Fear of this kind of uprising may explain why any moves toward union organizations in the territory of Hawaii which were commonplace on the mainland became endowed with “portentous and revolutionary significance.”[[32]](#footnote-32) Exacerbating the felt threat, in 1947, Ichiro Izuka published a pamphlet called “The Truth about Communism in Hawai’i.” Many found the ethnic makeup of the local Communist Party membership stated in Izuka’s pamphlet striking. Of the 53 total members, “there were 29 Japanese, 10 mainland whites, 6 Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian, 3 Chinese, 3 Korean and 2 miscellaneous.”[[33]](#footnote-33) The three Koreans in this list are, in fact, Alice, David, and Peter Hyun. The 1950 HUAC report also clearly lists Alice Hyun as one of the “alleged communists” determined by the hearings[[34]](#footnote-34) Considering the racial demographics of the total population of Hawai’i in the 1940 census, with Koreans constituting only 1.6 percent, it is surprising that there are as many Koreans as there are Chinese and that there were no Filipino members. The pamphlet caused heightened attention to communist activities in Hawai’i. John Stokes of Honolulu, in his report to Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska, highlights how many “Orientals” there are in Hawai’i’s Communist Party, fueling anticommunism with “lingering hysteria about Japan and Asia.”[[35]](#footnote-35) In fact, even the mainland Communist Party had recommended that the party in Hawai’i disband during wartime because “there have been too many Orientals.”[[36]](#footnote-36) With Moscow and Washington being allies, the CP in San Francisco believed the Asian membership of the Communist Party in Hawai’i could irritate the Army and Navy. This combination of Red Scare and Yellow Peril materialized once more during the Korean War.

Hawai’i as a Place of Exile for the Koreans

Hawai’i is an important place in the history of Korean immigration to the U.S. as the very first Korean immigrants to the U.S. settled in Hawai’i. Experiencing a severe labor shortage due to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act which banned Chinese immigration, the Hawai’i Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) had persuaded Horace N. Allen, who then went to suggest Korean immigration to Hawai’i to King Kojong.[[37]](#footnote-37) Among the 7, 226 Koreans who had immigrated to the Hawai’i by 1905, less than 60 percent remained in Hawai’i; roughly a thousand returned to Korea, while two thousand moved to the continental United States.[[38]](#footnote-38) In this way, Hawai’i was not only a station for Korean immigrants migrating to the mainland but also a stop for those returning to Korea. In the imagination of the Koreans, Hawai’i was understood as a gateway to the United States as well as to Korea. However, with the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, Koreans in the United States were left without a nation or a state to call their own. They increasingly understood their experiences as “one of exile rather than sojourning or permanent settlement.”[[39]](#footnote-39) This collective sense of exile was felt the greatest in Hawai’i where Koreans were concentrated the most. In 1920, there were 5,000 Koreans in the Territory of Hawai’i, whereas there were only about 1,100 on the mainland.[[40]](#footnote-40) Even in 1940, the greatest proportion of Koreans living in the United States still was by far residents of the Territory of Hawaii.[[41]](#footnote-41) Especially in the 1920s and 1930s, Hawai’i was the home base for most important Korean nationalist leaders of the time including Park Yongman and Syngman Rhee and had a steady stream of Korean immigrants arriving. This continuous contact with arriving and departing Korean migrants along with the fact that many Korean nationalist leaders returned to Korea after liberation is likely to have impacted Alice Hyun’s perception of Hawai’i as not a place to settle but of exile.

Korean Women in Hawai’i

Hawai’i was also a space in which Korean immigrant women were actively involved in the public sphere. Choi (2004) suggests that the active involvement of Korean immigrant women in women’s nationalist groups as well as the visibility of Korean women in Hawaii is likely to have influenced the women who entered adulthood in the 1920s. Unlike the mainland, where women composed less than 25 percent of the Korean population, in Hawaii the approximately 2, 000 Korean women formed more than one-third of the population.[[42]](#footnote-42) Kim (1996) also says that the early immigrant women in Hawai’i shifted the focus of their service “from husbands to children (sons) and nation.”[[43]](#footnote-43)

**GENERATION**

The “Middle Generation” of Korean Immigration to Hawai’i

Born in 1903 in Hawai’i, Alice Hyun, along with her siblings Elizabeth and Peter, is part of what Patterson would refer to as the “middle generation”—the “several hundred children (mostly infants)” who had come to Hawai’i with their parents “between 1903 and 1905 or were born almost immediately afterward.”[[44]](#footnote-44) He says this generation is the functional equivalent of the more recent “1.5 generation.” They are different from their parents, the first generation, and from the second generation, a much larger cohort of children born between 1910 and 1924, reaching school age in the 1930s.[[45]](#footnote-45) However, Alice Hyun did not follow the same trajectory as the other “middle generation” Koreans who stayed in Hawai’i. While most “middle generation” and second generation Korean Americans had never visited Korea and had received an education that “emphasized American history and government,” Alice Hyun, having moved to Korea when she was very young and receiving her education there, was similar to the *kibei*, the substantial number of Japanese were sent to Japan for education.[[46]](#footnote-46) The main difference with the Japanese was that most *kibei* were the eldest male child in the family and that Alice had not been sent back to Korea for education but had moved with their whole family due to their father’s job.[[47]](#footnote-47) Alice Hyun’s transnational identity, therefore, complicates the “first/middle/second generation” categorization and compels us to look more closely at issues such as language and citizenship.

According to Patterson, the first generation can be characterized by a number of issues, including residence in rural areas, wearing Korean dress, preference of Korean food, celebration of traditional holidays, emphasis of filial piety, and preferential treatment of the eldest son. He suggests that the issue that created the “widest gulf between the first and second generation” was the first generation’s fervor for Korea’s independence from Japan and involvement in the Korean nationalist movement.[[48]](#footnote-48) This is true in Alice Hyun’s case as well. Alice Hyun was definitely influenced by her father’s nationalist activities. Because of Soon Hyun’s involvement in the March First Independence Movement in 1919, Alice Hyun and her family had to flee to Shanghai to avoid Japanese backlash.[[49]](#footnote-49) Later, on March 1st, 1937, on the eighteenth anniversary of the March First Movement, Alice Hyun writes to her father: “It’s very quiet among the Koreans in town. I don’t see at all the spirit of this great holiday. However I am sure, you are having [sic] wonderful time by now.”[[50]](#footnote-50) Alice Hyun wrote this letter when she was living in Honolulu, while her parents and Welly, her son, were living in Kauai. Thus, by town, she means Honolulu, where more of the younger generation was living in. Although in its heyday, Kauai had approximately 3,000 Koreans, many younger Koreans had left the area for the big city, Honolulu, in search of jobs and a better life.[[51]](#footnote-51) While Alice Hyun acknowledges that March First is a “great holiday,” she does not see that same “spirit” among fellow (younger) Koreans in Honolulu. By “a wonderful time,” she is referring to the March First celebration that was “pretty big” both “inside and outside” of the church on the island of Kauai.[[52]](#footnote-52) Alice Hyun seems to differentiate herself from her father, who was living in Kauai and probably giving a speech or sermon to the Koreans in remembrance of the March First Movement.

Even in Hawai’i, Soon Hyun remained involved in nationalist organizations and tied religion and nationalism in his activities. He was the “director of correspondence” of the Tanaphoe (United Society) in Kauai and corresponded with Kim Ku, who was Minister of Home Affairs and Minister of War in the Korean Provisional Government (KOPOGO) in Shanghai. The Tanaphoe regularly raised and sent funds to support the KOPOGO. One notable instance was in 1931, when Kim Ku requested “a large sum of money to finance a trip to Moscow to see Stalin,” the 200 Korean residents of Kauai raised $1,000 in a relatively short period of time.[[53]](#footnote-53) Although the money in the end was not used for a trip to Moscow, the fact that Soon Hyun would support Kim Ku visiting Stalin in the 1930s shows that for Soon Hyun, and later for Alice Hyun, the well-being of the nation superseded ideological differences. However, Alice Hyun seems to be much more disillusioned by the Korean nationalist movement than her father. She complains to him that “[their] own people” are also mean: “I heard that the people in town talking that you want back to Kauai and agitated the people. I am sure the *Kookminhoe* people made out such dirty trickish words because they hate you to hold the *Tanaphoe* and I think some of them told to Dr. Fry that you want to stay in Kauai to do some politics. How evil they are!”[[54]](#footnote-54) Alice Hyun is well aware of the strife among the Korean nationalist organizations in Hawai’i and is repelled by the way some Koreans tried to denounce her father, accusing him of agitating the people. She says that she just wants him “to quit [his] position right away.”[[55]](#footnote-55) I believe this reflects the different attitudes between the first generation and second generation toward Korean nationalist organizations in Hawai’i.

Just as Alice Hyun is clearly a different generation from her parent’s, she is also different from her two youngest siblings’ generation. In terms of year of birth and level of acculturation, David and Mary Hyun are closer to the “second generation.” They both came to Hawai’i when they were very young. The stark difference in Korean language proficiency is one reflection of the generational gap between Alice Hyun and her younger siblings who belonged to the “second generations.” The Hyun children wrote to their father in English and their mother in Korean, so by looking at these letters, one can see the difference in the language proficiencies for each person. For instance, Alice Hyun is able to write in perfect Korean but sometimes makes grammatical errors in English. Peter and Paul Hyun have native fluency in both Korean and English. Letters from Elizabeth, Joshua, and David Hyun to their parents were not available, but letters from Mary Hyun, the youngest, show that the age in which one came to the United States clearly influences one’s proficiency in Korean. Mary Hyun’s letter to her mother (in Korean) about her high school graduation has very child-like handwriting, numerous spelling errors, and broken grammar. For example, she writes e*ojyeoge* (“어져게”) for e*ojeoke* (“어저께”), *jorop* (“조롭”) and *joro* (“조로”) instead of *joreop* (“졸업”), *uni* (“어니”) rather than *unni* (“언니”), and *eot* (“엇”) when she means *ot* (“옷”).[[56]](#footnote-56) However, her letter to “Papa” written in English was in flowing cursive and had no errors.[[57]](#footnote-57) The contrast is clear: Mary is much less fluent in Korean (at least in writing) than her older siblings. Patterson also supports the idea that “language” was one issue that distinguished the first, middle, and second generation. According to a contemporary report he cites, the first generation “spoke Korean with a dash of pidgin English,” the middle generation “spoke Korean and English with Korean carryovers,” and the second generation “spoke ‘tainted’ Korean to the first generation and English among themselves and with others.”[[58]](#footnote-58) The way David Hyun, the youngest of the Hyun brothers, describes his older brother Peter (the sibling closest to Alice Hyun in age) is also telling. David says: “Peter grew up with a definite identity. He was Korean. His early life was that of a Korean among Koreans.”[[59]](#footnote-59)

However, the problem of citizenship complicates the boundaries of the middle and second generation. Born in 1902, Esther Park was also a woman from the “middle generation” who returned to Korea in her later years and whose father was also a Methodist minister and ardent nationalist. Because Park was born in Korea and came to Hawai’i when she was one, she was a non-citizen, unable to naturalize.[[60]](#footnote-60) Unlike Alice Hyun, Park was limited in her experiences and opportunities due to her lack of citizenship. In 1938, Alice Hyun was working as a school teacher in the public school system, according to a court testimony.[[61]](#footnote-61) However, although Park too aspired to teach in the Hawaiian school system, she found that she could not obtain a position because American citizenship was required for the job.[[62]](#footnote-62) Moreover, because of the colonial status of Korea, Koreans were designated as Japanese nationals and their loyalty increasingly came under scrutiny in the 1930s, with Japanese expansion in the Pacific. Choi believes many “middle generation” Koreans in the Territory of Hawai’i, who entered adulthood in the 1920s, were in this curious position, fully socialized into American life but ineligible for naturalization.[[63]](#footnote-63) She is implying that second generation Koreans had less of this problem. However, if we look at David Hyun, who was born much later, he also had similar limitations because he was born in Korea and did not have citizenship. After being charged for his involvement in Communist activities, David Hyun was constantly subject to deportation during the McCarthy era under the McCarran Act. In 1954, the Immigration Department’s attempt to deport David Hyun was suspended because his father’s appeal (stressing that David would be killed by Syngman Rhee in Korea if deported) gained wide support.[[64]](#footnote-64) However, in 1958, Immigration demanded that David provide evidence to prove his life would be threatened in Rhee’s Korea, again placing David under the threat of deportation.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Thus, I suggest that Alice Hyun is a Korean/American. In her book *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women*, Laura Hyun Yi Kang uses an intervening slash in Asian/American women to express the “cultural, economic, and geopolitical pressures of the continental (Asian), the national (American), and the racial-ethnic (Asian American)” and the ways they are attached to a “more solid gendered ontology (women).”[[66]](#footnote-66) She suggests that these generic distinctions are instable and inadequate. Hijin Park also uses this concept in her study of Asian/Canadian women, critiquing the representation of Asian/Canadian women as either “dislocated migrants” or “racialized minorities.”[[67]](#footnote-67) In the same way, I believe Alice Hyun is an example of a Korean/American woman, negotiating multiple and shifting identities.

Theories of transnational (third-world, postcolonial, or anti-racist) feminism can help us look at the transnational identity of Alice Hyun. Arif Dirlik confirms that academic work on Asians in the west defines them “as members of grounded communities versus as diasporic ‘Rimpeople.’”[[68]](#footnote-68) Examining the links between places rather than the movement from one space to the other accounts for how nation-states are not impermeable entities, and how examining specificity and history requires a consideration of the “power differentials between spaces and identities that produce multiple and often shifting relations.”[[69]](#footnote-69) A transnational feminist analytic destabilizes borders and requires the simultaneous consideration of the local and the global. It is through this lens we will try to look at Alice Hyun’s struggles as a woman and the ways she navigated through those struggles. Now that we have seen Alice Hyun’s identity as Korean/American, let us examine how this transnational identity intersects with her gender.

**GENDER**

Emergence of the “New Woman” in Colonial Korea

In the early twentieth century, the “New Woman” emerged as a new female icon around the world. With the introduction of Western ideas of modernity, a discourse of a new female identity appeared in colonial Korea as well. Jiyoung Suh stresses that the New Woman in Korea is not a historically single, fixed concept and should not be seen as “just a sufferer and patriarchal condition or a pioneer of national movements and feminist movements.”[[70]](#footnote-70) The birth of the New Woman was closely tied to discourse on the “modern nation-state” from 1900 to the 1910s, as people recognized the necessity of educating women to become a “wise mother and good wife.” The “wise mother and good wife” was initially a “revolutionary” idea in that it recognized a “woman’s political right as a member of the nation.”[[71]](#footnote-71) At the time, women’s liberation meant liberation from an “old,” feudal home and achievement of a “new,” modern home.[[72]](#footnote-72) However, in the 1920s, conservative, patriarchal intellectuals, feeling threatened by the idea of freedom in love and marriage, used the phrase as a slogan to push women back into the private sphere. It was in this decade that the “Modern Girl” issue was first raised. The urban Modern Girl was often a “shop girl,” a clerk, a “department store girl,” a “high-school” student, a waitress, or an entertainer, aspiring to become upper-middle-class and characterized by “frivolity, shallowness, [and] carelessness.”[[73]](#footnote-73) Throughout the 1930s, there was a tension and rivalry between the newly emerging figure of the “New Woman” stereotyped as the Modern Girl and its counterpart, the “Old-Fashioned Woman.” However, Suh’s topography of the New Woman and the Old-Fashioned Woman only includes single or married women and does not mention any divorcees. Thus, through Alice Hyun, we will try to add to the body of fluid and multiple facets of the “New Woman” that Suh has presented. Because Alice Hyun had grown up in Korea during the 1910s, married and gotten divorced in the 1920s, after which she came to Hawai’i, it makes sense to look at both this Korean landscape and the American landscape for women at the time.

Was Alice Hyun a “New Woman”?

The primary qualification of the New Woman was an education in the Western style, and “modern knowledge” became the new criterion in defining a woman’s identity, especially in the 1910s.[[74]](#footnote-74) With her education in a Western-style middle school in Seoul, Tokyo, and Shanghai, and her language ability in Korean, English, Chinese, and Japanese, Alice Hyun can be considered as a New Woman. Not only was she a student, she was qualified to *teach*. In the list of passengers heading from Hong Kong to Honolulu on June 3rd, 1930, on the *S.S. President McKinley*, Alice Hyun was the only Korean, the only “teacher,” and the only person able to read and write in English on board. Among the other twenty-two passengers on the list, fourteen were laborers, five were students (children and teenagers), one a butcher, and two were listed as housewives.[[75]](#footnote-75) Among the five female passengers, Alice Hyun was the only woman with a professional occupation—two were children under 10 and two were housewives. A year later, in 1931, Alice decided to go to New York, where their sister Elizabeth lived, to get a college education. She was 28 at the time she left Honolulu to the mainland.[[76]](#footnote-76) Alice Hyun returned to Honolulu after four years, in fall of 1935.[[77]](#footnote-77) She was not able to complete her degree in English Literature, unfortunately, because of the difficulty she had with the English grammar and with supporting herself financially.[[78]](#footnote-78) However, we learn from her letter she wrote to her father in September 1936 that she aspired to continue her education. Alice Hyun was excited about her new job “teaching in Palama Korean School” because she figured “it would be great help to my planning to study at U.H. [University of Hawaii].”[[79]](#footnote-79) She stresses that the job would just be temporary, implying that she intends to use the teaching job as a stepping-stone for higher education. These details demonstrate how important an asset education was for Alice Hyun. Through detailed reconstructions of Korean immigrant families as well as a sampling of family genealogies, Soo-Young Chin found that in the 1930s and 1940s sons were encouraged to go to college and daughters were not encouraged to go to college. She says it was the “rare woman who had the will, resources, and family support to acquire a B.A.”[[80]](#footnote-80) Ai Ra Kim also echoes this argument. All of the women in her study who went to university either in Korea or in the United States had the “support and encouragement of their families, especially, their fathers.”[[81]](#footnote-81) Given that Alice Hyun had fourteen years of formal education, we can assume that Alice Hyun’s parents were strong supporters of her schooling.[[82]](#footnote-82)

What can Alice Hyun’s marriage life tell us about her identity as a “New Woman”? Although no letters or records written by Alice Hyun about her marriage remain, Peter Hyun, her closest brother, explains why Alice’s marriage with Chung, a fellow student she had met during her short time in Japan in 1921 and married in Shanghai in 1922, had failed. Apparently, Chung became a “hopeless drunk” and reverted to the “old feudal ways of treating his wife,” living on his “large family estate” in South Kyongsang Province, with an inherited family fortune.”[[83]](#footnote-83) Her hopes of helping Korea and its people together with Chung were completely disappointed. As soon as she was ready to travel after giving birth to a baby girl, she told Chung she was leaving him, but Chung would not let her take the baby with her. While it was not easy to leave her baby, Alice “extricated herself and returned alone to Shanghai,” after which she went to Hawai’i with her father to assist his work in his new church.[[84]](#footnote-84) In 1926, Alice Hyun went back to Chung and her four-year-old daughter in Korea, which turned out to be a mistake, and “against impossible odds,” was granted a divorce and returned to Honolulu in 1927, leaving her daughter with Chung.[[85]](#footnote-85) A few months later, she gave birth to a son in Honolulu, and Soon Hyun named him Wellington. Although Peter Hyun says Alice Hyun left for New York when Wellington was a year old, it is more likely that she left when he was about four years old, according to the passenger list headed for the mainland. In any case, through the “Divorced” mark in the marriage status column, we can assume that Alice Hyun was already officially divorced from her husband in 1930.[[86]](#footnote-86)

Disappointments in marriage similar to Alice Hyun’s were not uncommon especially in the 1920s and 1930s. The male perspective of an ideal wife (an obedient wife whose sole job is to take good care of her husband) clashed with the position of the “good wife” sought by New Women themselves. A contemporary novelist, Ju Yo-sop, even asserted that “the proportion of men who would be ideal husbands for the New Women was only one in ten million.”[[87]](#footnote-87) Men and women who were launching “new homes” with modern ideas of monogamy and the structure of the family system in Korea in the 1920s and 1930s inevitably had much discord.[[88]](#footnote-88)

Was Alice Hyun’s getting a divorce and decision to not rear her children then radical for her time? I would argue that it was still radical, especially in Korea. In one discussion in Korea about the play “A Doll’s House” written by Henrik Ibsen, in which the heroine, Nora, a symbol of New Women’s liberation, chooses to run away from home, more than half of the attendees argued that women’s liberation would not be achieved in this manner.[[89]](#footnote-89) A woman’s duties as a wife and mother remained very important for Korean society in the 1920s and 1930s. In colonial Korea in the 1930s, unmarried women or those who rejected traditional domestic life had nearly no alternative to staying home and being ridiculed.[[90]](#footnote-90) Thus, the concept of a woman’s career remained unfamiliar because women’s “selves” were constructed only in relation to husband and family.[[91]](#footnote-91) In this context, Alice Hyun stands out as a radical woman, a trailblazer, because not only did she choose to build her own life over caring for her husband and children but she also was “ever-enterprising,” producing “block prints of Hawaiian flora and fauna on fabrics,” converting a *lanai* (a sunny, roomy porch) to a bedroom, and selling her first house at a big profit, “enough to pay off the mortgage and buy a house on the hill above Manoa Valley.”[[92]](#footnote-92) This place became a clearinghouse for members of the American Federation of Labor and labor unions, and the HUAC reported that Alice Hyun rented rooms to various Communist Party members at the time.[[93]](#footnote-93)

How did Alice Hyun come to be a “radical” woman? I believe “migration” was critical in the radicalization of Korean women in the 1920s and 1930s. Ai Ra Kim (1996) argues that immigration to America provided many Korean women who had found their situation in Korea oppressive and suffocating, with a “new way of life, affording them an opportunity for reconstruction of their social contexts and consequently for self-development.”[[94]](#footnote-94) One example would be the divorce rate within the Korean immigrant community in Hawai’i: between 1913 and 1933, the divorce rate was at twenty-one couples per one thousand, with three-quarters of Korean divorces initiated by the wife.[[95]](#footnote-95) This is surprisingly high, implying that the Korean immigrant community had a different gender dynamics compared to colonial Korea. Another example is how all of the four early Communist women studied by Ruth Barraclough commonly experienced migration. Barraclough (2015) examines the lives of Ho Jong-suk (1902-1991), Vera Khan (1899-1953), Kang Kyong-ae (1906-1944), and Chong Ch’il-song (1897-1958) to demonstrate “the variety and complexity of what Red Love meant and continues to mean in modern Korean history.”[[96]](#footnote-96) She asserts that not only were these leftist women ahead of their own times, they are ahead of ours. Though she does not explicitly emphasize “migration” as a significant cause of radicalization, reading her work, I found that each woman experienced migration and studied abroad—in Shanghai, the Soviet Union, Manchuria, and Japan, respectively. Thus, I believe Alice Hyun’s experience of migration was very influential in shaping her ideas of gender.

Alice Hyun’s Role in the Family

Looking at Alice Hyun’s role in the family may help us understand how she understood her female identity. The active role Alice Hyun had in her family, and the “everyday” politics of not just replacing the role of her mother but asserting a new type of role for women in that time period as her father’s familial business partner, can be found in her letters to her parents. In a letter she wrote on February 8th, 1937, Alice wants her father to bring a “kitchen table, icebox, andsome [*sic*] sheets,” “pots,” and “twenty dollars” when he comes to Honolulu. If we take a look at the things she is asking him to bring on his visit, a kitchen table alone seems burdensome for an old man to bring on a boat, but she also asks for an icebox and some large pots. Even if she knew her father would hire help, her request is not small, and yet, there is no hesitance or deference in her language—“I want you to bring...”[[97]](#footnote-97) It is very straightforward and sounds like she is addressing a peer or colleague, rather than a senior. In a series of letters written in March 1937, Alice Hyun also gives advice to her father, the patriarch, on the issue of Dr. Fry, the Methodist minister in charge of immigrant pastors, reducing his salary unfairly. She writes: “I was going to see Dr. Fry this morning and find out his attitude…As soon as he comes back, I am going to see him and let you know immediately…So let us be calm and use our head.”[[98]](#footnote-98) In her next letter, she suggests that her father not do anything but to “get together with the people and talk with the white people who has sympathy in you,” and to “write to Dr. Fry immediately, protesting his reason of reducing your salary.”[[99]](#footnote-99) In a different letter, she lays out a plan for her father to be independent: “First you must get sympathy from your haole friends. Second you must not depend the financial resource on the Koreans. Third you must prepare what to do when Dr. Fry will attack your action.”[[100]](#footnote-100) Not only does Alice Hyun set out a plan for her father to follow, she even outlines a draft of the letter her father should send to Dr. Fry and attaches it. She adds that he should also write to the church committee and “outlined a letter for them” as well.[[101]](#footnote-101) Considering the fact that both the author and the recipient of this letter are Korean, and that this was written in 1937, the way Alice Hyun addresses and advises her father is remarkable and revealing of Alice Hyun’s role in the family.

We also find that Alice Hyun was in charge of financial matters in the household. In one letter to her father, in which she asks for twenty dollars, she states: “Ten dollars shouldbe [*sic*] added to housepayment [*sic*] and another ten should go to David’s tution [*sic*].”[[102]](#footnote-102) She has already calculated and allocated in her mind where the twenty dollars should go when her father brings it to her. Half of the twenty dollars she asks for will be spent on paying for the house and the other half for her brother’s tuition. With her father’s help from a distance, she is financially managing a house and a sibling’s college tuition. Much responsibility is tied to these affairs. In her letters, she repeatedly mentions how “hard it is ask [her father] for a single cent” and “how hard it is to do with little money”—“too burdensome for me to carry all these.”[[103]](#footnote-103) We can see the stress she feels from managing the financial situation of the whole household in Honolulu. In another letter, she writes, “David has saved ten dollars from his this month’s pay, so if you help him ten dollars more is okay.”[[104]](#footnote-104) Although not the most grammatically correct, this sentence reveals how Alice Hyun also acts as the mediator between her father and her younger sibling. She represents and advocates David’s current situation with tuition, informing her father about specifically how much more is needed. A letter written by Paul to his father, asking for some help with a deposit for his new home, is particularly telling in Alice’s role in the family regarding financial matters. Paul asks for his father to extend him “a loan about fifteen hundred,” but whether he can or cannot make the loan, to please “not mention this matter to Alice” lest another “family feud” happens.[[105]](#footnote-105) Peter also recalls that Sister Alice had kept for him all the money he earned on his first job.[[106]](#footnote-106) We can see that most important issues, especially financial matters, were discussed through Alice.

Another aspect I found interesting was the way Alice Hyun asserted a position of leadership in the family which was different from her mother’s. Alice often ends her letters urging her father not to tell “mamma about this financial matter.”[[107]](#footnote-107) The reason she does not want her mother to know is because her mother will “worry” and that “worry may affect to whole family.”[[108]](#footnote-108) Perhaps Alice is referring to a past incident in which her mother’s worrying had caused health problems or led to a negative impact on the whole family. After all, her mother seems to have an illness related to the eyes.[[109]](#footnote-109) Alice’s priority concerning her mother is not making her worry. We can see that the mother is kept from full information about various decisions and financial situations, for her own good, according to Alice. Alice Hyun asking her father not to tell “mamma about this financial matter,” undermines her mother’s influence in the family, marginalizing her mother’s role, despite good intentions. Revisiting Suh’s topography of the New Woman, one realizes that the relationship between the New Woman and the Old-Fashioned Woman in the 1920s and 1930s is embodied by the mother and daughter in a family structure. Suh says that the Old-Fashioned Women, who did not have the opportunity for a modern education, was resolved to send their daughters to school, where they were expected to “make up for the lack of opportunity and to achieve the dreams of their Old-Fashioned mother.”[[110]](#footnote-110) The confined desire of the Old-Fashioned Woman and the frustrated desire of the New Woman are connected in a circuit of “othering” women.[[111]](#footnote-111) Perhaps Alice Hyun’s exclusion of her mother on important family matters was an expression of “othering” the Old-Fashioned Woman. While Maria Hyun (Alice’s mother) was adored and respected by all her children, she would still be closer to an Old-Fashioned Woman than a New Woman due to her illiteracy and lack of modern education. On the passenger list for the 1903 ship arriving in Honolulu, Maria Hyun is listed as Hyun Soon’s wife, with no occupation, unable to read and write, and her passage paid for by her husband.[[112]](#footnote-112) Many Old-Fashioned Women, having a background similar to Maria Hyun, were either blamed for their “ignorance” or were totally isolated—spatially, culturally, and politically— from the mainstream.[[113]](#footnote-113) At the same time, as part of the younger generation, she challenges gender norms (that the woman is submissive, passive, and “hidden”) and actively provides for and manages the family with her father as equals or associates. We see this through the way she asks her father to do things for her and informs him of what she has already decided is best, rather than asking for his opinion. Although Alice is described as “a little mother” to all of the Hyun siblings, I believe that she was not just taking over a mother’s role.[[114]](#footnote-114) Alice was “breaking away from Umma’s world,” daring “to create her own.”[[115]](#footnote-115) In the 1940 Census, Alice Hyun is recorded as the “Head of Household,” with her son Wellington, four siblings, her parents, and a lodger under her name.[[116]](#footnote-116) The fact that even her brother Peter, the eldest son, is listed under her name speaks to the position she had in the family, at least legally in 1940. Perhaps one of the reasons she was documented as “Head of Household” was that she was the eldest child *and* she was employed, working thirty hours a week as a private school teacher. Joshua, her younger brother, was the only one in the family who was working besides her at the time, and although he was working and earning more than her, he was neither the eldest nor a U.S. citizen.

**EVERYDAY**

In this last section, I would like to closely examine a letter she wrote to her father on October 30, 1936, asking for help with down payment and explaining why David was not getting a job through the school, to demonstrate how Alice Hyun used the “everyday” as a space of both submission to power relations and creative resistance to those same relations. The letter was written four months after she moved out to Honolulu with her two younger brothers, and when her father, mother, younger sister, and son Welly were still living in Kauai. Consciously looking for “alienation” in everyday life, as Lefebvre had, in Alice Hyun’s letter, one can find physical distance alienating Alice Hyun from her family in Kauai. The letter starts and ends with Alice Hyun mentioning the importance of timeliness in answering her father’s letter. In the first sentence, when she says it was “too late for me to answer” when she got his letter “yesterday afternoon,” it implies that the boat leaving to Kauai had already left before she could write a reply. Alice is writing the day after she received his letter and asks him to reply “by tomorrow’s boat.”[[117]](#footnote-117) Thus, everyday correspondence with her family is complicated and challenged by the daily situation of the boats coming in and out of Honolulu. When she asks that he reply by “special delivery” so that she will “have enough time to answer,” she adds that the reason is “sometimes they don't deliver the mail on the same day the boat come [sic].”[[118]](#footnote-118) The “special delivery” implies that extra money needs to be paid for an expedited service. These sentences suggest the difficulty in communicating every day with family on a different island. The physical distance accentuates the alienation she feels, not in the Marxist sense, but in the literal sense (of isolation): “What I really want you to do for me now is to come out…I simply can't do it all alone.”[[119]](#footnote-119) She needs her father to physically come and help with paying the down payment for the house and finding “some job for David.” However, the alienation is not just material; it is also emotional and social: “I can't discuss anything with these two boys nor anyone here.”[[120]](#footnote-120) She has nobody to discuss matters with in her new environment and longs for the moral support and partnership she received back home. In deciding on which house to buy, Alice remarks that she does not “depend on the tricky [sic] conversation of the agents” but wants her father “to see the place before it is decided.”[[121]](#footnote-121) Her father’s advice is juxtaposed with the deceptive words of Honolulu’s real estate agents. This remark demonstrates how alienation operates “deep in the heart of the everyday” through “doubt—the restless need for material security.”[[122]](#footnote-122) Alice Hyun does not trust the agents, and this distrust comes because of conflicting economic interests and a drive for material security, which she believes her father can offer. She also ends the letter asking if they received the “parcel [she] sent to Welly,” her young son. Separation with her son probably increases the emotional alienation Alice Hyun feels, which she can only try to alleviate by sending gifts to him. Lefebvre says that an individual in bourgeois democracy in capitalist society is on the one hand, independent, apparently unbridled and “private,” but on the other hand, each of her activities, her “properties,” her impulses, involves a need and this need brings her into relationship with other people.[[123]](#footnote-123) These needs in everyday life are “a cohesive force for social life,” and they are “the real bond.”[[124]](#footnote-124) When this need is not met or fulfilled, the individual feels alienation, the way Alice Hyun, despite her apparent independence, feels isolated due to the distance with her family in Kauai.

So what purpose does borrowing Lefebvre’s preoccupation with alienation serve in analyzing the source? Through the alienation experienced by Alice Hyun, we can see that everyday life was, in part, a realm of submission to power relations and social organization. Lefebvre’s idea of “alienation,” based on Marx’s theory, is the alienation of the worker and the means of production, the division of labor, and the worker as an object, as a species-being, as a being of nature.[[125]](#footnote-125) The alienation Alice Hyun feels is not alienation in the strictly Marxist sense, but it is the distance felt in her “everyday” correspondence with her family. This distance depends on the larger organization of postal services and transport infrastructure, structured on capitalist principles. Problems such as choosing which house to buy can “modify everyday life” by making working-class people like Alice Hyun “sacrifice” something else.[[126]](#footnote-126) In her case, she may have sacrificed the “everyday” of raising her own son for “everyday” economic survival in Honolulu. Thus, we see that the everyday was where the Alice Hyun submitted to broader relations of power and social organization.

I argue that the everyday can also be a space for creative resistance to those same power relations and social structures. De Certeau, in his influential chapter “Walking in the City” in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, places an emphasis on differentiating the panoptic, totalizing, theoretical construction of “geographical” space from the “anthropological,” “poetic” everyday space utilized by “ordinary practitioners of the city.”[[127]](#footnote-127) While de Certeau analyzes the city of New York using this framework, I will analyze two houses in Honolulu, mediated through Alice Hyun’s descriptions. The bulk of the first page of Alice Hyun’s letter describes two houses she is considering to buy: the “one on Kinau St.” and the “one in Punahou.”[[128]](#footnote-128) In telling her father “the details” of the one on Kinau St. first, she talks about how it is “sixty by hundred” and has “four large bed rooms, two bath rooms, and also [sic] huge living room, kitchen, big porch, garage.” The description of the house in Punahou is not very different: “lot alone, 9300 square feet which is worth of $4600” with “three bed rooms, one screened lanai, seperate [sic] dining room, breakfast room, servant's quarter, garage.”[[129]](#footnote-129) One could say that these descriptions of the houses seem more “geographical,” “panoptic,” and “theoretical” rather than “anthropological.” However, we see the “anthropological,” practicing of everyday space in the way Alice Hyun describes how they could “rent three rooms, each fifteen dollars a month” in the Kinau St. house and “rent four rooms” in the Punahou house to pay the monthly payment for the house with the income from the rooms. One can imagine boarders lodging in the rooms, coming out to the living space, eating the meals that Alice Hyun cooks, and paying their rent every month to her. The two houses become practiced places and come to life. The distinction between “geographical” space and “anthropological” space is highlighted even more in the next paragraph, in which Alice Hyun discusses why she prefers the house in Punahou. Her main reason is that “it has a future” because there is “a space which is large enough to build another cottage.” She also feels that the “location is good to have a small gift shop in the house since there are several hotels near it.” By not only imagining but describing these possibilities to her father, she is already creatively practicing the Punahou house as a place for everyday life. One can see a worker, or maybe even David, constructing a cottage on the large lot and Alice selling Hawaiian souvenirs to some tourists passing by in the space created by the “screen lanai.” The way one uses a particular place is precisely the “space” produced. For example, one’s engagement with a written text (a certain place) is the act of reading (the “space” produced).[[130]](#footnote-130) Thus, we see that Alice Hyun has transformed a certain *place*, “the house in Punahou,” into a creative *space* through her description. This is in line with de Certeau’s assertion that “every description” is “a culturally creative act,” has “distributive power and performative force,” and “founds spaces.”[[131]](#footnote-131)

How does Alice Hyun’s creative imagination of her future house, then, make the everyday a site of resistance? As we have seen in the discussion of alienation, the main conflict in the letter can be summed up as David’s inability to find a job (through school) and Alice’s difficulty in getting the down payment for a new house by herself. The feelings of isolation evoked in Alice Hyun through these events highlight how the modern individual is deprived of power over herself and her “financial situation.” However, Alice Hyun, by describing in detail how she would rent out the rooms to get the income to pay the monthly house payment, how she would build another cottage to create more space, and how she would manage a small gift shop inside the house to cater to tourists in nearby hotels, newly constructs her everyday to overcome alienating relations of power and social organization.

**CONCLUSION**

By focusing on the everyday life of Alice Hyun, we were able to reconstruct in some part the lived experience of a radical woman in the 1930s in Hawai’i. I have examined the way the geographic location and plantation economy of Hawai’i shaped the particular dynamics of the Communist Party membership in Hawai’i, as well as the exilic mentality shared by many Korean immigrants in the Islands. In terms of generation, Alice Hyun’s example revealed how citizenship complicates the generational distinction of first, middle, and second generation immigrant. I assert that the transnational, migrant identity of Alice Hyun and the way she navigated through both a Korean and American identity makes her a Korean/American. I also assert that the migration she experienced influenced the way she challenged gender norms of the time, making her a radical woman. In fact, one might say that Alice Hyun would be considered a “true New Woman” by socialist intellectuals of her time. The socialist intellectual groups in the 1930s redefined the true New Woman as a new kind of enthusiastic woman from the proletariat class with a strong class consciousness.[[132]](#footnote-132) They attacked the idea of the “wise mother and good wife” as “an assimilated ideology of the colonizer and as the cultural product of the bourgeois class.”[[133]](#footnote-133) Looking at media representations and discourses of women in the 1930s, Suh also critiques that the patriarchal society compelled New Women and Old-Fashioned Women to become rivals—“two different styles that could be chosen to suit men’s tastes and needs.”[[134]](#footnote-134) By choosing not to marry, Alice Hyun defies this reality, becoming a “true New Woman” in the purest sense. However, even though Alice Hyun was challenged the norms and attempted to find some sort of higher calling and meaning through her role in the family and in the Communist Party, one can assume that she did not find what she was looking for in Hawai’i. Given her defection to North Korea, one cannot but wonder why she might have left for a place that had never really been her home (as she was born in Seoul). The limitations that Alice Hyun experienced in her life in Hawai’i may help explain her ultimate defection. For instance, from the Congressional hearings, we find that the idea for the Labor Canteen, an important meeting place for lectures and discussions on socialism and Marxism, was first “introduced by Alice Hyun” and was later picked up by other male Party members.[[135]](#footnote-135) However, Alice Hyun never had a leadership role in the Party, whereas her brothers Peter and David Hyun held multiple leadership positions.[[136]](#footnote-136) The leadership of Korean nationalist organizations in Hawai'i and throughout the diaspora also remained in the hands of men. In Hawai'i and in the continental United States, this gendered structure paid off for middle and first-generation men who migrated to the United States as students as they moved into leadership positions within the movement.[[137]](#footnote-137) Alice Hyun probably did not find much difference in the Church either. Women’s leadership was not accepted in the Korean church during most of the twentieth century, and the roles they were allowed to play were those of assistants to men, a similar status to that of women in Confucianism or colonial Korea in general.[[138]](#footnote-138) Thus, North Korea in 1949, must have been an appealing place for Alice Hyun. The implementation of the Gender Equity Law of 1946 had made North Korea for a short period “the most gender progressive state in the world,” mandating “equal pay, universal suffrage, compulsory free education, and free divorce, along with state maternity leave of three months and in the case of divorce, the right to demand child-support.”[[139]](#footnote-139) Although her life was full of disappointments and ultimately ended in tragedy, it is clear that Alice Hyun not only provides a unique, valuable window into an area often neglected in history—the everyday life of a woman—but also adds a new layer to the stories of leftists in the 1930s, a field that has only recently begun to be investigated in the wake of the Cold War.

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1. Robert Hyung-Chan Kim, “Soon Hyun (Hyon Sun) and His Place in the History of the Korean Independence Movement: With Emphasis on the Korean Commission,” *Acta Koreana* 12.2 (2009): 127-183. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Robert Kim, “Soon Hyun (Hyon Sun) and His Leadership in the Hawaiian Branch of the Korean National Revolutionary Party During World War II,” *Acta Koreana* 15.1 (2012): 163-199; Robert Hyung-Chan Kim, “Soon Hyun (Hyon Sun) and His Place in the History of the Korean Independence Movement: With Emphasis on the Korean Commission,” *Acta Koreana* 12.2 (2009): 127-183; Genzo Yamamoto and Daniel Kim, “Navigating Multiple Modernities: Soon Hyun and the Envisioning of Korean/American Modernities,” *Journal of Asian American Studies* 13.2 (2010): 127-162. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Recently, Sunyoung Park has examined socialist literature in colonial Korea that have been neglected by both North and South Korea in her book *The Proletarian Wave: Literature and Leftist Culture in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), paying close attention to women writers such as Kang Kyongae. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. For reviews of the book in the Korean language, see Ju-bae k Shin, “People who Continued to Search for Betrayed Ideals,” *Yoksa Wa Hyonsil: Quarterly Review of Korean History* 97: 449-456; *Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary History* 74: 279-286; *Christian Ideology* (2015.9): 205-213; [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. For Byung-Joon Jung’s other articles (in Korean), see “The Communist Group in the United States Armed Forces in Korea (USAFKIK) and Their Relation with Alice Hyun after the Liberation of Korea,” *Journal of Korean Modern and Contemporary History* 65 (2013): 166-231; “The Untold Story of Alice Hyun: The Tragic Life and Times of a Korean-American Communist,” *Yoksa Bipyong* 99 (2012): 373-408. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Peter Hyun, *Mansei! The Making of a Korean American* (University of Hawaii Press, 1986) and *In the New World: The Making of a Korean American* (University of Hawaii Press, 1995). [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Alice Hyun is mentioned in short passages in several other books including Michael T. Holmes, *The Specter of Communism in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1994) and Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), noting that she was caught by the military intelligence in 1943 trying to burn communist books she and her brother Peter had buried. The story received attention from the media five years later, due to Ichiro Izuka’s testimony in the 1948 Territory of Hawaii HUAC hearings. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Jung (2015), 105. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Vladimir Hlasny and Byung-Joon Jung, “Wellington Chung: Child of the Korean Independence Movement Crushed by Cold War Regimes,” *Korea Journal* 54.4 (2014): 106-146; Byung-Joon Jung, “Alice Hyun: Korea’s Mata Hari or a Revolutionary?” Andreas Schirmer ed., *Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts until 1950* (Vienna: Praesens, 2015). [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. We can see this in *From the Land of Hibiscus: Koreans in Hawai’i, 1903-1950* edited by Yong-ho Ch’oe (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), and John K. Hyun, *A Condensed History of the Kungminhoe: The Korean National Association, 1903-1945* (Seoul: Korean Cultural Research Center at Korea University, 1986). Patterson says that “Koreans identified factionalism as an obstacle to the unity of political organizations in Hawai’i,” quoting Hyon Sun’s comment that Koreans’ downfall is from the “difficult-to-gather and easy-to-disperse syndrome” (*The Ilse*, 49). He comments that it was “one of the key reasons for the decline of the Choson dynasty” (48), but I would note that scholars in Korea have been critical of this argument, condemning it as a legacy of colonial historiography. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. For a collection of interviews of first- and second-generation Korean immigrants in Hawai’i, see Roberta Chang and Seonju Lee, eds. *When the Korean World in Hawaii was Young: 1903-1940* (Seongnam: Bookorea, 2012). Also see Roberta Chang, with Wayne Patterson, *The Koreans in Hawai’i: A Pictorial History, 1903-2003* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003). [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Choi, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Anne Soon Choi, “‘Hawaii Has Been My America:’ Generation, Gender, and Korean Immigrant Experience in Hawai’i Before World War II,” *American Studies* 45.3 (2004): 139-155. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Choi, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Elaine H. Kim and Chungmoo Choi, eds. *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 5. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Suzy Kim, *Everyday Life in the North Korean Revolution, 1945-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* *Volume I: Introduction,* trans, John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), 57. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Lefebvre, 248. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Ibid, 66. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 168. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Ibid, 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Iain Borden, Barbara Penner, and Jane Rendell, *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2002), 200. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Belinda J. Davis, *Home Fires Burning: Food, Politics, and Everyday Life in World War I Berlin* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 3. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Arif Dirlik, “Is There History after Eurocentrism? Globalism, Postcolonialism, and the Disavowal of History,” *Cultural Critique* 42 (1999): 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Choi, 141. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Holmes, 22. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Choi, 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. “Hawaii, Honolulu Passenger Lists, 1900-1953,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QV9C-TW6V: accessed 13 March 2016), Soon Hyun, 1903; citing Ship , NARA microfilm publication A3422 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Robert C. Schmitt. Demographic Statistics of Hawaii: 1778-1965. (Honolulu, 1968). United States. Bureau of the Census. 1970, 1980, 1990 Census of Population. General Population Characteristic. (Washington, D.C.), United States. Bureau of the Census. Census 2000 Summary File 4 (SF 4) (April 29, 2003). Source: United States. Bureau of the Census. Census 2010 Summary File 1 (SF 1) (June 16, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Holmes, 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Herbert Romerstein and Eric Breindel, *The Venona Secrets: Exposing Soviet Espionage and America’s Traitors* (2001), and Paul Kengor, *The Communist Frank Marshall Davis: The Untold Story of Barack Obama’s Mentor* (2012) mention these documents, using them to “prove how the Soviet influence penetrated so deeply” in the U.S. during the Cold War. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Holmes, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Holmes, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Congressional Record-Senate, 96th Congress, 1950, 5565. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. John F. G. Stokes to Senator Hugh Butler, 30 November 1947, box 100, Senator Hugh Butler Papers, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, quoted in Gerald Horne, 115. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Horne, 68. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Ai Ra Kim, Women Struggling for a New Life: The Role of Religion in the Cultural Passage from Korea to America (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996), 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. John K. Hyun, 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Choi, 141. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Ken Klein, “Korean Americans in the 1920 Census,” Korean American Digital Archive, Korean Heritage Library, University of Southern California. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Newspaper Clipping Unit p099, Radford D. Mobley, “Honolulu Star-Bulletin: Delegate Farrington’s Measure Provides For Citizenship to Korean,” in 1942 Scrapbook, Reverend Soon Hyun Collections. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Choi, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Ai Ra Kim, 54. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Patterson, 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Ibid, 117. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ibid, 149. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Ibid, 119. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Ibid, 149. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Even the *Seoul Press*, the English-language newspaper issued by the Japanese Governor-General’s Office in Korea and known as the mouthpiece of the colonial government, reported that it was “chiefly adherents of the American Presbysterian [*sic*] and Methodist Churches as well as the believers of the Religion of the Heavenly Path that took part in the agitation” and acknowledged that police officers, in suppressing and punishing the agitators, burned down three Christian Churche. Seuru Puressusha, *The Korean “Independence” Agitation: Articles Reprinted from the “Seoul Press,”* (Seoul: The “Seoul Press” Office, 1919), 29-30. The May after the March First Movement, *Seoul Press* had to reprint articles dealing with the “Korean ‘independence’ agitation” because “demands for them continue[d] to come in from many quarters” (foreword). [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. 1937.3.1, Unit 26, Letters from Soon Hyun’s children to Hyun Soon, Volume 8 Resettlement in Hawaii: family life, The Reverend Soon Hyun Collected Works, Korean American Digital Archive, USC Digital Archives (*Letters* hereinafter). [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Patterson, 128. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Interview with David Hyun, conducted in 1996 in the USC Visual Anthropology Department for the exhibition *ReViewing the Past: Tracing Family Stories* (July 1996-January 1997) at the Korean American Museum in Los Angeles, organized by Dr. Soo-Young Chin, http://wongoon.blogspot.com/2013/11/interview-with-david-hyun.html [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. John K. Hyun, 37. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. 1937.3.8, Unit 29-30, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. 1937.3.8, Unit 30, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. 1938.5, Unit 81, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. 1938.5, Unit 79-80, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Patterson, 131. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. *In the New World*, x. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Choi, 142. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. HUAC Cong 81 Part 2, April 13-15, 1950, Mr. Stebbings’ Testimony, 1578. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. Choi, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. Choi, 145. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Honolulu Record, Volume 10 No. 30, Thursday, February 20, 1958 p. 8, <http://www.hawaii.edu/uhwo/clear/HonoluluRecord/articles/v10n30/A%20Man%20Who%20Need%20Help.html>; HUAC Los Angeles, Cong 84, June 37-38, 1955, 1520. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Kim Chernin, whose mother was a local CP leader who was arrested and jailed in the McCarty era, recalls how David Hyun, one of her family friends, was arrested and could be deported: “He was a Korean architect, he used to come over once a week in the late afternoon to give me art lessons. Sometimes, we went to his house for dinner. They served us spicy food in little bowls and David Hyun taught me how to eat with chopsticks. My mother had told me that if David and his wife were sent back to South Korea they would both be killed.” in Judy Kaplan and Linn Shapiro, eds, *Red Diapers: Growing Up in the Communist Left* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 163; She also mentions that David Hyun had been deported but “come back secretly and was living in Los Angeles again…He was underground, they said. If anyone found out, my mother said, he’d be sent back to South Korea. They kill Communists there.” in Kim Chernin, *In My Mother’s House* (New Haven: Ticknor and Fields, 1983), 224. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Laura Hyun Yi Kang, *Compositional Subjects: Enfiguring Asian/American Women* (Durnham: Duke University Press, 2002), 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Hijin Park, “Migrants, Minorities and Economies: Transnational Feminism and the Asian/Canadian Woman Subject,” *Asian Journal of Women’s Studies* 17.4 (2011): 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. Arif Dirlik, “Asians on the Rim: Transnational Capital and Local Community in the Making of Contemporary Asian America,” in *Across the Pacific: Asian Americans and Globalization*, ed. E. Hu-DeHart (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. Park, “Migrants, Minorities and Economies,” 25. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. Pak Son-mi, Chosen josei no chi no kaiyu— shokuminchi bunka shihai to Nihon ryugaku [Intellectual journey of the Chosen women: The cultural domination in colony and studying abroad in Japan] (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 2005) quoted in Jiyoung Suh, “The ‘New Woman’ and the Topography of Modernity in Colonial Korea,” *Korean Studies* 37 (2013): 13. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. Suh, 18. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Ibid, 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. Suh, 21. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. Suh, 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. June 3rd, 1930, “Hawaii, Honolulu Passenger Lists, 1900-1953” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QV9Z-FK7S>: accessed 13 March 2016), Alice Hyun, 1930; citing Ship , NARA microfilm publication A3422 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. September 17, 1931, “California, San Francisco Passenger Lists, 1893-1953,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:KXHS-2MD:accessed 13 March 2016), Alice Hyun, 1931; citing San Francisco, San Francisco, California, United States, NARA microfilm publication M1410 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.); FHL microfilm 2,381,068. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. September 14, 1935, “Hawaii, Honolulu Passenger Lists, 1900-1953,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QV9Z-2VPY: accessed 13 March 2016), Alice Hyun, 1935; citing Ship , NARA microfilm publication A3422 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Jung (2015), 102. [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. 1936.9.14, Unit 11, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. Soo-Young Chin and Dora Yum Kim, *Doing what Had to be Done: The Life Narrative of Dora Yum Kim* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 221. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Ai Ra Ki, 45. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. Head of Household Census record: "United States Census, 1940," database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VB96-YZW: accessed 12 March 2016), Alice Hyun, Tract 20, Honolulu Judicial District, Representative District 4, Honolulu, Hawaii Territory, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) 2-41, sheet 3A, family 69, NARA digital publication T627 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2012), roll 4585. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. *In the New World*, 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Ibid, 2. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Ibid, 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. June 3, 1930, “Hawaii, Honolulu Passenger Lists, 1900-1953” database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QV9Z-FK7S>: accessed 13 March 2016), Alice Hyun, 1930; citing Ship , NARA microfilm publication A3422 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Chu Yo-sop, “Sinyosong kwa kuyosong ui haengno,” 34-35, quoted in Suh, 29. [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. “Ch’onggak chwadamhoe” [A round table of bachelors], Sinyosong (Feb. 1933); “Modon namnyo ui kyolhon isang” [An ideal of marriage among modern young people], Pyolgon’gon (1930), 5, quoted in Suh, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. “Myong’il ul yaksokhanun sinsidae ui ch’onyo chwadamhoe” [A round table of girls promising tomorrow in a new age], Sinyosong (Jan. 1933) quoted in Suh, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. Ai Ra Kim, 46. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. Ibid, 49. [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. *In the New World*, 170-171. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. Ibid, 172; Mr. Vossbrink’s Testimony, HUAC Cong 81 Part 3, 1962. [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. Ai Ra Kim, *Women Struggling for a New Life: The Role of Religion in the Cultural Passage from Korea to America* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996), 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. Patterson, 124. Interestingly, according to Patterson, the divorce rate for Koreans in Hawai’i peaked during the years 1925-1927, which was precisely when Alice Hyun was in the process of getting a divorce. In comparison, the average divorce rate for Americans, which was 8.0 couples per 1,000 in 1920 and 8.8 in 1940. “100 Years of Marriage and Divorce Statistics, United States, 1867-1967” Data from the National Vital Statistics System 21.24 http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/series/sr\_21/sr21\_024.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Ruth Barraclough, “Red Love in Korea: Rethinking Communism, Feminism, Sexuality,” in *Red Love Across the Pacific* (2015), 23. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. 1937.2.8, Unit 23, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. 1937.3.8, Unit 29, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. 1937.3.11, Unit 31, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. 1937.3, Unit 36, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. 1937.3.11, Unit 32, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. 1937.2.8, Unit 23, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Unit 22; Unit 20; Unit 37, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. 1937.2.8, Unit 23, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. 1947.9.8, Unit 67, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. *In the New World*, 19. [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. 1937.2.8, Unit 23, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. 1936.7.1, Unit 1, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. Suh, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Suh, 32. [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. “Hawaii, Honolulu Passenger Lists, 1900-1953,” database with images, *FamilySearch* (https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QV9C-TW6V: accessed 13 March 2016), Soon Hyun, 1903; citing Ship , NARA microfilm publication A3422 (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Suh, 17. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. *In the New World*, 276. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. *In the New World*, 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. Head of Household Census record: "United States Census, 1940," database with images, *FamilySearch*(https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:VB96-YZW : accessed 12 March 2016), Alice Hyun, Tract 20, Honolulu Judicial District, Representative District 4, Honolulu, Hawaii Territory, United States; citing enumeration district (ED) 2-41, sheet 3A, family 69, NARA digital publication T627 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2012), roll 4585. [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. Unit 15, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. Unit 17, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. Unit 16, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Unit 17, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Unit 16, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Lefebvre, 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. Ibid, 91. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. Ibid, 91. [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. Ibid, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Ibid, 9. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. de Certeau, 94. [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. Unit 15, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. Unit 15, *Letters*. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. de Certeau, 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. Ibid, 124. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. Suh, 43. [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. Ibid, 31. [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. Ibid, 27. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)
135. HUAC Cong 82, July 6 1951, 26. [↑](#footnote-ref-135)
136. HUAC Cong 84, June 27-28, 1955, LA, 1501; Cong 81 April 10-12, 1950, Hawaii, 1414. [↑](#footnote-ref-136)
137. Choi, 146. [↑](#footnote-ref-137)
138. Ai Ra Kim, 52. [↑](#footnote-ref-138)
139. Barraclough, 30. [↑](#footnote-ref-139)